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NEW SERIES, VOL. XIX, 1

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

JANUARY 24, 1844—NOVEMBER 9, 1910

By the death of A. Marshall Elliott the Modern Language Association has lost its founder and first Secretary, the teacher of some of its foremost members, and a friend whose ample erudition, unflagging enthusiasm, and genial kindness were a potent influence in developing in America those studies and that fellowship among scholars which the Association aims to foster.

Of English Quaker stock first settled in Pennsylvania, but early removed to the South, he was born in North Carolina, the son of Aaron and Rhoda Mendenhall Elliott. His childhood was spent near Elizabeth City. After completing his secondary education at the New Garden Boarding School, he left the South to attend Haverford College, where he was graduated in 1866. A year was then spent in teaching in his boyhood's school. Leaving his native state, whither he never returned for any prolonged stay, he

entered Harvard College in the autumn of 1867 as a member of the Senior class. His instructors were Krauss, Cutler, Torrey, Bowen, Peabody, and Lovering. Upon receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts with high rank (he was third in his class), he started for Europe as a private tutor, and remained abroad, pursuing various studies in many countries, for the greater part of eight years. In Paris he attended lectures at the Collège de France and the École des Hautes Études. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 he had a thrilling experience in escaping from the metropolis on the day before its investiture by the German army. For a couple of years he busied himself with Sanskrit and other things in Florence. In 1873 he was diligently applying himself to the acquisition of Arabic at the University of Madrid. Spain was the scene of another exciting adventure, his capture and rough treatment by a band of Carlists. The next year found him in Germany, where he devoted himself to the Oriental languages at the universities of Tübingen, Vienna, and Munich until the autumn of 1876. It was during this formative period of his life that he laid the broad foundation for his linguistic attainments. At one time he was able to speak Russian and Modern Greek; he was familiar with Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian; he became acquainted with the chief languages of western Europe and with many of the Romance dialects. Later he added Rumanian and Rætian, as well as Canadian French, and continued his investigations of many local forms of speech.


Early in 1876 he began to correspond with Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, the first President of the Johns Hopkins University; and on June 5, 1876, he was appointed an Associate for Languages in the newly founded institution, in whose service the remainder of his life was to be spent. At first it was his intention to devote himself to the Eastern

tongues, but he very soon relinquisht this project and turned his attention to the Romance field. An evidence of the transitional stage is to be found in the title of the first paper which he read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Association early in 1878: *Do the Romance Languages bear the same relation to the Latin that the modern Prakrit dialects do to Sanskrit?* Romance studies were then, as is well known, in a discouraging state in America, and it was necessary for Elliott to do much pioneer work at the beginning of his professorial career. At first, in addition to his guidance of older students, he gave instruction in French to undergraduates; but he was soon able to transfer this task to his assistants and give himself entirely to graduate courses. It was not until 1881 that the first doctor's degree was granted to a Romance scholar at the University; but Elliott lived to see the fiftieth such degree bestowed on one of his pupils nearly thirty years later. His fondness for travel never forsook him: he crost the ocean more than sixty times, and spent in all some forty summers in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Of an eminently social disposition, and prized both for his talents and for his never-failing cheerfulness, he was a member of an extraordinary number of clubs and other organizations. At the end of 1883 the Modern Language Association was founded, and for nine years (1884-92) he labored, as its Secretary and editor of its *Publications*, to make it a worthy organ of American scholarship. He was President of the Association in 1894. In 1900 he was an official delegate to the Paris Exposition, and in 1907 the French government awarded him the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Various honorary degrees were conferred on him by American institutions of learning. When, in his last years, disease came upon him, he visited several health resorts; his last summer was spent in Atlantic City, after nearly six months' stay in

the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Finally, in October, 1910, he returned to Baltimore to die in his own home.

During his long academic career he taught a great variety of subjects. Persian poetry, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian were treated by him. For many years he lectured on popular Latin as a background for Romance developments, and followed this up by extended comparisons of the usage of Old, Middle, and Modern French. Annually he gave a course on the dialects of northern France, and occasionally also on the Italian dialects. His Dante lectures, broad in scope, were regularly delivered for many years. The science of phonetics was practically taught in connection with French pronunciation, and linguistic ethnography came in for a share of his attention. In his seminary he in the early period of his service examined a number of the oldest French texts; then for nineteen years he concentrated his attention on the preparation of a critical edition of the *Fables* of Marie de France, projected on a monumental scale. This work he left only half completed. For seven years he also conducted a pro-seminary in which the lay of the *Bisclavret* by Marie de France was made the basis of a comparative study of French syntax and etymology. In his study of this Old French authoress he ranged far in the field of comparative literature. Genealogical researches, in connection with the two branches of his own family, occupied much of his time. For twenty-five years he edited *Modern Language Notes*. Some fifty articles were contributed by him to various periodicals. He accumulated a library of about five thousand books and pamphlets, which he bequeathed to the Romance Seminary. At the same time he founded a Romance scholarship. In the last year of his life active work was begun by his pupils on a volume of studies in his honor, which is now in press.

Such a volume is indeed the most fitting monument to one who, in the midst of many cares and occupations, always gave the best of himself to his students, in whose welfare he never ceased to be actively interested. The achievements of his former pupils and their affectionate regard for him bear sufficient witness to the success of his labor.



I.—*SHUL* AND *SHAL* IN THE CHAUCER MANUSCRIPTS

Before we may hope to solve some of the problems which confront the student of Chaucer we must gain a clearer understanding of the relationship in which the extant MSS. stand to the text written by the poet's own hand. In the hope of throwing some light upon this relationship it occurred to the present writer to apply to all the Chaucer MSS. thus far printed a very obvious grammatical test by noting their usage in the case of the plural present indicative of the verb *shullen*. The use of this test first suggested itself as a result of my observation that in these forms there is a curious variation among different MSS., and even in the same MS. in different portions of Chaucer's text. These reversals of usage in the same MS. are best illustrated in Camb. Gg. 4, 27, for this manuscript contains not only the *Cant. Tales*, but also *Troilus*, the *Parl. of Foules*, and the *Legend of G. W.* In the *Parl. of F.* one finds the plural of the present indicative written *schul* eight times and *shal* only once; in *Troilus*, on the other hand, there are no less than forty-one *shal*'s as against eight *schul*'s. Much the same ratio is found in the *Legend*, which has eleven *shal*'s and only two *schul*'s. Moreover, among the several tales of the Canterbury collection this manuscript shows marked difference of usage, swinging abruptly from six to two in favor of *shal* in the Man of Law's Tale to nine to one in favor of *schul* in the Wife of Bath's Tale, which immediately follows. Similar examples of reversal of usage in these forms might be cited in nearly all the printed MSS. Such alternations between *shal* and *schul* on the part of the same scribe are evidently due to variations in the MSS. from which

he was copying. In other words, the responsibility for this variation in usage does not rest upon the scribes of the extant MSS.,—though they may have added to the confusion already existing. It is clear, then, that this confusion between *shul* and *shal* must proceed, either from scribes intermediate between Chaucer and the extant copies or—from Chaucer himself.

It will be well, before plunging into the details of the manuscript readings, to consider briefly this latter possibility. How far are we justified in supposing that Chaucer himself was consistent in distinguishing between *shal* and *schul*? To this it may be answered, in the first place, that whether his perception of the grammatical distinction between these forms were clear or dim, Chaucer would hardly write *schul* in the *Parl. of F.* and then change to *shal* in *Troilus* and the *Legend*, or write *schul* in some of the *Cant. Tales* and *shal* in others.

A more convincing answer to this question, however, is found by appealing to Gower's usage in the *Confessio Amantis*. Fortunately, in the case of Gower's poem there is preserved a manuscript—Fairfax 3—which, according to Mr. G. C. Macaulay, was actually written and revised under Gower's own direction. It has therefore practically the authority of a holograph. I give the following tabulation of the plural *schul*'s and *shal*'s which appear in the text of the *Conf. Am.* as it is printed from the Fairfax MS. by Mr. Macaulay :

First Person

schul—v 1914.

Second Person

schul—I 1258 ; v 3544, 5766 ; VI 1915, 1928 ; VIII 3055.

schull—I 3197 ; v 2337 ; VI 2041 ; VIII 903.

shal—VIII 1212.

Third Person

schul—I 3246; v 5672, 7433; VI 1225; VII 506, 3335.¹

schull—v 786, 2104, 2157, 2587; VI 1938; VII 1752: VIII 1782.

schol—Prol. 1034. *schullen*—I 2251.

schulle—I 2558; IV 2239; VII 4825. *schule* v 3529.

schal—I 1456, 1466; III 2588; IV 2650, 3669; VII 2192.

schall—I 77.

Possibly another case of the plural *schal* is to be recognized in the line,—

The pledour and the plee *schal* faile (II 3416).

It seems to me more likely, however, that here, as in Chaucer's line,—

His bestes and his stoor *shal* multiplie (C 365)—

the verb is to be regarded as a singular in agreement with the adjacent substantive rather than as the plural with a compound subject.

Gower's use of *schal* in the plural, it will be noted, is confined almost exclusively to the third person. And it is to be observed further that, with one exception (I 77), these forms occur in the phrase *men schal*, in which *men* is not the substantive but the indefinite pronoun. This raises the question, which we shall have to consider later in the case of Chaucer, whether this indefinite pronoun was felt to be plural or singular. In any case, it is clear that in the phrase *men schal* as it is used by both Gower and Chaucer we are dealing with a grammatical idiom. If we leave out of account the six instances of *men schal*, we have left only two cases in the whole *Confessio Amantis* in which the

¹ Stafford MS., in the Tale of the Jew and Pagan, cut out of Fairfax.

singular form *schal* appears ungrammatically in plural construction. It is certain, therefore, that Gower clearly recognized the grammatical distinction between *schal* and *schul*, and that he carefully observed it.

It is a reasonable assumption, it seems to me, that Chaucer was no less careful, though in his case, unfortunately, we do not have the advantage of working with MSS. which were prepared or revised under his direction. Certainly the extant Chaucer MSS., in the forms which they give us of this verb in the plural, show wide variety: *schul*, *shul*, *shull*, *schull*, *schulle*, *shulle*, *shullen*, *schullen*, *schol*, *scholl*, *scholle*, *schollen*, *shal*, *schal*, *shall*, *schall*. For our purpose, however, ignoring mere orthographic variation, it is sufficient to divide these forms into two classes: (1) those which show the vowel "u" or "o"—the latter spelling being confined almost wholly to the Lansdowne MS.; and (2) those which show the vowel "a"—improperly carried over from the singular. For convenience I shall refer to these two classes as "a"-forms and "u"-forms, including among the latter the instances of "o"-spellings—which, after all, represent dialectical rather than grammatical variation.

The shorter minor poems offer only a few scattered cases of plural *shal*'s or *shul*'s, and upon these it is impossible to base any inference. For the sake of completeness, however, I cite the few instances which occur, with the manuscript readings. My collations depend throughout, it is almost needless to state, upon the Chaucer Society's prints.

The *ABC*—one case (line 37): "u"-form in Camb. Ff. 5. 30, Bedford (now Addit. 36,983), Bodl. 638, Harl. 2251, Harl. 7578, Pepys 2006 ("B"); "a"-form in Camb. Gg., Sion Coll., Hunterian, Fairfax 16, Laud 740, St. John's G. 21, Pepys 2006 ("E").

The *Dethe of Blaunche*—one case (line 205): all three MSS. (Fairfax, Bodl. 638, Tanner 346) read *shul*.

The *Compleynte to Pite*—one case (line 28): “u”-form in Fairfax, Bodl. 638, Phillipps’ (now Addit. 34,360), Trinity R. 3. 19, Harl. 7578, and Longleat; “a”-form in Tanner 346 and Camb. Ff. 1. 6.

The *Envoy to Scogan*—two cases (1) line 28: “u”-form in Fairfax and Pepys 2006 (“E”); “a”-form, Camb. Gg. (2) line 33: “u”-form in Pepys 2006: “a”-form, Camb. Gg. and Fairfax.

The *Proverbs of Chaucer*—one case (line 1): *shul* in Fairfax; *shal* in Addit. 16,165.

In the *Parlement of Foules* there are altogether eight cases of the verb *shullen* in the present indicative plural. They are found at lines 55, 80, 83, 229, 400, 402, 524 and 658. The following table exhibits the division of the MSS. between the “u”-forms and the “a”-forms.

Parlement of Foules

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	“a”	“u”	“a”	“u”	“a”	“u”
Camb. Gg.....	3 ¹	1	5 ²
Fairfax 16.....	1	2	1	4
Bodl. 638.....	3	1	4
Tanner 346.....	1	2	1	4
Digby 181.....	2	1	1	3
Harl. 7333.....	3	3	2
St. John’s Oxf.....	1	1	3	2
Pepys 2006 (“B”).....	2	1	2	3
Trinity R. 3. 19.....	2	1	1	4
Longleat.....	3	...	4	1
Seld. B. 24.....	1 ³	...	2	...	4	...
Camb. Hh. 4. 12. ⁴	2	2
Camb. Ff. 1. 6.....	3 ¹	...	3	...
Laud 416 ⁵	1	2

¹ Including line 400, where MS. corruptly reads “they” instead of “ye.”

² Including line 590, where all other MSS. correctly read “shuld.”

³ Occurs at line 635 in the spurious conclusion found only in this MS.

⁴ MS. breaks off at line 365.

⁵ MS. runs only to line 142.

Of these MSS. only one—Camb. Gg.—goes back to the early fifteenth century. Three others—Fairfax, Bodl. and Tanner—were written toward the middle of the century; and all the rest date from the second half of the fifteenth century. It will be observed that as one comes down the line to these later MSS. there is a constant tendency to replace *shul*'s by *shal*'s. Indeed, in Selden B. 24 (written by a Scottish scribe) and Camb. Ff. the *shul*'s have entirely disappeared. Obviously only the earlier MSS. have any authority as to the Chaucerian usage in the matter under consideration. And in these MSS., it will be observed, the "u"-forms are greatly in the majority. Indeed, in Bodl. 638 the only instance of *shal* which appears is at line 524 in the phrase *men shal*, where the use of *shal* seems to be idiomatic. Oddly enough, however, in this instance Camb. Gg., Trinity and St. John's read *schul*.

Miss Hammond¹ has shown that the MSS. of the *Parl. of F.* divide themselves into two groups, headed respectively by Camb. Gg. and by Fairfax, Bodl. and Tanner—these three being copies from the same original. It is important to observe that in the leading representatives of both groups—which represent different lines of textual tradition—there is the same preponderance of "u"-forms.

Less satisfactory is the situation in the *Hous of Fame*. Here also there are eight cases of our verb in plural construction: lines 512, 525, 1615, 1616, 1619, 1634, 1667, 1717. But here the "a"-forms outnumber the "u"-forms, as will be seen from the following table:

	Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Fairfax.....	2	3	2	1
Bodl. 638.....	3	2	3	...
Pepys 2006 ("B").....	2	3	2	...

¹ "On the Text of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*," *Decennial Pubs. of Univ. of Chicago*, First Series, Vol. VII, 1903, p. 8.

One of these "a"-forms ("shal men see," 525) is explained, no doubt, by its use with the indefinite pronoun. Even when this is subtracted, however, the *shul*'s do not show the preponderance which they have in the *Parl. of F.* The difference in this respect appears to be due to inferior manuscript tradition. It is to be remembered that no early MS. of the *Hous of Fame* survives.

A conspicuous departure, however, from the comparatively regular usage which characterizes the *Parl. of F.* meets us in the *Troilus* and the *Legend of Good Women*, though in the case of these texts we have earlier manuscripts to deal with than in the case of the *Hous of Fame*.

In the *Troilus*, which I consider first, the present indicative plural of *shullen* occurs fifty-four times.¹ The following table shows the number of "a"-forms and "u"-forms respectively in six of the seven *Troilus* MSS. printed by the Chaucer Society, the seventh—Harl. 3943—being reserved for special consideration for reasons which will appear later :

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Campsall.....	3	8	12	12	12	7
C. C. C. C. 61.....	8	3	15	9	15	4
Harl. 2280.....	8	3	17	7	17	2
Camb. Gg.....	8 ²	2	17	4	16	2
St. John's Camb.....	7 ²	3	19	5	15	4
Harl. 1239 ³	7 ⁴	3	17 ⁵	5	13	4

¹ The following list of the cases in *Troilus* may be convenient for reference: I 122 (twice), 245; II 92, 280, 1021, 1114, 1391; III 171, 181, 564, 660, 661, 667, 771, 877, 884, 952, 1298, 1384; IV 112, 311, 406, 626, 688, 779, 787, 790, 794, 966, 1183, 1196, 1313, 1321, 1322, 1347, 1462, 1471, 1485, 1489, 1516; V 398, 478, 769, 791, 854, 893, 894, 900, 918, 968, 1544, 1545, 1640.

² Including IV 1321 which wrongly reads, "schal ye."

³ Written by two (contemporary) hands; the second begins at III 231.

⁴ Including III 660 which wrongly reads "ye shal."

⁵ Including II 1114 which wrongly reads "he shal."

Even in the Campsall—which among the MSS. of the *Troilus* enjoys the pre-eminence given to the Ellesmere in the *Tales*—the abnormal “a”-forms equal in number the normal “u”-forms; and in all the other MSS. the “a”-forms are greatly in the majority.

The appearance, in even the best MSS., of such a formidable array of “a”-forms is impressive. It should be noted, however, that of the cases of *shal* in the Third Person no less than eight¹ occur in the phrases *men shal* or *shal men*. In these cases we are probably to recognize the idiomatic use with the indefinite pronoun already pointed out. Nevertheless, even after these eight cases are accounted for, the problem of *shal*'s in the *Troilus* remains a perplexing one. When one proceeds to inquire concerning the relationship of these six MSS., the difficulty is increased. For it will be observed that Camb. Gg., which, as Professor Skeat² has remarked, “exhibits a *different type* of text” from the others, is quite as liberal as the rest in the use of “a”-forms. Can the responsibility for these ungrammatical *shal*'s, then, be carried back to Adam Scriveyn himself, whose carelessness in copying the text of the *Troilus* is a matter of record? This would be an easy solution of the problem—though we should then be forced to confess that Chaucer did not “rubbe and scrape” enough when he corrected his scribe's copy,—but the fact is that our present knowledge of the relations of the *Troilus* MSS. is so incomplete as to make this conclusion perilous. If we had before us the long-promised collations by Professor McCormick of the still unprinted MSS. it might be possible to reach a definite opinion in this matter. Meanwhile, I wish to call attention to the remarkable bit of evidence presented by Harl. 3943—the MS. which so pro-

¹ I 122, 245; II 280, 1391; IV 1347; V 791, 968, 1640.

² Oxford Chaucer, II, lxx.

voked Professor Lounsbury's contempt.¹ This ms. has been written by two scribes—the earlier hand about 1440. If we divide the cases of *shal* and *shul* between these two scribes the result is startling :

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
First hand.....	...	3	1	8	...	4
Second hand.....	7	1	14	...	12	...

The regularity of the earlier scribe in writing *shul* is not approached, it will be seen, even by the Campsall ms. How are we to explain these *shul*'s? It is possible that a scribe writing as late as 1440 was such an accurate grammarian that he corrected the *shal*'s which had eluded the vigilant eye of Chaucer when he went over Adam's copy? The improbability of this explanation is vastly increased when one notes that in other matters—metre, for example—this scribe makes sad blunders. The *shul*'s preserved in Harl. 3943, we must conclude, stood in the ms. from which this scribe copied. It is of interest, therefore, to collect any evidence which is obtainable as to the ancestry of this ms.

From a collation of the larger part of the text of Harl. 3943 with the other printed mss. I find that the portion written by the earlier scribe shows remarkable agreement with Camb. Gg., against all the others. That it can not have been copied from Gg., however, is established by the fact that it contains lines (I 85, II 616 and 1146) which in the latter are omitted. On the other hand, the portion of Harl. 3943 written by the later hand was evidently copied from another original, for it shows no peculiar resemblances to Gg., but instead agrees with the others where they differ from the Cambridge ms. This statement may easily be tested

¹ *Studies in Chaucer*, I, 398.

by turning to Book IV : from line 113 to 196 Harl. 3943 (the older hand) and Gg. closely correspond, but with line 197 (where the new hand begins) these resemblances instantly cease. The two parts of Harl. 3943 being thus quite distinct—not only copied by different scribes but from different originals—it is clear that the authority of the two parts must be separately judged.

It is not my intention to enter into the vexed question of the filiation of the *Troilus* MSS.—for the settlement of this we must await the publication of Professor McCormick's researches. Our present inquiry is merely as to the trustworthiness of the tradition transmitted by the first scribe of Harl. 3943. It is possible to form some opinion on this point by comparing this scribe's text with that in Camb. Gg. It will be found that where these two agree they give us for the most part excellent readings—in a number of cases readings which are to be accepted in preference to those found in any other MS. The effect of this comparison must be to increase our confidence in the textual tradition represented in these two MSS. At the same time it affords us a valuable check upon the scribes who wrote these two extant MSS. by enabling us to detect, in large measure, the errors which they have themselves introduced into the text.¹ The scribe of the Cambridge MS. especially, it is now seen, has been guilty of extreme carelessness. In some cases he has blundered most unintelligently. For example at I 404, IV 296 and V 640 he wrote "turnement" instead of "tument." That this error did not stand in his original may be

¹ In discussing the relation between the first hand of Harl. 3943 and Camb. Gg., in order to avoid complexity I have spoken as though these two scribes copied from the very same original. As a matter of fact there may have been intermediaries between this original and the two extant MSS. The existence of such intermediaries, however, would not affect the inference which we are basing upon the peculiar relationship which these MSS. exhibit.

inferred from the fact that Harl. 3943 in the older portion (I 404) reads correctly.

Let us return now to the question of the *shul*'s, which, as we have seen, appear with such remarkable regularity in the older portion of Harl. 3943. This older portion, so far as I can judge, derives from a particularly good original and has not been contaminated by any of the other extant MSS. We have, then, good reason for accepting the *shul*'s in this text as fortunate survivals from earlier manuscript tradition. Indeed, it is difficult to see how they can be accounted for on any other basis, for fifteenth-century scribes, far from showing a tendency to displace *shal*'s by *shul*'s, are everywhere prone to write *shal* even where it does not rightly belong. Camb. Gg. supplies a good illustration of this tendency. Though derived from the same original as Harl. 3943, the Cambridge manuscript shows an overwhelming majority of *shal*'s.¹ All that can be said, in conclusion, as to Chaucer's use of *shal* and *shul* in the *Troilus*, is that though the extant MSS. as a whole show a liberal use of the incorrect "a"-form, a single (and somewhat tenuous) line of tradition preserves the "u"-forms with remarkable regularity. Recent scholars² find reason for the opinion that the text of this poem was afterwards revised by Chaucer himself. It may be that such a revision—in which the sins of Adam would presumably be purged from the text—gives the solution to the discrepancy in usage which confronts us. But no theory in regard to this can profitably be advanced until the readings of the unprinted MSS. have been published.

¹ This fact is in itself a strong indication that there were intermediaries between Gg. and the MS. which served as the common ancestor of Gg. and Harl. 3943. For the Cambridge scribe does not show a uniform tendency to pervert *shul*'s into *shal*'s, as is attested by his copy of the *Parl. of F.* and Group A of the *Cant. Tales*, where the "u"-forms appear in overwhelming majority.

² See Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 1.

The situation which meets us in the *Legend of Good Women* is, if anything, more puzzling than that in the *Troilus*. The eleven cases¹ which occur are divided between "a"-forms and "u"-forms in the six most important MSS. as follows:—

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person ⁿ	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Fairfax.....	2	1	5	...	3	...
Bodl. 638.....	2	1	4	1	3	...
Tanner 346.....	2	1	5	...	3	...
Trinity R. 3. 19.....	2	1	3	2	3	...
Addit. 28,617 ²	1	2	4	...	2	...
Camb. Gg.....	1	2	5	...	5	...

Besides these six, the *Legend* has been printed from Selden B. 24, as well as from fragmentary texts in three other MSS. The Selden MS., being the work of a Scottish scribe, suppresses all the "u"-forms in the *Legend* as in the *Parl. of F.* For this reason I thought it hardly worth while to include it in the table. Similarly, the fragmentary MSS., Addit. 9,832 (lines 1–1985) and Addit. 12,524 (lines 1640–end) show in every case the spelling "shall." Pepys 2,006 ("B"), which breaks off at line 1377, reads "shall" at lines 12 and 281 and "shull" at line 1088. In the *Legend* we meet again the phrase "men shal" at line 12; and here also all the MSS. agree in the use of the "a"-form with the indefinite pronoun. "Men shal" also occurs at line 302 of the revised Prologue, found only in Camb. Gg.

The ratio of "a"-forms in the *Legend*, it will be observed, is certainly not lower than that found in *Troilus*. Moreover, in the case of the *Legend* a special problem is presented by the double Prologue. Of the MSS. which contain the first form of the Prologue the earliest, as well as the best, are,

¹ The following is a list of the cases in the *L. G. W.*: 12, 281, 1088, 1386, 1618, 1710, 1927, 2003, 2627, 2661, 2689. Two additional cases appear in the revised Prologue (Camb. Gg.): 302, 364.

² Ms. is very incomplete.

Fairfax, Bodl. 638, and Tanner 346. These three compose what is known as the "Oxford group," the first two manuscripts being sisters and the third a cousin to the others. It becomes a matter of interest, therefore, to compare the usage of these three mss., not only in the *Legend* but in the other Minor Poems, in order to determine to what extent the scribes of the extant texts followed their original and to what extent they varied from it.

	Fairfax		Bodl. 638		Tanner 346	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
ABC.....	1	...	...	1	(lacking)	
Dethe of Blaunche.....	...	1	...	1	...	1
Compleynte to Pite.....	...	1	...	1	1	...
Parl. of F.....	2	6	1	7	2	6
Hous of Fame.....	4	4	6	2	(lacking)	
Leg. of G. W.....	10	1	9	2	10	1

The essential agreement which this comparison discloses establishes the fact, important for our purpose, that the scribes of these mss. followed with reasonable fidelity the *shal*'s and *shul*'s of the lost archetype—which, however, as Miss Hammond has shown, "cannot very well date earlier than? 1415."¹

Camb. Gg., recent scholars agree, contains the revised form of the Prologue. If Chaucer in the course of this revision had come upon ungrammatical *shal*'s introduced into the text by the heedless Adam, one would suppose that he would have taken this opportunity to correct them. Yet if he made such corrections we shall look in vain for any trace of them in the extant manuscript. At line 281 of the Prologue in its earlier form we read, "ye shal here"; in the revision this passage was transferred to a position before the Balade, but we still read (at line 184) "ye shal here." Moreover, in the revision of the "gold in cofre" phrase (Fairfax 380), Camb. Gg. actually adds another instance of

¹ *Chaucer Bibliog. Manual*, p. 338.

the incorrect "a"-form: "they shal hit profre" (364). To judge, then, from the extant text of the later prologue, one is likely to conclude that in the work of revision Chaucer's mind was taken up with other matters than grammar.

Whatever our opinion may be on this point, we must conclude, I think, that the "a"-forms in the *Legend of Good Women*, as well as those in the *Troilus*, were introduced into the text very early. I think it not unlikely that they even proceed from Chaucer's own scribe. We have Chaucer's own word for it that Adam did a careless piece of work with the *Troilus*. And, to judge from the extant ms., the scribe whom he employed to copy the *Legend* was equally careless—at least in the matter of *shal*'s. On the other hand, we may suppose that the scribe employed to copy the *Parl. of F.* was a "pre-Adamite." This would enable us to account for the radical difference in *shal* and *shul* forms between the *Parlement* on the one hand, and *Troilus* and the *Legend*—a difference which extends to widely separated MSS. like Camb. Gg. on the one hand and the Oxford group on the other. This explanation, I grant, is highly conjectural, but I am unable to put forward any other hypothesis which will account for the facts.

On the whole the results gained thus far are instructive chiefly in providing new illustrations of the original sin of Adam. They show, at least, the large allowance which must be made for the scribe in considering the orthography of Chaucerian texts. In the *Canterbury Tales*, on the other hand, to which we turn next, the collation of *shal*'s and *shul*'s leads, I believe, to more positive results. By furnishing a new test which may be applied to the separate *Tales* it throws some light upon the problem of the evolution of the collection.

The tables which follow exhibit the cases of "a"-forms and "u"-forms respectively which appear in each of the

eight mss. of the *Cant. Tales* printed by the Chaucer Society. In every case I have arranged the Tales in the order of the manuscript.

Ellesmere MS.

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	...	2	4	6	3	1
Man of Law (with head-link) .....	...	1	6	...	1	...
Wife of Bath.....	1	...	...	4	1	2
Friar.....	1	...	...	...	...	1
Summoner.....	...	...	...	2	1	1
Clerk.....	...	2	3	2	1	...
Merchant.....	...	1	2	7	...	1
Squire.....	...	...	2	...	...	1
Franklin.....	...	...	3	3	...	...
Physician.....	...	...	...	3	...	...
Pardoner.....	2	2	1	2	2	2
Shipman-Prioress (including end-link).....	...	1	2	...	...	1
Sir Thopas (no cases).....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Melibeus.....	1	2	2	46	1	12
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	...	...	1	5	...	2
Second Nun.....	...	1	...	4	1	...
Canon's Yeoman.....	...	1	1	7	...	2
Manciple.....	1	...	...	3	2	...
Parson.....	...	5	4	13	8	42

Hengwrt MS.

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	2	...	7	3	3	1
Wife of Bath.....	1	...	2	1	2	...
Friar.....	...	1	...	...	...	1
Summoner.....	...	...	1	1	1	1
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	...	...	2	4	...	2
Manciple.....	1	...	...	3	2	...
Man of Law (with head-link) .....	...	1	6	...	1	...
Squire.....	...	...	2	...	...	1
Merchant.....	1	...	3	6	...	1
Franklin.....	...	...	3	3	...	...
Second Nun.....	...	1	2	2	1	...
Clerk.....	1	1	6	...	1	...
Physician.....	...	...	...	3	...	...
Pardoner.....	3	2	2	1	3	1
Shipman-Prioress.....	...	1	2	...	...	1
Melibeus.....	...	3	13	36	2	10
Parson ¹.....	...	4	4	8	8	27

¹ Ms. defective.

Cambridge MS. Gg.

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	...	2	2	8	2	2
Man of Law (with head-link) ...	...	1	5	1	1	...
Wife of Bath.....	...	1	1	5	...	3
Friar.....	...	1	...	...	...	1
Summoner.....	...	...	...	2	...	2
Clerk ¹	1	...	1	3	1	...
Merchant.....	...	1	2	7	...	1
Squire.....	...	...	1	1	...	1
Franklin ¹.....	...	...	2	2	...	...
Physician.....	...	...	1	2	...	...
Pardoner.....	5	...	1	2	2	2
Shipman-Prioress.....	...	1	2	...	...	1
Melibeus.....	...	3	11	39	4	8
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	...	...	2	4	...	2
Second Nun.....	...	1	2	2	1	...
Canon's Yeoman.....	1	...	2	6	...	2
Manciple.....	1	...	...	3	2	...
Parson ¹	2	4	3 ²	8	6	37

¹ Ms. defective.² Including line 939 where ms. wrongly reads "schal we."*Corpus MS.*

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	2	...	8	2	3	1
Gamelyn.....	1	9	2	8	1	3
Man of Law (with head-link)	1	6	...	1	...
Squire (and M. of L. end-link) ...	1	...	2	...	...	1
Wife of Bath ¹	1	...	3	...	1
Friar.....	...	1	...	...	...	1
Summoner.....	2	...	2
Clerk.....	...	2	1	4	1	...
Merchant.....	...	1	1	6	...	...
Franklin ¹	6	...	...
Second Nun.....	...	1	1	2	...	1
Canon's Yeoman.....	...	1	...	8	...	2
Physician.....	1	2	...	...
Pardoner.....	...	3	1	2	1	3
Shipman-Prioress.....	...	1	...	1	...	1
Melibeus.....	...	2	1	45	1	13
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	6	1	1
Manciple.....	...	1	...	3	2	...
Parson ¹	3	...	3	1	27

¹ Ms. incomplete.

Petworth MS.

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	2	...	6	4 ²	4	...
Gamelyn.....	2	8	1	9	1	4
Shipman-Prioress.....	...	1	...	1	...	1
Man of Law (with head-link)	...	1	6	...	1	...
Squire (and M. of L. end-link)	1	...	2	...	...	...
Merchant.....	...	1	2	6	...	1
Wife of Bath.....	...	1	...	4	...	2
Friar.....	...	1	...	...	...	1
Summoner ¹.....	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clerk.....	1	1	1	3	1	...
Franklin.....	...	...	...	6	...	...
Second Nun.....	...	1	...	3	...	1
Canon's Yeoman.....	...	1	...	8	1	1
Physician.....	...	...	...	3	...	...
Pardoner.....	1	2	1	2	2	1
Melibeus.....	...	3	18	30	3	7
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	...	...	2	4	1	1
Manciple.....	1	...	...	3	2	...
Parson.....	...	4	2	15	6	41

¹ Ms. defective.² Including A 1747 where ms. wrongly reads "he shul."*Lansdowne MS.*

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	2	...	8	2	3	1
Gamelyn.....	5	5	7 ¹	1	4	...
Man of Law (with head-link)	...	1	6	...	1	...
Squire (and M. of L. end-link)	1	...	2	...	1	...
Wife of Bath.....	...	1	1	2	2	...
Friar.....	1	...	...	...	...	1
Summoner.....	...	...	...	2	1	1
Clerk.....	2	...	5	...	1	...
Merchant.....	...	1	2	6	...	1
Franklin.....	...	...	2	4 ³	...	...
Second Nun.....	...	1	2	1	...	1
Canon's Yeoman.....	1	...	3 ²	5	2	...
Physician.....	...	...	2	1	...	...
Pardoner.....	3	1	1	2	2	2
Shipman-Prioress.....	1	...	...	1	...	1
Melibeus.....	1	2	14	32	6	6
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	...	...	4	2	2	...
Manciple.....	1	...	2	1	2	...
Parson.....	1	3	6	13	27	22

¹ Including line 678 where ms. wrongly reads "sche schal."² Including G 1105 where ms. wrongly reads "we schal."³ Including F 1474 where ms. wrongly reads "sche schol."

Harl. MS. 7334

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A.....	..	2	1	9	..	2
Gamelyn.....	1	8	2	8	1	3
Man of Law (with head-link)	..	2 ²	4	2	1	..
Wife of Bath.....	..	1	..	2	1	1
Friar.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Summoner.....	..	..	1	1	2	..
Clerk.....	..	2	..	6	1	..
Merchant.....	..	1 ¹	2	7	..	1
Squire.....	..	..	..	2	..	1
Franklin ¹.....	..	..	2	2	..	..
Second Nun.....	1	..	..	4	..	1
Canon's Yeoman.....	..	1	..	8	1	1
Physician.....	..	..	..	3	..	..
Pardoner.....	1	2	1	2	2	2
Shipman-Prioress.....	..	1	..	1	..	1
Melibeus.....	..	4	6	43	4	11
Monk-Nun's Priest.....	..	..	1	4	1	1
Manciple.....	1	..	1	2	2	..
Parson.....	..	5	5	12	10	38

¹ Ms. incomplete.² Including B 1176 in Man of Law's end-link.*Cambridge Dd. 4. 24*

	First Person		Second Person		Third Person	
	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"	"a"	"u"
Group A ¹	2	..	6	2	2
Man of Law (with head-link)	..	1	2	4	1	..
Wife of Bath.....	..	1	..	3	..	2
Friar.....	..	1	..	..	..	1
Summoner.....	2	..	2
Clerk.....	..	2	..	5	1	..
Merchant.....	..	1	1	8	..	1
Squire.....	2	..	1
Franklin.....	2	4	..	..
Physician.....	3	..	..
Pardoner.....	1	4	..	3	..	4
Shipman-Prioress.....	..	1	..	2	..	1
Melibeus.....	..	3	..	46	..	13
Monk-Priest's.....	6	1	1
Second Nun.....	..	1	..	4	..	1
Canon's Yeoman ²	1	..	..	..	..

¹ Ms. lacks A 505-1931.² Ms. breaks off at G 853.

Perhaps the most striking fact disclosed by these tables is the extraordinary regularity of Camb. Dd. in the use of "u"-forms. For the entire *Cant. Tales*—or rather, since this MS. is defective, for the Tales as far as this MS. extends—Camb. Dd. shows only 11 cases of *shal*. The MS. which stands next to Dd. in this respect is Corpus, but in this MS.—comparing only the portions common to Dd.—one finds 31 *shal*'s.¹ Harl. 7334 comes just after Corpus with 37 *shal*'s.

The question at once arises, whether the "u"-forms in Dd. are traditional or whether they are the result of scribal alteration. In favor of regarding them as traditional is the fact that Dd. is an early text, and one of the best, of the *Cant. Tales*. On the other hand, the fact that in Dd., out of a total of 157 instances of the plural form, one finds no less than 134 times the spelling *shuln*—a spelling very infrequent in nearly all the other MSS.—awakens the suspicion that this uniformity is attributable to the Dd. scribe himself.² Moreover, Camb. Dd. belongs to the class of "edited" texts, as they have been termed by Henry Bradshaw and Professor Skeat, that is, texts in which the order of Tales has been changed, and the links which bind them together adjusted; by a post-Chaucerian editorial hand. It would be hazardous, therefore, to rely upon the "u"-forms in Dd. as traditional, when they do not appear in MSS. which are believed to represent the older arrangement of the Tales.

¹ Through defects in the text of the Wife's and the Franklin's Tales the Corpus MS. has lost four instances of the word. Counting all these as *shal*'s, however, we should have a total of only 35.

² On comparing Zupitza's print of the Pardoner's Prologue and Tale from the seven MSS. which make up the "Dd. group" one observes that the spelling *shuln* is peculiar to Dd. Since the other MSS. of this group are not, in Zupitza's opinion, derivatives from Dd. it follows that *shuln* was not the spelling in the archetype of the group.

On the other hand, it is obvious that a considerable number of the "a"-forms which appear in other mss. do not go back to the archetype but have been subsequently introduced through scribal carelessness. The Lansdowne ms. is the greatest offender in this respect; here we find that the abnormal "a"-forms actually outnumber the "u"-forms.¹ Aside from this constitutional tendency on the part of the Lansdowne scribe, one finds also in the other manuscripts sporadic *a*'s which are unsupported elsewhere. In order to eliminate so far as possible the "a"-forms which have crept into the text through the carelessness of these scribes let us leave out of consideration all those which are not supported by at least four mss. Where four of the eight texts agree in writing *shal* instead of *shul* it seems reasonable to suspect that this may have been the reading of the archetypal manuscript. In the following table I follow the line numbering of the Chaucer Society prints. The tales are arranged in the order of the Hengwrt ms., which Professor Skeat believes represents Chaucer's original arrangement. The figures in parenthesis show the number of texts which agree in the *a*-spellings.

¹The most conspicuous example of this tendency on the part of the Lansdowne scribe is presented in the Tale of Gamelyn, where, the overwhelming proportion of *shul*'s shown in Corp. Petw. and Harl. 7334, is actually converted by Lansd. into a majority of *shal*'s (16 to 6).

*A List of the "A"-forms which appear in four or more of
the "Eight-text" Canterbury Tales*

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Group A.....	3581 (4) 3902 (4)	1822 (4) 2764 (5) 2796 (4) 4121 (6) 4364 (6)	2541 (6) [3186] (6) 4174 ¹ (7)
Summoner.....			2262 (4)
Manciple.....	66 (6)		[209] (7) [298] (7)
Man of Law.....		98 (6) 133 (8) 238 (7) 329 (7) 349 (7) 749 (6)	347 (8)
Squire.....		188 (6) 446 (5)	
Merchant.....		2264 (7)	
Franklin.....		1231 (5) 1336 (4)	
Second Nun.....		182 (4)	
Clerk.....		169 (5)	1204 ² (8)
Pardoner.....	798 (6)	618 (6)	383 (5) [418] (7)
Melibeus.....		2464 (5) 2487 (4) 2504 (4) 2509 (5)	[2207] (4) [2248] (5)
Parson.....		538 (4)	193 (5) [308] (4) [382] (4) [527] (4)

¹ Dialect use of "sal."

² "A" likewise in Sion Coll., Rawl. Poet., McCormick, Harl. 1239, Naples, Holkham, Longleat, and Phillipps 8299.

It should be explained that the nine cases in the Third Person which I have placed in brackets are occurrences of the phrase "men shal," upon which I have already commented. This phrase being as I have shown idiomatic, these cases really should not be included in this list. In glancing over this table one is struck at once by the exceptional occurrence of "a"-forms in Group A¹ and in the Man of Law's Tale. The four "a"-forms in Melibeus out of a total of sixty-four, as well as the two in the Parson's Tale out of a total of seventy-one, are wholly negligible. Absolute regularity in the use of *shul* and *shal* is too much to expect from the best of fourteenth-century scribes. In Group A, on the other hand, out of a total of fifteen cases there remain nine "a"-forms; and in the Man of Law's Tale with eight cases in all, seven "a"-forms remain, and these are attested by not less than six of the eight texts. It will be observed further that the Squire's Tale, out of a total number of three cases, shows two "a"-forms.

This predominance of "a"-forms in the Man of Law's and the Squire's Tales has an important bearing upon the question of the position of these two Tales in the Canterbury collection. An overwhelming majority of the extant MSS. agree in placing the Squire immediately after the Man of Law. And Professor Skeat, in his recent attempt to trace the different stages in the evolution of the Canterbury Tales,² holds that the Man of Law-Squire sequence was not only a part of Chaucer's original scheme but continued intact through the first three stages. The discovery in the texts of these two Tales, now, of a conspicuous fondness for

¹ I am not forgetful of the fact that in four MSS., viz., Camb. Gg., Ellesmere, Harl. 7334, and Camb. Dd., instead of a majority of *shal*'s one finds the majority strongly on the side of *shul*. A possible explanation for this change will be suggested below.

² *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer Soc., 1907, p. 17.

"a"-forms supplies an additional reason for linking them together. If it be true, as recent scholars believe, that the Tales circulated at first in fascicules, it would be easy to suppose that the Man of Law's Tale and the Squire's stood together in a single fascicule. Further color is given to this suggestion by the occurrence of *shal* at B 1176 in the link connecting the Man of Law's and Squire's Tales.¹ One finds, then, that the form *shal* is characteristic not only of these two Tales but of the link which joins them. These *shal*'s, moreover, must go back to an early scribe since they appear in such a large number of manuscripts. In short, the situation which actually presents itself is precisely what one would expect to find if the Man of Law's Tale and the Squire's had been copied by an "a"-scribe and put into circulation in a single fascicule.

In passing it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that the *shal*'s stand not only in the Tale of the Man of Law but in the head-link which precedes it (B 98). This observation has a certain negative value in connection with the view which has been expressed, that Chaucer wrote the Tale of Constance as a separate poem before he had the Canterbury collection in mind. If one had found *shul* in the head-link and *shal* in the Tale it would have given support to this view by suggesting that they were written by different scribes and so presumably belonged to different strata. The occurrence of *shal*'s, on the other hand, in both

¹ This Man of Law-Squire link (B 1163-1190) is found in no less than 21 mss., though not all of them use it to connect these two Tales. Seld. B. 14 makes it link to the Shipman, and Harl. 7334 follows it by the Wife of Bath, though with obvious confusion since the link itself (according to this ms.) introduces the Sompnour. The form *shal* is strongly supported by the mss. which contain this link, occurring in 15 of the 21, while *shul* appears in only 3. The remaining three substitute here a wholly different line.

head-link and Tale does not, of course, overthrow this hypothesis, for it is quite possible to regard these "a"-forms as originating with the scribe who wrote this fascicule.

The Man of Law-Squire fascicule as it stands breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence. The scribe laid down his pen only two lines after writing "Incipit pars tercia,"—one wonders why he began the Third Part at all if he had only two lines of copy before him. Is it possible that the unfinished state of the Squire's Tale is not due to Chaucer but to the scribe? The only other instance in the Canterbury Tales of such an abrupt ending, curiously enough, occurs at the end of Group A—which likewise was written by a *shal* scribe—perhaps the same person. That practically all the mss. preserve unbroken the sequence: Prol., Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook, though from this point on they vary greatly in the order of the Tales, makes it certain, I believe, that Group A composed a separate fascicule. Directly following Group A—in seventeen mss.—is the Tale of Gamelyn. In Gamelyn, is to be observed, the *shul*'s are preserved with exceptional regularity,¹ showing conclusively that it was not copied by the *shal* scribe who wrote Group A. The juxtaposition of Group A and Gamelyn, therefore, supplies another important piece of evidence for the fascicule theory. Finally, as if to make the transition from "u"-forms to "a"-forms as sharp as possible, twelve of the mss. which contain the Gamelyn follow it immediately by the Man of Law's Tale with its *shal*'s.

But by what right, one may very properly ask, is Group

¹ An exception to this statement should be noted in the case of Lansdowne, which makes havoc with the "u"-forms in Gamelyn, leaving only six of them against sixteen "a"-forms. This preference for "a"-forms, however, characterizes the Lansdowne ms. throughout the whole of the *Cant. Tales*, as has already been remarked. Its treatment of Gamelyn, therefore, is in accord with the general usage of this scribe.

A assigned to the *shal* scribe when in four MSS.—Ellesmere, Harl. 7334, Camb. Gg. and Dd.—the “a”-forms are distinctly outnumbered by “u”-forms? This raises again the question which was touched upon above in commenting upon Dd.’s peculiar fondness for “u”-forms. Ellesmere, Camb. Gg. and Dd., though excellent MSS., give us what is regarded as an “edited” text of the *Cant. Tales*. The arrangement of the Tales which one finds in these manuscripts is supposed to be the work of an editorial hand. In these MSS. the Man of Law–Squire sequence—so illuminating in its bearing upon the fascicule theory—has been broken. In Harl. 7334 also the Man of Law–Squire sequence is broken, and the Squire’s Tale transferred to the same position which it holds in the “edited” text. Moreover, scholars agree that this Harleian manuscript presents a “revised” form of the text—though opinion is divided as to whether this revision was the work of Chaucer or that of an editor. It is highly significant now, it seems to me, to discover that the very MSS. which break the Man of Law–Squire sequence convert the larger number of *shal*’s into *shul*’s. It is clear, therefore, that the question of these *shal*’s and *shul*’s is directly connected with the problem of the order of the Canterbury Tales, and particularly with that presented by the “revision” in Harl. 7334. Obviously these larger problems lie beyond the scope of the present investigation, even though they are directly related to it. My present object is attained in calling attention to the fact that such relationship exists.

CARLETON BROWN.

II.—THE CATALAN *MASCARÓN* AND AN EPISODE IN JACOB VAN MAERLANT'S *MERLIJN*

A popular allegorical subject in the Middle Ages was that which represented the struggle of the good and evil powers for the possession of man's soul. Frequently the evil power is centralized in the devil or his procurator, and the contest is excited by the harrowing of Hell and the release of the damned souls by Christ. According to some of the Church Fathers, the devil had certain rights over man after the first sin, a right which was the more legitimate since it was sanctioned by God himself. The whole subject is closely connected with the dogmatic traditions of the Church concerning the redemption.¹ In the twelfth century, Hugo of St. Victor in his commentary on the fifteenth Psalm gives an account of a dispute between Christ and Satan, in which the devil asserts his right to man as having been consigned to him after the Fall.² We find this reproduced in an Italian version of the thirteenth century entitled *Piuto del Dio col Nemico*.³ According to other versions, the Virgin Mary undertook the defense of man against the claims of the devil. This idea was a product of the worship of the Virgin which affected so many of the doctrines of the Church. As the protecting Mother of sinners, she was the natural adversary of the forces of evil. Mary, the Queen of Heaven, was thus contrasted with Lucifer, the independent ruler of Hell. In certain cases, the story represents a

¹ See Roderich Stintzing, *Geschichte der populären Literatur des kanonisch römischen Rechts in Deutschland*, pp. 259-271; Roediger, *Contrasti Antichi*, Florence, 1887, p. 95; Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Vol. I, p. 228.

² Hugo: *Misc. Annotationes Elucidatorie in quosdam Psalmos David*, Cap. XII. Migne, CLXXVII, pp. 596-7.

³ Edited by F. Roediger, *Contrasti Antichi*. Florence, 1887.

trial scene in which Christ appears as the judge, the Virgin Mary as the advocate of mankind and Mascaron, the devil's procurator, as the plaintiff. This version is found in three texts, Dutch, Latin, and Catalan, which show marked similarities.

The Dutch version forms a part of the poem entitled *Merlijn*, attributed to Jacob van Maerlant,¹ Chap. VIII-XIII, and composed about the year 1261.² The account there given is as follows. The devils, seeing that they have been deprived of their prey by the harrowing of Hell, call a council and choose Masceroen to go before God as their procurator and lay claim to mankind. He presents himself before Christ and asks for justice. Christ examines his credentials, in which mankind is summoned to hear the procurator's demands, and appoints Good Friday for the hearing of the case. Masceroen protests against the appointment of a holy day, but his objection is not admitted. On returning to Hell, he tells his companions how miserably he has fared, but Lucifer, despite his protests, bids him return early on the following day. In the heavenly court he chooses a high place and waits. When at midday no one has appeared to answer his claims, he goes before God and demands the judgment by default. God, however, silences him by saying that the case is set for the evening. As night approaches, Masceroen again becomes impatient and cries loudly: "Lord, where is justice, which, men say, dwells in Heaven?" God postpones the trial until the next day, and

¹ *Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn*, ed. by van Vloten, Leiden, 1880. The relation of this version to the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, or *Procès de Dieu*, has been studied by Miss Hope Traver in her monograph, *The Four Daughters of God*, Philadelphia, 1907. I am indebted to this work for many suggestions.

² Jan de Winkel in *Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, i, 458 and 465.

Masceroen again returns to Hell in discomfiture and is again forced by Lucifer to prosecute his claim on the morrow.

Meanwhile the Virgin Mary, feeling a mother's sorrow for mankind, offers herself as advocate, at which there is great rejoicing among the angels. When the hour comes, God takes his place in his consistory, surrounded by countless hosts of angels, patriarchs and prophets, and when Mary, attended by a multitude of angels, has entered and seated herself beside her son, the trial begins. She asserts her readiness to answer for man and challenges Masceroen to present his claim. He, unable to raise his eyes to the brightness of her glory, turns fretfully to God, saying: "In every case there must be three: the judge, the plaintiff, and the defendant. You are the judge, I the plaintiff, but I do not see the guilty one." Mary interposes with a second assertion of her intention to act as man's representative, but Masceroen objects, saying: "It is contrary to all justice that a woman act as advocate; besides, she is your mother and bound by kinship." Mary indignantly replies, and after much opposition, she is recognized as advocate. Then follows prolonged argument, Masceroen seeking to establish his right to man and Mary insisting that his right has been lost and forfeited to Christ. Masceroen then takes from his pocket a Bible and quotes Genesis ii, 17, and presses his claim so hard that Mary, weeping, begs her Son to help her. Moved by her distress, He would dismiss Masceroen, but the latter suggests a compromise. "I will take my speech from the Scriptures and confirm it by heathen law. When there is strife between two parties, what does the judge do but make a division? Therefore give to me the evil, to your mother the good. Put mankind in the scale. Her part will be bitterly small." Christ is about to yield, but Mary cries that the weighing has already been done through the death of her son. Thereupon Masceroen demands advo-

cates, and chooses Justice and Truth. The angels urge Mary to likewise choose advocates, and she decides upon Mercy and Peace. The four virtues appear and the debate is given over to them. Gerechteheit and Waerheit would condemn man without pity, but Ontfermeheit would give pardon to the repentant sinner. Vrede then proves that God's sentence of death upon those who had eaten the apple has already been accomplished, since before this sin, man was immortal. She then claims that David's prophecy be fulfilled, in that Ontfermeheit and Waerheit meet and she and Gerechteheit kiss. This is granted, whereupon Masce-roen in rage and dismay flees to Hell, where eternal enmity is vowed against Christ.

As was pointed out by Miss Traver,¹ the story is a combination of three separate elements: (1) a trial scene in which the Virgin and Satan's representative contend for the possession of man; (2) the motive of the scales in which man's good and evil deeds are weighed; (3) the debate between the four virtues, two of whom condemn man and two plead in his behalf.² It is only with the first of these elements, the trial scene, with which we are here concerned.

No definite source is known for this Dutch version. Inasmuch as the *Merlijn* is for the most part merely a translation of the French *Merlin*, it is reasonable to believe that Maerlant also followed a French original in this episode. Miss Traver sums up as follows her investigation of the source. "When one remembers that Maerlant for the rest of the poem, was merely a translator, one must doubt whether the credit for inventing the 'Processus Belial' belongs to him. I cannot but feel, therefore, that an earlier

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

² See Miss Traver's monograph for a study of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, or *Procès de Dieu*, based upon Psalm lxxxiv, 11, *Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt.*

version of similar character must have existed in either Latin, Spanish or French, and that from this the allegory in *Merlijn* was derived.”¹

About one hundred years after Maerlant, another Netherlandish poem appeared which repeats almost exactly the above-mentioned episode of the *Merlijn*. This is the *Mascheroen*,² which may have been written by Jan Boendale, a disciple of Maerlant. Only two important changes occur. The council of devils with which the scene in *Merlijn* opens is preceded in the *Mascheroen* by another council in which the devils, dismayed that their efforts to tempt Christ were vain, learned through studying the Scriptures that the object of the incarnation is the redemption of man through the death of Christ, and accordingly planned to prevent His death by sending a vision to Pilate’s wife. The other instance where the two poems materially differ is in the arguments employed by the four Virtues, and need not concern us here.

Stintzing³ mentions two Latin versions which offer a striking similarity to the account contained in *Merlijn*. The first, entitled *Processus judiciarius*, begins : *Accessit Mascaron ad dei omnipotentis præsenciam et ait*, etc., and ends thus : *Litigacio Mansearon* (sic) *contra genus humanum finit feliciter*.⁴ The second has as heading : *Libellus procuratoris in quo dyabolus producit litem coram iudice omnipotente deo contra genus humanum, pro quo beata virgo Maria tanquam procuratrix et advocata comparens tandem pugnam obtinuit*

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

² F. A. Snellaert, *Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, van Jan Boendale, Hein van Aken, en anderen*, Brussels, 1869, pp. lxxiii-lxxviii and 493-549. It is found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Marshall Coll., No. 32, of the late fourteenth century.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁴ I have not been able to see a copy of this version, which formed a part of Stintzing’s own collection.

et inimici versuciam confudit. It begins: *Accessit Ascaron ad omnipotentis dei præsentiam et ait,* etc., and ends thus: *O clemens o pia o dulcis Maria. Amen.* Venetiis per Gerardum de Flandria. 1478.¹

The account begins with the appearance of the *procurator infernalis nequitie*, who is called in the first, Mascaron, and in the second, Ascaron. Aside from this, the two versions agree in the main. The trial scene is interlarded with countless citations of Roman and Canon law, so that the purpose of juristic instruction is plainly evident. Near the end of the narrative, when Mascaron feels that he is hard pressed, he asks for the assistance of two advocates, Justice and Truth. On the advice of the angels, Mary chooses Mercy and Peace to aid her, and, as in Merlijn, the case is brought to an end by Peace. Stintzing believed that the name Mascaron gives us a clue to the source of the account. He says that Mascaron in Spanish and French names means *Fratzen-gesicht*. The root word *masera, masca, Larve* (mask) whence *mascara* (*personatorum turba*, according to Du Cange) has thus passed from Arabic into Romance, for in Arabic *Maschara* means *Possenspiel*. Thus the name leads us to France or Spain. "Ist man überdies versucht, in manchen Wendungen der Rede den Einfluss orientalischer Vorstellungen zu erkennen, so möchte man den Ursprung der Schrift in Spanien vermuthen."² In considering this version, Miss Traver arrived at the same conclusion: "This name implies a Spanish origin for these versions, and I have found references to a Spanish version called Mascaron, but have not succeeded in finding any copy of these versions or any information as to their date or character."³

¹ I owe to the kindness of Prof. A. L. Stiefel a transcript of a copy of this version which is found in the Stadtbibliothek of Munich. In studying this version, I shall designate it by the name *Ascaron*.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

The Spanish version, in reality Catalan, the existence of which was suspected by Stintzing and Miss Traver, has been published in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon*, Vol. XIII, pp. 107-117, edited by D. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró. Milá y Fontenals speaks of it as follows in his *Orígenes del teatro catalán*: "Tócanos mencionar ahora un documento de nuestra literatura, no porque le juzguemos más antiguo que el misterio de que luego hablaremos, sino porque ofrece la forma de transición que consideramos anterior á la de los misterios. Tal es el Mascarón, obra conservada en códices de San Cucufate y de Ripoll, escrita hacia fines del siglo. La semejanza de argumento con los autos castellanos y muy especialmente con el de *La Residencia del hombre* de principios del siglo XVI, y la forma del relato en que intervienen y dialogan el demonio Mascarón, como acusador del linaje humano, el Criador como juez y Nuestra Señora como abogada, asemejan esta obra á los verdaderos misterios, y aun se ha supuesto con visos de verosimilitud que estaba destinado á ser recitado por diferentes personas, siendo una de ellas la encargada de la parte del narrador; creemos que si se recitó en público, lo fué por un lector solo. No se opone en rigor á la recitación alternada el que la parte narrativa sea muy extensa y en nada manifieste que se dirige á espectadores, ni menos el que la designación de los personajes está puesta en boca del narrador (E dix lo Criador . . . E dix la advocade . . .), pero sí, á nuestro ver, una circunstancia al parecer minuciosa: las palabras de un interlocutor están una vez interrumpidas por el narrador: Yo, dix Mascaron, demanam si es algo," etc.¹

It is difficult to believe that this version was intended to be recited, although it is possible that its source was a primitive form of mystery play, and that the form which

¹ *Obras completas*, Vol. VI, Barcelona, 1895, pp. 216.

we have is a *remaniement* in narrative style. It is unfortunate that Milá y Fontanals did not state clearly to what century *Mascarón* might be attributed. The editor of the text ascribes the manuscript to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. José Sol y Padris, who first mentioned it, says that the manuscript is of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.¹

The Catalan version narrates merely the suit of Mascarón against mankind, which is defended by the Virgin Mary, but the trial scene is not so fully developed as in the Dutch and Latin versions. The element of weighing the good and evil deeds of mankind does not appear, nor is any mention made of the participation in the case of the Four Daughters of God. The juristic element was not fully developed, although one can see how the account offered material capable of serving as a model of legal procedure. In many passages, there is absolute agreement. I wish to point out some of the most striking parallel passages in the Catalan, Dutch and Latin versions. I shall designate the Catalan text as *Mascarón*, the Dutch as *Merlijn*, and the Latin text which I have used as *Ascaron*. I have not attempted to correct the Catalan text, which, as Morel-Fatio² has said, is *erbärmlich incorrekt*. I shall take up later the introduction in the Catalan text, which does not appear in the other versions.

The devils hold a council and send a procurator to appear before God.

MASCARON. E per tal com les dites raons los dits dimonis vaerense escarnits e enganats, hordonaren e feren 1 procurador per nom Mascarón, 1 demoni molt savi e discret e estelati que en la presencia del fil de Deu ana legir pleyt denant aquel contra lumenal linatje.

¹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. II, p. 152n.

² *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, 2, p. 88.

MERLIJN, II. 2013-23.

Doe die Duvele zagen daernaren
 Dat zy aldus bespottet waren,
 Doe riepen zi te samene gereede
 Alle die hellesche quaethede,
 Ende koren onder hem allen daer
 Enen procureere scalck ende zwaer,
 Die was geheten Masceroen ;
 Dien wart befolen al hoer doen
 Ende dat hi soude varen mede
 In Onses Heren jegenwordichede,
 Gelijck dat procureere plegen.

This is followed in *Mascarón* and *Merlijn* by casuistical arguments to justify the appearance of the procurator of Hell as a plaintiff before God. The arguments agree in the main in the two texts, but are more fully developed in *Merlijn*. This introduction is not found in *Ascaron*.

Mascarón then appears in the presence of God and demands a hearing.

MASCARON. E Creador de totes coses, tu es vera justicia e jo son procurador de tota la inquesia infernal. E pux que tu es vera justicia e dins tu es nade e de tu es axida, placia a tu quem vules hojr en justicia. E dix lo Creador—si tu es procurador, mostrem la tua procuracio e fem daquela plena fe e plena justicia.

MERLIJN, II. 2049-55.

“ O schepper, ende aller dinge gerechteheit,
 Ick ben procureere alre quaetheit
 Van der Hellen, dy moet genoegen des,
 Want dy van der Gerechteheit angeboren es
 My te hoeren, alse bode der Hellen.”
 Onse Here antworde den fellen :
 “ Bistu procureere, toge dine brieve nu.”

ASCARON. Accessit Ascaron ad omnipotentis dei praesentiam et ait : Creator omnium, ubique iusticia ? Ego sum procurator totius nequicie infernalis ; placeat iusticie dignator me audire. Cui dominus ait : Si tu es procurator, exhibe procuratorium.

Mascarón replies :

MASCARON. E espos (sic) Mascaron procurador al Creador—jo primera-ment vul infernar sobre l gran article qui tocha lo mesels de totes les penes infernals e feta aquesta infernacio, jo mostrare carte de ma procuracio.

MERLIJN, ll. 2056-60.

Masceroen zeide : "Ick wille eer iu
Bevroeden op een punte wel hoge,
Die roert die gene al onse vermoge
Die in der Hellen zijn, ende op dat
Beziet onse procuracie nu ter stat."

ASCARON. Respondit procurator. Volo te informare super quodam arduo articulo qui tangit medullitus omnes inferos et informatione facta, exhibebo procuratorium.

God then threatens to turn the procurator out of Heaven if he does not show at once his credentials, and Mascaron thereupon shows his paper.

MASCARON. E lo demoni tement lo Creador lo qual no vae que li fo jutge forable, mostra con era fet procurador de tota la iniquitat infernal e perlant axi com a umenalment pot hom perlar, la carta fo feta axi bastant e sofecientment que en alguna manera in pert no avia defaliment ne la pogera hom anullar en nula manera.

MERLIJN, ll. 2069-74.

Dese ontsach den rechter doer das
Ombe dat hy des onwillech was ;
Dus toende hy die procuracie, zijn teken
Daer wy af gemeenleke spreken,
Dat herde wel gedichtet was dan,
Dat daer niet te beterne was an.

ASCARON. Qui formidans iudicem, quem sibi gratum non videbat, exhibuit procuratorium. Et ut more humano loquamur, sic sufficienter factum quod in nulla ipsius parte patiebatur calumpniam.

The devil then makes a formal claim for all the souls which had been released by the redemption, and asks that mankind be summoned to hear the suit. He wishes to recover possession, not only of all the souls in Heaven and Purgatory, but also of all those born and to be born. The Creator replies :

MASCARON. E dix lo Creador—jo te be entes tu demoni demanes que sia fet dia asignat al umanal linatje que respona a la tua demande.

MERLIJN, ll. 2105–06.

Onse Here sprack : “ ick hore wel dy,
Du begeres enen dach daer by.”

ASCARON. Respondit dominus : Audiui te. Modo agatur de die.

The procurator urges that a day be at once assigned for the hearing, and God names Good Friday.

MASCARON. E respos lo Creador al dit procurador infernal—fil de demoni e de dapnacio iniquicia e falcedat malvat demoni tu casent del cel e si erets lo mig del cel e de la terra jo a tu al umanal linatje asignat sert die a comparer denant mi, ço es a saber lo divenres sant de la mia pacio en lo qual jo fuy crucificat.

MERLIJN, ll. 2113–21.

Doe sprack Onse Here ende zeide :
“ Sone des viants ende alre quaetheide,
Verdomede scalck, al vallende onwaerde
Hevestu gemeten tusscen hemel ende aerde,
Ick legge dy dach alse procureere gere,de,
Ende den menscheliken geslechte te komene mede
Vor mi als tot enen zekeren dage
Alse in den heiligen vrydage,
Op den welcken ick gecrucet was.”

ASCARON. Respondit dominus ei : Dyabole fili iniquitatis et ingratitude nec nurum damnate nequam, tam cito mensurasti intervallum inter celum et terram, unde assigno diem certam tibi ad respondendum hic coram me scilicet diem veneris sanctam, in qua fui crucifixus.

The procurator refuses to accept a festival day, but God is unwilling to change his decision.

MASCARON. E respos Mascaron—jo aquex dia nol pren cor en aytal dia nol podia nul hom ans hon que sia es feriat. E respos lo Creador—jo e fets los drets axi jo dispon e vul que sia aquel dia.

MERLIJN, ll. 2122–26.

Masceroen antworde te hant na das :

“Dien dach ick niet ontfangen sal
 Want dien dach viert men overal.”
 Onse Here sprack : “ick makede dat recht
 Ende ick latet hierop nu ende echt.”

ASCARON. Respondit procurator : Istam diem non accepto, quia est
 ubilibet feriata. Respondit dominus : ego iura condidi. Sic
 hoc dispono.

God then summons the angel Gabriel and bids him send
 for mankind.

MASCARON. E de continent lo Creador apela lo beneyt angel Gabriel e
 dixli—aparela tot humanal linatje que conparega soficient-
 ment e sia que vega e no sera anantat en aquest negosi axi
 com orde de dret e de rao ho requer.

MERLIJN, ll. 2127–29.

“O Gabriel, roep des menschen diet
 Dat zi komen tesen dage ; en komen si niet,
 Men sal voert dat recht doen scinen.”

ASCARON. O gabriel, voca genus humanum ut compareat sufficienter, et
 siue compareat siue non, procedetur ut ius dictabit.

The procurator then returns to Hell and relates how he
 has fared. The devils are very angry, but Lucifer com-
 mands him to appear on the following day to prosecute the
 suit. Mascarón consents, but adds that he would rather be
 tortured than appear again before God.

MASCARON. E respos Mascarón—jo mes amaria aci estar crucificat e tur-
 mentat cruelment que comparer denant lo Creador en lo qual
 es tot goyg e tota alegria en nula manera quant veyg aytal
 goyg, non pux alegrar ans hom mes lo veg lo dit goyt e mes
 e de dolor e de turment e de pena, mas enpero axi com aquel
 a qui jo son tengut de hobeyr, fare com que mes.

MERLIJN, ll. 2144–52.

Masceroen zeide : “ick hadde liever twaren
 Hier met iu werden gepynet voerwaer,
 Dan weder te gane voer hem daer,
 Daer alle blijtschap is van vrouden,
 Ende daer ick niet af mach vervrouden,
 Maer meer my bedroeven hierby

Ombe hoer blijtschap die niet mach en my ;
Maer ick moet gehoersaem wesen,
Ende oeck doen dat staet te desen."

ASCARON. Qui Ascaron respondit : mallet potius hic vobiscum cruciari quam ibi ubi est omne gaudium esse, quoniam ibi nullo modo gaudeo sed potius doleo, cum gaudere incipio. Sed obedientie datus, faciam quod incumbit.

Early on the appointed day, the procurator of Hell enters the court of Heaven and waits for the hearing.

MASCARON. E parlar umanalment comparech Mascaron denant lo Creador en lo dit dia vench en hora dalba. E estant en lo palau tot sol en l angle e sabia be que major deuria esser la contumacia daquel qui demana que daquel qui es demanat e per aquesta rao era vengut axi mati per tal que no li pogues lo jutje escriure fadiga en lo plet e tenia abdosos les oreles be aparelades que en lo palau no fes naguna cosa contra el.

MERLIJN, ll. 2153-64.

Op den dage, die daer geset was,
Quam Mascheroen, sijt zeker das,
Recht in den dageraet, ende ginck
In eenen winkel na die dinck
In dat pleidoen, want hi wiste dat
Wel, dat des eyschers stat
Eerst ende gestadiger moet wesen,
Dan die men eyschet tot desen ;
Ende daerombe quam hi vroe, God weet,
Ende hadde beide sine oren gereet
Ende sine ogen opgedaen oeck wyde,
Ombe te hoerne ende ziene in elke zyde.

ASCARON. Ut more humano loquamur, comparuit Ascaron in aurora diei, stans in consistorio dei solus in quodam angulo. Bene autem sciebat quod maior erat contumacia actoris quam rei. Et ideo tempestive venerat et ambas aures apertas habebat et paratas semper, ne quid contra eum fieret.

At midday, Mascarón complains that mankind has not yet answered the summons, but God sends him back to his place.

MASCARON. E con fo hora de mig die vench Mascaron a la presencia de Deu e dix—Pare Sant, jo som vengut mati e encara esper

lumanal linatje e encare no es vengut fe en aço. E dix lo Salvador—ve, ve, ve que encara no es pasat lo dia. E lo dimoni tornasen estar en lo dit angle del palau.

MERLIJN, ll. 2165–72.

Ende doe t den middage begonste naken
 Quam Masceroen voert met sinen saken
 In die tegenwoordicheit Godes, ende zeide :
 “Heilge vader ! ick quam voer ende nae beide ;
 Nu doe my recht, ick beide te lanck.”
 Doe zeide Cristus : “Duvel, nu ganck,
 Want al dese dach ten rechte staet.”
 Doe keerde hy weder ten winckel, die quaet.

ASCARON. Appropinquante autem quasi iam meridie, accessit Ascaron ad presentiam dei dicens : pater sancte, ego veni diluculo et semper expectaui ; fac mihi iusticiam. Dixit ei dominus : Uade, vade ; tota dies cedit. Tunc demon rediit in angulum et expectavit usque ad horam extremam.

At Vespers, the procurator again demands that the case be heard, but again his claim is not allowed, and he must return to his place. This is not found in *Ascaron*.

MASCARON. A ora de vespres lo dit Mascaron vench ab gran brogit denant la presencia del Creador dient—Senyor Deus, hon es justicia ? E respos lo Creador—malvat, no e dit que encara no es pasat aquest dia ? E ladonchs lo dit dimoni tornasen en lo dit angle del palau e espera tot lo dia tro a la completa.

MERLIJN, ll. 2173–80.

Ontrent Vespertyde gaf hy doe wt
 Enen vreesliken, gruweliken geluet,
 Ende sprack : “God, waer es Dyne gerechtichede ?”
 Onse Here antworde hem ter stede :
 “Ja, en zeide ick dy niet, vule quaet,
 Dat al dese dach ten rechte gaet ?”
 Doe keerde hy weder in dem winckel daer,
 Ende wachtede bet der nacht wel naer.

At nightfall, Mascarón again appears before God, accusing Him of injustice. After considerable discussion, the hearing is postponed until the following day. Here the three versions agree. The Dutch version is the fullest, but adds

nothing important. Then the Virgin Mary, moved to pity by the danger which threatens mankind, offers to be its advocate.

MASCARON. E com Madona Sancta Maria sabe quel humanal linatje era citat, moguda de gran pietat axi com damor maternal parlant humilment, ach despleer e dix publicament al humanal linatje—no tiens paor que jo dema e tots temps sere avocade del humanal linatje. E ab aytant tota lorde dels angels salegra e ach plaer de gran leticia.

MERLIJN, ll. 2231-40.

Else dese beroepinge quam te voren
Der reyner maget wtverkoren
Bedroevde zi hoer ombe dien pleit
Met moederliker ontfermicheit;
Ende doe si vernam dat verlenget waer
Die dach, sprach zi doe openbaer
Totter menscheit: "nu laet iu sorgen
Want opten dach van morgen
Sal ick uwer aller vorsprake wesen."
Dat hemelsche volck verblide van desen.

ASCARON. Cumque clamor ad aures virginis Marie pervenisset, re gesta audita, materno amore condoluit. Audiens tamen cominationem factam esse, nec ultra processum, publice dixit: Non terreamini, quia die crastina humani generis aduocata ero et in hoc totus chorus angelorum conquieuit.

The next day, the Virgin Mary appears in the Heavenly court, accompanied by angels who sing her praise, and having seated herself beside her Son, says that she will undertake the defense of mankind, and asks that Mascarón be summoned. The three versions agree here. The angels rejoice at this announcement and send for the procurator of Hell.

MASCARON. E ladonchs los angels e los amichs de Deu ageren gran plaer e apellaren Mascaron diens—vine Mascaron dapnat e reprovat, cor ara as trobade part qui defendre lumanal linatje.

MERLIJN, ll. 2275-79.

Ende hieraf verblide die Hemel al,
Dat zi een vorsprake wesen sal,

Ende riefen den verdomeden totter stede :
 “Coemt, verwysede ende verbannen mede,
 Du vindes hier wedersake in dit doen.”

ASCARON. Tunc omnes angeli de tanta `aduocata gloriantes vocauerunt dampnatum dicentes—veni condempnate et reprobe ; inuenies partem.

Mascarón enters, but is unable to raise his eyes to the Virgin, who looks at him angrily.

MASCARON. E Mascarón ple denveja e de tot engan vench e no gosa levar los uls ves la care de la avocade qui al ul de dona irade lo guardava axi com Mascarón ho podia conexer.

MERLIJN, II. 2280–82.

Aldus zo quam daer vorwaert Masceroen,
 Ende en dorst niet, sonder waen,
 Sine ogen op onse vorsprake slaen.

ASCARON. Accessit autem demon plenus inuidia omnique dolo nec fuit ausus oculos erigere in aduocate faciem que ipsum ita turbato oculo respiciebat.

God bids him speak, and Mascarón replies that three persons must be present at a trial ; the plaintiff, the defendant, and the judge. The judge and plaintiff, he says, are present, but he does not see the defendant.

MASCARON. E dix Mascarón—tot hom sap que judici esta en III persones ço es a saber, lo jutja e aquel qui demana e aquel qui es demanat. Vet tu qui est jutje e jo qui son demanador ; la persona del demanat ne lo ich veig sens la qual no sera agual lo judici.

MERLIJN, II. 2293–2301.

Doe sprack hi : “ick wil dat elck verstaet
 Dat in elcken rechte voertgaet :
 Drie persone heb ick vereest
 Die vader, die zone, die heilge geest ;
 Den rechter sie ick alset behoevet,
 Dat ick eyscher ben isser geproevet
 By mynen brieven, als men ziet,
 Den schuldegen persoan en zie ick niet,
 Sonder wien dat recht es twint.”

ASCARON. Dixit demon : Cuncti sciunt quod iudicium constat ex tribus personis scilicet iudicis, actoris et rei. Iudicem video, quod ego sum actor probatur per citatorium ; personam autem rei non video sine quo nullum est iudicium.

The Virgin Mary replies that she represents mankind. Mascarón objects to this because she is a woman and also because of her relationship with the Judge. After a long debate in which Mascarón proves himself an "*audace contraddittore e buon loico*," the Judge decides to allow Mary to appear in behalf of mankind. Mascarón then takes a Bible from his pocket and reads the verse of Genesis which promises punishment to Adam and Eve if they disobey the command of God and which constitutes the basis of the claim of Lucifer against man. Mary refutes this claim, and here the Catalan text stops quite unexpectedly with a "*Deo gracias*." The Latin and Dutch versions agree in the main with the above, but the scene is more fully developed, and in *Ascaron* the juristic element, with the many references to Canon law, is more prominent. As I have said, the Catalan text stops at this point. In the Dutch and Latin versions, Mary, when hard pressed, has recourse to tears and begs her Son to help her. Then the procurator suggests a compromise, and Justice, Truth, and Mercy take part in the dispute, which is finally settled by Peace. The suit of Mascarón is dismissed, and he returns in disgrace to Hell.

A comparison of these three texts shows, I believe, that the Catalan version is the earliest. Here the subject is merely the claim of a representative of Hell for mankind. The other two elements, the proposal of Mascarón to weigh the good and evil deeds of man and the dispute between the four Virtues, evidently did not form a part of the original story. It is likely that the Catalan version was translated into French, and this lost French version was translated into Dutch and Latin. Not only does the primitive character of

est nullement question du péché originel, qui exige une expiation impossible aux êtres humains, mais du péché en général, qui peut être effacé par la contrition et la pénitence. Le diable n'intervient pas en qualité d'accusateur ; on le cite comme témoin. L'auteur n'a point en vue les mystères de l'incarnation ou de la rédemption, c'est à celui de l'eucharistie que tend son action dramatique." ¹ A play entitled *La demanda que pone el demonio al género humano*, represented at Seville in 1575,² and *El Pleito del demonio con la Virgen*, the work of three poets, which appeared in the *Parte sexta de los mejores ingenios*, Madrid, 1654, probably treat the same subject as that found in the version attributed to Bartolus. The *Auto de las Pruebas del linaje humano*³ and Lope de Vega's *Los acreedores del hombre* are only remotely connected with the same subject.⁴

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 155.

² Arjona, *Anales*, p. 54.

³ Ed. by Rouanet, Paris, 1897.

⁴ Published in the Academy edition of the plays of Lope de Vega, Vol. II.

III.—SPENSER, THOMSON, AND ROMANTICISM

Many students of English literature are agreed that the Eighteenth Century stands in special need of reconsideration. In earlier days Wordsworth, Keats, and many more, with the new dawn on their lips, consigned their Augustan fathers and grandfathers to an ill-considered damnation. In our own age we have tried to be more tolerant. But our methods have been unfortunate. We admit the Eighteenth Century to be interesting, but interesting only in so far as it anticipates romanticism. In consequence all scholarship on the Eighteenth Century literature of England has become a mad scramble in search of romanticism. Since Professor Beers and Professor Phelps traced its growth in the Eighteenth Century it has become so fashionable to detect signs of revolt against neo-classicism that some brilliant critic of the future may gain distinction by turning the tables and by proving that a school of Pope actually existed. Of the many conceptions of the Eighteenth Century one of the most exaggerated is the notion that the influence of Spenser was one of the main forces that made for romanticism. It is the purpose of this study to examine the Spenserian problem by a brief analysis of those poems which fashion dubbed Spenserian Imitations. My contentions may be made more clear by departing from the strict chronological method and by taking Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, a very composite poem, as a climax.

For purposes of definition it is sufficient in the present instance to enumerate a number of the most commonly accepted types of romanticism, realizing how seldom they exist in combination, and that they are often utterly unlike one another, occasionally even irreconcilable. The most

est nullement question du péché originel, qui exige une expiation impossible aux êtres humains, mais du péché en général, qui peut être effacé par la contrition et la pénitence. Le diable n'intervient pas en qualité d'accusateur ; on le cite comme témoin. L'auteur n'a point en vue les mystères de l'incarnation ou de la rédemption, c'est à celui de l'eucharistie que tend son action dramatique." ¹ A play entitled *La demanda que pone el demonio al género humano*, represented at Seville in 1575, ² and *El Pleito del demonio con la Virgen*, the work of three poets, which appeared in the *Parte sexta de los mejores ingenios*, Madrid, 1654, probably treat the same subject as that found in the version attributed to Bartolus. The *Auto de las Pruebas del linaje humano* ³ and Lope de Vega's *Los acreedores del hombre* are only remotely connected with the same subject. ⁴

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For purposes of definition it is sufficient in the present instance to enumerate a number of the most commonly accepted types of romanticism, realizing how seldom they exist in combination, and that they are often utterly unlike one another, occasionally even irreconcilable. The most

distinctive feature of Coleridge's romanticism, in his greatest poems, is the passion for mystery in the most exalted sense, the power of suggestion, the devotion to things that may be real. The romanticism of Wordsworth lies in the intimate relating of man's soul and nature. In Byron it appears as intense subjectivity and the spirit of revolt. Sometimes the romanticism of Keats, a luxurious heaping up of exquisite details is the exact opposite. It may be the passion for things as they are. The delight in the bee and the flower is often sufficient of itself and does not necessarily bring a yearning for things as they should be. Often Keats is the idealist with a spirit of intense longing. Again, Keats in a few lines in the *Ode to a Nightingale*, in *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, in *The Eve of Saint Mark*, is with Coleridge. In Shelley it is, more broadly, the spirit of revolt; at its best, a peculiarly refined and intense spirit of aspiration and of intellectual adventure. In Scott it is merely a passion for the grandeur of the past. Mr. Phelps has found many bewildering dicta on the nature of romanticism to contain in common an insistence upon: "Subjectivity, Love of the Picturesque, and a Reactionary Spirit." The famous phrase of Theodore Watts-Dunton's, with its rich connotations, has become justly popular—"The Renaissance of Wonder." These qualities, while they may not absolutely define romanticism are sufficiently inclusive of those generally urged in defence of all newly discovered Eighteenth Century romanticists so that we may use them as touchstones.

It is certainly true that great poets, if not all poets, are both romantic and classical. But one temper predominates. It will take a hardy investigator to find much romanticism in the first few decades of the Eighteenth Century. For my own part, beginning as a romanticism-hunter, I have gradually parted with my hopes and returned to the generalizations of the older text-books. The amount of

neo-classical survival, even in the poets of the first third of the nineteenth century, is much more striking than the amount of significant romantic material even in the last half of the Eighteenth. The neo-classical despotism, once fully established, was profound and lasting.

There is a wholesome lesson in a study of the development, for better or worse, of Spenser-criticism in the hands of the classicists and romanticists. It shows the inability of one age to appreciate all the merits of a supreme poet at one time. Because of ephemeral whims men term one aspect bad which the next age will admire. The neo-classicists appreciated sides of Spenser to which the romanticists became stone-blind. The romanticists revealed beauties in Spenser that had been tarnished by the disregard of a century and some beauties which had never before been observed. Yet even after the experience of centuries, we are as hide-bound in many respects as the Spenserian critics of any age.

Two fallacious ideas about the neo-classical attitude toward Spenser are current: that he was an object of indifference even to literary men, and that the Augustans approached him in a spirit of mockery. Professor Phelps, for instance, quotes some platitudes in Addison's boyish *Epistle to Sacheverel* to indicate how little Addison knew or cared about Spenser. But he does not take into consideration a series of admiring references in Addison's mature work, including a prose allegory professedly in the manner of Spenser which Addison had once aspired to develop in poetic form.¹ Similarly Professor Phelps makes too much of the Spenserian burlesque, *The Alley*, which Pope and

¹ For the comments of Mr. Phelps on Addison see *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, Boston, 1893, p. 49. For examples of Addison's mature appreciation of Spenser see *Spectator*, Nos. 62, 183, 419, and *Guardian*, September 4, 1713.

Gay wrote in a few moments of triviality. If we examined consistently all the vulgar parodies in Eighteenth Century poetry and made the same sort of deductions we should be forced to conclude that the Eighteenth Century poets admired nobody, ancient or modern. Eighteenth Century England devoted frequent moments of recreation to that peculiarly pointless type of obscenity that is now current among boys at grammar schools. As for Pope the statement to Hughes, quoted by Mr. Phelps himself, is a sufficient counterblast to the parody. "Spenser," writes Pope, "has ever been a favorite poet to me; he is like a mistress, whose faults we see, but love her with them all." Mr. Phelps thinks that "if his appreciation was sincere he did not dare to avow it publicly."¹ But to his 1717 edition of his *Pastorals* he prefixed a *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry* which, though following Dryden in a measure, is by far the best criticism of *The Shepherds Calender* that had yet appeared. The *Pastorals* themselves owe much more to Spenser than has hitherto been noted.²

¹ See *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, pp. 53, sq., for the quotation from Pope and Mr. Phelps' remarks.

² Mr. Phelps quotes the assertion in Dr. Johnson's *Life of Philips* that Pope took Virgil for his pattern. This is to overlook a very substantial indebtedness to Spenser. Pope avowedly grouped his eclogues according to seasons in imitation of Spenser's arrangement by months. Minor indications of direct Spenserian influence are plentiful, e. g.:

Pope, *Spring*, ll. 3 and 4 :

"Fair Thames, flow gently from thy sacred spring,
While on thy banks Sicilian Muses sing ;"

and Spenser, *Prothalamion*, refrain :

"Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song."

Pope's *Summer*, line 16 :

"The woods shall answer, and their echo ring."

Spenser, *Epithalamion*, refrain :

"The woods shall to me answer, and my Echo ring."

The essential truth is that the neo-classicists had a genuine admiration for Spenser and that they appreciated a great aspect of his genius now misunderstood through the influence of literary epicures from Leigh Hunt down to our "Art for Art's Sake" men who know not what they do. The Augustans appreciated Spenser's moral earnestness and his allegory. Nowadays we have a morbid fear of didacticism. We consider it all bad. The Augustans considered it all good. The golden mean is to know the difference between crude didacticism—almost any sermon, *The Essay on Man*—and artistic didacticism—the last lines of the *Ode to a Grecian Urn*.

The Augustans also knew and often named many of Spenser's qualities which we admire to-day : his sweetness, his peculiar kind of naïve simplicity, his copious fancy. But the vital point for us is that their Spenserianism had little or nothing to do with the rise of romanticism. They wrote so-called Spenserian "imitations" neither as mere literary exercises nor as romantic outbursts but because one of their

Pope's *Summer*, ll. 39, sq.:

"That flute is mine which Colin's tuneful breath
Inspired, when living, and bequeath'd in death :
He said, 'Alexis, take this pipe, the same
That taught the groves my Rosalinda's name.'"

Pope, *Winter*, ll. 89, sq.:

"Adieu, ye vales, ye mountains, streams, and groves,
Adieu, ye shepherds' rural lays and loves ;
Adieu, my flocks, farewell, ye sylvan crew ;
Daphne, farewell ; and all the world adieu !"

Spenser, *December*, the last stanza :

"Adieu, delights that lulled me asleepe ;
Adieu, my deare, whose love I bought so deare ;
Adieu, my little Lambes and loved sheepe ;
Adieu, ye Woodes, that oft my witsse were :
Adieu, good Hobbinoll, that was so true,
Tell Rosalind, her Colin bids adieu."

fundamental ideals was to imitate an established classic. By far the greater of the Eighteenth Century and not a few of the Nineteenth Century imitations of Spenser were purely neo-classical. Yet the Augustan imitations of Spenser are no more unlike their model than their Virgilian imitations are unlike their supreme favorite. Occasional verses for king and patron, *vers de société*, satires, and moralizing poems were favorite forms in Augustan days and their Spenserian inspiration was promptly poured into these moulds. A brief examination of some of these poems, extending as they did even to the days of Coleridge and Keats will make more clear the composite nature of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, the greatest poem of this group.

One of the most active groups of Augustan Spenserians followed Mathew Prior who seems to have been the originator, in his *Ode to the Queen*, (a professed but superficial imitation of Spenser) of a variation of the stanza of the *Faërie Queene* that was more tuneful to neo-classical ears. He disregarded Spenser's subtle linking of quatrains and final couplet. Spenser's rhymes lead on and on in their caressing leisurely manner. Prior's scheme, a b a b c d c d e E, was doubtless pleasantly distinct to Augustan ears ever craving the rest of the couplet-end. The preface to Prior's imitation throws interesting light on Augustan-Spenserianism. Dryden and others cherished Spenser by comparing him favorably with their idol Virgil. Prior finds that Spenser had the happy faculty, in common with his supreme master, Horace, of giving pleasant instruction in verse, a virtue praised by all notable writers on poetics until our "Art for Art's Sake" men degraded the function of poetry into something similar to that of a choice confectionery. In Prior's *Colin's Mistakes*¹ (1713-21), we find a poem steeped

¹ *Colin's Mistakes*, once only ascribed to Prior, is now generally accepted. Mr. Phelps (p. 52, note) has some excellent arguments. Mr. A. R.

in Spenser yet running smoothly in the starched manner of the days of Queen Anne. Colin lives by the banks of Cam.

"Lays Greek and Roman wou'd he oft rehearse,
And much he lov'd and much by heart he said
What Father Spenser sung in British Verse.
Who reads that Bard desires like him to write
Still fearful of Success, still tempted by Delight."¹

Colin sees a beautiful woman who rides like an Amazon clothed in scarlet. He thinks her the goddess Pallas.

. . . . "Well I ween
Dan Spenser makes the favrite Goddess known ;
When in her graceful Look fair Britomart is shown."

At noon, at the castle, Colin sees her with Munificence standing near. Decent State obeys her. Charity guides her. Surely now he knows the lady.

"In Latin Numbers Juno is her Name.
Certes of Her in semblant Guise I read ;
Where Spenser decks his Lays with Gloriana's Deed."

Then follows a rifacimento of Spenser's description of Belpheobe. Spenser's lovely huntress is metamorphosed into an elegant lady of the age of Queen Anne.

"As Colin mus'd at Evening near the Wood ;
A Nymph undress'd, beseemeth by Him past :
Down to her Feet her silken Garment flow'd ;
A Ribbon bound and shap'd her slender Waist :
A Veil dependant from her comely Hair,
O'er her fair Breast and lovely shoulders spread,
Behind fell loose, and wanton'd with the Air.
The smiling Zephyrs call'd their am'rous Brothers :
They kiss'd the waving Lawn, and wafted it to Others.

Waller, Prior's latest editor (*Dialogues of the Dead and Other Works in Prose and Verse*, Cambridge University Press, 1907), includes it without question.

¹Whoever doubts the genuineness of the poet's desire may read Prior's praise of Spenser and new aspirations in his remarkable preface to his execrable *Solomon*.

“ Daisies and Violets rose, where She had trod ;
 As Flora kind her Roots and Buds had sorted :
 And led by Hymen, Wedlock's mystic God,
 Ten thousand Loves around the Nymph disported.
 Quoth Colin ; now I ken the Goddess bright,

. . . . great Venus she is call'd,
 When Mantuan Virgil doth her Charms rehearse ;
 Belphebe is her Name, in gentle Edmund's Verse.”

Yet, after these elaborate fancies, we are gallantly assured that Colin was mistaken.

“ Bright Ca'ndish-Holles-Harley stood confest,
 As various Hour advis'd, in various Habit drest.”

I have quoted freely from this drivel to show how poets could write in a Spenserian vein without a sign of romanticism. I repeat that this is as near Spenser as most Virgilian imitations by Prior's contemporaries are near Virgil. *Colin's Mistakes* is the work of a man who knew and loved his Spenser well. Yet nothing could be more neo-classical.

Prior's variation of the Spenserian stanza was popular even into the Nineteenth Century. It was employed by poets as far apart in time and talents as Chatterton and Felicia Hemans. Typical Augustan Occasional Verses and didactic poems ran neatly in this mould. Yet the writers often knew their Spenser as well as their Prior. James Scott's *Heaven, a Vision* (1760), for instance contains an acknowledged imitation of Spenser's Bower of Bliss.¹ As

¹ Accessible in *Cambridge Prize Poems*, London, 1817. I can only list here a few of the poems in the Spenser-Prior stanza. Samuel Boyse: *The Olive: An Heroic Ode* (1736-7), *Ode to the Marquis of Tavistock* (1740), *The Vision of Patience* (1741?), a paraphrase of *Psalm XLII*, *Albion's Triumph, An Ode on the Battle of Deitingen* (1743), *Stanzas Occasioned by Mr. Pope's Translation of Horace*, a modernization of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* supplemented by Ogle's modernization of Spenser's continuation of Chaucer also in the ten-lined stanza of Prior (the *Canterbury Tales of Chaucer Modernis'd by Several Hands*. Published by Mr. Ogle. London, 1761. First edition?).

for the statement that these are thin imitations of Spenser and prove no real admiration, I retort, at the risk of tedious iteration; that for the most part the neo-classicists imitated Spenser as they imitated Homer, Virgil, the Odes of Horace, seriously but superficially. Let any man compare the *Elegies* of Hammond, then universally praised for their burning passion, with the work of their professed inspirer, Tibullus. If he can find any more real Tibullus in these echoes than he can find real *Faërie Queene* in almost any of the "Imitations" of Spenser, his vision is far keener than mine.

Bishop Robert Lowth, a famous student of Hebrew Poetry: *The Choice of Hercules* (1747). John Upton: *A New Canto of Spenser's Fairy Queen* (1747). Thomas Denton: *Immortality: or the Consolation of Human Life* (1754), *The House of Superstition*. James Scott: *An Hymn to Repentance* (1762). In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (September, 1755): *Written in Mr. Stanyon's Grecian History, by a Gentleman lately deceased*. Samuel Wesley (*Poems on Several Occasions*, second edition, 1763): *The Battle of the Sexes*, a versification of Addison's prose allegory in imitation of Spenser, *The Iliad in a Nutshell: or Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Wesley proves his first-hand knowledge of Spenser by a *Pastoral* between Colin and Thenot which shows the influence of *The Shepherds Calender*. *Albin and the Daughter of Mey, An Old Tale, Translated from the Irish*, a pseudo-romantic poem of the Ossian type in Mendez's *Miscelany* (1767). Gilbert West, in his once famous translation of Pindar: *The First Pythian Ode*. William Whitehead attempted a lyrical version of the stanza in his *Hymn to Venus* and used it regularly in his *Vision of Solomon*. In Benjamin Wakefield's anthology, *The Warbling Muses* (1749) it was employed as a song-stanza (*Song CLXXXVIII*), etc., etc. A few examples of Augustan-Spenserian gallantry, somewhat akin to *Colin's Mistakes* may be added. William Hamilton of Bangor, a man with some real poetry in him, was capable of writing verbiage like: *On Seeing Lady Montgomery Sit to her Picture. In Imitation of Spenser's Style* (1748).

"The while I gaz'd ah! felice Art, thought I," etc.

So Samuel Say, with more taste, utilized the beautiful love-story of Belphoebe and Timias to give point to his love-lyric, *The Dream*. So Dr. Dodd, whose divine efflatus may be estimated by the title of his very serious imitation of *The Shepherds Calender*, Diggon Davy's *Resolution on the Death of His Last Cow*, perpetrated a *Sonnet Occasioned by Hearing a Young Lady sing Spenser's Amoretti*.

William Whitehead, the dull laureate, who had employed the Prior-Spenserian stanza in his *Vision of Solomon* (1730), seems to have been one of the first of an Augustan group to employ another variation of the Spenserian stanza. In his two Odes to Charles Townsend he used the rhyme-scheme a b a b c C. This stanza was quite as popular as Prior's variation.¹ Christopher Smart, before he went mad and composed his superb *Hymn to David*, used it in his *Hymn to the Supreme Being on Recovery from a Dangerous Fit of Illness*, in a moment of dull sanity. Again it becomes absurd to argue that the use of this form indicates an ignorance of *The Faërie Queene*. For the Wartons, deepest of the acknowledged lovers of Spenser, used it in their imitations of their idol. Thomas Warton, the elder, employed it in *Philander, An Imitation of Spenser: Occasioned by the Death of Mr. William Jening, Nov., 1706*.² Thomas Warton, the younger, in *The Pleasures of Melancholy*, alludes to Spenser in a somewhat romantic spirit.

"Such mystic visions send as Spenser saw
When through bewildering Fancy's magic maze,
To the fell house of Busyrane, he led
Th' unshaken Britomart." . . .³

But his own imitations, always in the a b a b c C stanza, are

¹ *E. g.*: *On Happiness and Palinodia*, in J. Husband's *Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* (1731). Dodsley, the publisher, contributed two deadly effusions: *Pain and Patience* (1742) and *On the Death of Mr. Pope* (1744?). The *Juvenilia* of Thomas Gibbons contains *An Elegaic Ode on the Death of the Reverend Mr. Mordecai Andrew, A Vision*. Dodsley's supplementary *Collection* (1783), contains a poem in this stanza, *The Hospitable Oak*, of more interest because it practically retells Spenser's fable of the oak in *Februarie* with a liberal use of archaisms, etc., etc. The stanza has remained popular to this day.

² The poem contains an allusion to Spenser's elegy on Sidney, *Astrophel*, in the same stanza as Warton's elegy (a b a b c c), though Spenser did not here employ the final alexandrine. Joseph Warton's *Ode* on his brother's death has a similar allusion in which he desires his master's elegaic gifts.

³ See ll. 28-69, *passim*.

so frigid and so remote from their model that were they our only evidence, as is the case with so many of our other poets, we might suspect, according to current argument, that Warton had no first hand acquaintance with Spenser. *A Pastoral in the Manner of Spenser* (1753), does contain an artificial suggestion of the master. A note tells us that it is in the stanza of *Januarie* and *December*.¹ It is a paraphrase of Theocritus but Warton uses certain radical archaisms, (e. g.: "bragly," "soote," etc.), which appear only in the *Shepheards Calender*. But his other imitations are merely Augustan commonplace.²

Another series of Spenserian imitations may be grouped about Shenstone's tender and humorous poem in regular Spenserian stanzas, *The School-mistress*. Great capital has been made of Shenstone to support the assertion that Spenser was not taken seriously at first, that he was the inspirer of burlesque. We have already seen that Pope's *The Alley* contributes little to this theory if examined in the light of his other utterances. I have already remarked the Augustan tendency to burlesque their most sacred idols. That popular type of Augustan poem that was neatly labelled "An Imitation of Spenser," furnished comparatively few burlesques. Thomson and Shenstone, two of its greatest exponents, did infuse a strong tinge of humour. And occasionally the quaintness of the old master was used to edge a piece of pointless obscenity like *The Alley* of Pope and *The Jordan* (1747) by Christopher Pitt, the translator of Virgil. But

¹ This is true except that Spenser did not use the final alexandrine here.

² They are: *Morning* (written 1745), *Ode VIII, An Elegy on the Death of Prince Frederick* (written 1751), *The Complaint of Cherwell* (written 1761). Joseph Warton shows even less indications of Spenserian influence on his poetry. In his youth Joseph Warton sketched a stiff allegorical poem with pageants of Vices of a Spenserian cast. His *Ode to Liberty*, in tetrameter couplets, is varied by two Prior-Spenserian stanzas. His poems in general contain occasional allusions to Spenser.

there were few masters, ancient or modern, whom the Augustans did not treat in the same blasphemous way. The heroic couplet was more frequently used to spatter filth than the Spenserian stanza.

In 1737 Shenstone published his *School-mistress*, the most brilliant imitation of Spenser which the Eighteenth Century had yet seen. He is exceptional rather than typical in not seeming to have had any deep sympathy with Spenser, at first, but in being disposed to be merely amused at the quaintness of *The Faërie Queene*. He was artist enough, however, to see great possibilities in the style for the sort of thing he wished to do. Later he became an ardent and appreciative admirer of Spenser. In 1742 he wrote to Graves:

"Some time ago, I read Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' and when I had finished, thought it a proper time to make some additions and corrections in my trifling imitation of him, 'The School-mistress.' His subject is certainly bad and his action inexpressibly confused; but there are some particulars in him that charm one. Those which afford the greatest scope in a ludicrous imitation are his simplicity and obsolete phrase; and yet these are what give one a very singular pleasure in the perusal. The burlesque which they occasion is of quite a different kind to that of Phillips's *Shilling*, Cotton's *Travestie*, *Hudibras*, and the works of Swift." ¹

We have, then, external evidence of the most direct Spenserian influence. The completed *School-mistress* appeared in 1742. Few other poets ever succeeded in reproducing so beautifully one of Spenser's most delicate graces, his tenderness. For this, the element of gentle humour, that plays so waywardly through Shenstone's poem, is potent assistance. It is a disgrace to the anthology-men that this poem is left to the student of literature, and not dragged out of the mildewed volumes of Shenstone to the popularity it could easily attain in fresh print between pretty covers. Nobody who reads can ever forget the little old school-mistress.

¹ Letters, No. xxiii, *To Mr. Graves. The Day before Xmas, 1742.*

"A russet stole was o'er her shoulders thrown ;
 A russet kirtle fenc'd the nipping air ;
 'Twas simple russet, but it was her own ;
 'Twas her own country bred the flock so fair !
 'Twas her own labour did the fleece prepare ;
 And, sooth, to say, her pupils, rang'd around,
 Thro' pious awe, did term it passing rare ;
 For they in gaping wonderment abound,
 And think, no doubt, she been the greatest wight on ground."

Her garden is a charming homely adaptation of the old Spenserian flower-passages.

"Herbs too she knew, and well of each could speak
 That in her garden sip'd the silv'ry dew ;
 Where no vain flow'r disclos'd a gawdy streak ;
 But herbs for use, and physick, not a few,
 Of grey renown, within those borders grew :
 The tufted basil, pun-provoking thyme,
 Fresh haum, and mary-gold of chearful hue ;
 The lowly gill, that never dares to climb ;
 And more I fain would sing ; disdaining here to rhyme.

"Yet euphrasy may not be left unsung,
 That gives dim eyes to wander leagues around ;
 And pungent radish, biting infant's tongue ;
 And plantain ribb'd, that heals the reaper's wound ;
 And marj'ram sweet, in shepherd's posie found ;
 And lavender, whose spikes of azure bloom
 Shall be, ere-while, in arid bundles bound,
 To lurk amidst the labours of her loom,
 And crown her kerchiefs clean, with mickle rare perfume."¹

This happy adaptation of Spenser's method of cataloguing flowers with quaint utilitarian epithets does more than pages to show us how Shenstone imitated Spenser with the lover's familiarity and the artist's nice instinct.

Shenstone, in his turn, marshalled a cohort of Spenserians

¹ This is curiously like Spenser's *Muiopotmus*, sts. 24, 25, a garden of :

"The wholesome Saulge, and Lavender still gray,
 Rank-smelling Rue, and Cummin good for eyes," etc.

under the banner of his master's legion.¹ As we all know, the movement reached a memorable culmination in Burns's *The Cotter's Saturday Night* (1786), which, begot scores of imitators.² The poem is far enough from Spenser whom Burns had not read. And it is fortunate. For he would have doubtless cumbered his poem with even more mannerisms in the way of all Augustan imitators. The worst lines of the poem, such soporific passages as :

"Compar'd with this, how poor Religion's pride,"

may be traced to the baneful influence of Beattie who could not lead his minstrel out among the mountains without recalling truisms about the World's vanities. Had Burns taken his Spenserian stanza from Shenstone alone, Henley's regret that Burns attempted the Spenserian manner at all might have been needless. For Shenstone had a sense of humour. As it is we must not waste time retailing the faults of *The Cotter's Saturday Night*. There are times when the sophisticated critic must stand back and reverence the devotion of a wide-spread audience of simple folk who are the salt of the earth. When a poem is immensely

¹ Akenside's *The Virtuoso*, a boyish poem in Spenserian stanzas, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1737, the year of the first edition of the *School-mistress*, may have been an imitation of Shenstone. It is the character-sketch of a curious old book-worm. See also: *The Parish Clerk* (no date), by W. Vernon (d. shortly after 1760); Henry Mackenzie: *The Old Bachelor, After the Manner of Spenser*, and *The Old Maid, After the Same Manner*; etc. Tom Hood's burlesque *The Irish School-master*, in Spenserian stanzas looks like a nineteenth century imitation of Shenstone, though Hood knew his Spenser well. I may mention here several of Akenside's other poems listed by Mr. Phelps as Spenserian because their stanza-forms seem like variations of the Spenserian stanza: *Ode to Curio* (1744), *Ode to the Author of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg* (1751), *To Country Gentlemen of England*, all in a b a b c c d e e D.

² E. g.: William Finlayson, *Andrew and Jock* (1806); Isaac Brown, *Refrewhshire Characters and Scenery* (1824); Alexander Balfour, *The Ploughman's Death and Burial* (1825); Robert White, *The Highland Emigrant* (1867); etc., etc.

popular, and when it remains immensely popular, despite the gusts of whim and prejudice in the streets and market-places, it is time for the self-sufficient critic to reconsider and to ask himself the full meaning of what has given his humbler brothers an enduring faith.

One later Shenstonian poem may be discussed to prove that the imitators of the *School-mistress* could draw from Spenser at first-hand too. From *The Village Sunday, A Poem Moral and Descriptive, In the Manner of Spenser*, an anonymous pamphlet probably issued at the close of the century, it is enough to quote from the preface.

“When a boy the School-mistress of Shenstone was to me the most delightful of all Poems. The public had not long been favoured with that exquisite production of Burn’s, *The Cotter’s Saturday Night*, when it caught my attention, and I was deeply enamoured with its Beauties; but the Fairy Queene of Spenser soon fixed my admiration; it became the fountain-head of my poetical enjoyments, and its waters are now even still sweeter than when I first tasted them.”

Before we turn our attention to the gradual rise of romantic Spenserianism we must glance briefly at several other aspects of the purely Augustan treatment of Spenser. Critics have made much of the Augustan attempts to modernize Spenser as proofs of languid interest. One example will give sufficient text for comment. In 1729 appeared *An Imitation of Spencer’s Fairy Queen: A Fragment. By a Gentleman of Twenty*.¹ It is a paraphrase, in couplets, from the seventh canto of the seventh book of

¹ Published by James Ralph in *Miscellaneous Poems by Several Hands*. For other modernizations of Spenser see: *Spenser Redivivus* (1687), the modernization of Spenser’s Cambel and Triamond episode appended to Boyse’s paraphrase of *The Squire’s Tale* mentioned in a note above (1763?), Cantos in blank verse (18 pages, 1774), Cantos I–IV in blank verse (1783), *Prince Arthur, An Allegorical Romance* (2 vols., prose, 1779). See *The Monthly Review* (1775), for an interesting attack on the sacreligious habit of modernizing Spenser.

The Faërie Queene. A few lines from the enervated rifacimento of Spenser's merry description of October may be quoted as a melancholy example.

"October now came reeling from the Press,
With drunken Splendour shining in his Face;
For he had newly eas'd the pregnant Vine
And quaff'd the luscious Must of purple Wine.
The nodding Clusters twin'd around his Head
And dy'd his garments with a crimson Red."

This is what the elegant Young Gentleman wrung out of Spenser's:

"Then came October full of merry glee;
For yet his noule was totty of the must,
Which he was treading in the wine-fats see,
And of the joyous oyle, whose gentle gust
Made him so frolick and so full of lust."

Yet we must deal lightly with this upstart. Dryden had given weighty precedent in the modernization of old authors. Nor was the spirit of the Young Gentleman more blasphemous than that of Pope when he rendered Homer into smart couplets. The mental attitudes were precisely the same. But Pope was the more brilliant man. As in the case of the parodies, if we are to use such material as evidence of Spenser's unpopularity we must conclude that the revered Ancients fared no better.

I have already observed that the Augustans were fond of imitating Spenser, as they imitated Horace, for purely moralistic purposes. In such poems there was no spark of romanticism. One example will reveal the type. In 1747 the world was edified by the Reverend Robert Bedingfield's *The Education of Achilles*. The poem gives an account of certain allegorical comrades of the young hero at the cave of Chiron, "A lowly habitation, well I ween."¹ It shows an

¹Cf. *The Faërie Queene*, l. 1, 34: "A little lowly Hermitage it was."

easy mastery over some of Spenser's more graceful if superficial traits. Achilles is instructed by Modesty, Temperance, and others. Two stanzas will show that the good clergyman could be very pleasantly Spenserian in his moral lore.

"Far in the covert of a bushy wood,
Where aged trees their star-proof branches spread,
A grott, with grey moss ever dropping stood ;
Ne costly gems the sparkling roof display'd,
Ne crystal squares the pavement rich inlaid,
But o'er the pebbles, clear with glassy shine,
A limpid stream in soothing murmurs stray'd,
And all around the flow'ring eglantine
Its balmy tendrils spread in many a wanton twine.

"Fast by the cave a damsel was ypight,
Afraid from earth her blushing looks to rear,
Lest aught indecent should offend her sight ;
Yet would she sometimes deign at sober chear
Softly to smile, but ever held it shame
The mirth of foul-mouth'd ribaldry to hear.
A cautious nymph, and Modesty her name.
Ah ! who but churlish carle would hurt so pure a dame ?"

Would not even the high-serious poet of *The Faërie Queene* have smiled, Shakespeare-wise, if he had seen this pretty little Augustan-Spenserian prude ?¹

Since satire was the favorite Augustan poetical form, poets of the scourge and bludgeon found no difficulty in using Spenser for their purposes. *The Squire of Dames* (1748-58), by Moses Mendez, is an excellent specimen. It takes

¹ For examples of other poems of this group : Gilbert West, the translator of Pindar, printed *On the Abuse of Travelling. A Canto, In Imitation of Spenser* (1739), a typical Augustan moralistic and satirical poem with all the tinsel of Spenser, and *Education : A Poem written in Imitation of the Style and Manner of Spenser's Fairy Queen*, which contains an attack on the artificial gardening of the day. Gloster Ridley's *Psyche*, a moral allegory, was first published in Dodsley's *Museum*, April, 1747. Its popularity induced Ridley to expand it into four cantos. It was published posthumously as *Melampus, or the Religious Groves* (1781). See also *Industry and Genius, a Fable attempted in the Manner of Spenser* (*London Magazine*, 1751).

Spenser's cynical episode of the Squire of Dames, supplies details, and gives the story a new turn at the end well calculated to please the Eighteenth Century taste for satires on woman's inconstancy. The Squire tells Sir Satyrane of his quest for a chaste woman in obedience to the behest of his fair Columbel. Mendez relates his ill-success with great gusto. Finally the Squire arrives at the castle of Bon-Vivant.

"And forth there issued the senechal,
Of middle age he was, if right I ween,
He was in personage both plump and tall,
Ne wrinkle deep was on his forehead seen,
But jovisaunce sat basking on his brow,
At every word he spoke, he smil'd atween,
His temples were ycrown'd with myrtle bough,
And virelays he song with matchless grace, I vow."

He is L'Allegro. Bon-Vivant laughs at the Squire's quest and tells him of the ravengings of the Blatant Beast. In the second canto the Squire finally goes to Merlin's cave where, in the magic mirror, he sees his beloved Columbel abandoning herself to another paramour.

This satirical aspect of Spenserianism is seen alive as late as 1807 in George Crabbe's *The Birth of Flattery*. He begins with an affectionate invocation in Spenserian stanzas,

"Muse of my Spenser, who so well could sing
The passions all, their bearings and their ties,"

and soon launches forth in his satire proper in heroic couplets but still in the manner of Spenser.

"In Fairy-land, on wide and cheerless plain,
Dwelt in the house of Care, a sturdy swain"

called Poverty. In the same plain lived the nymph Cunning. The two were wedded but soon fell into dissension. But the wife told of a vision which prophecied that their daughter would mend their fortunes. A beautiful child was

born. But Envy came in the guise of an aged woman, pressed the babe to his breast, and cursed her. Despair fell upon the parents. But a vision instructed the mother to take courage.

“Be Flattery, then, thy happy infant’s name.
 Let Honour scorn her and let Wit defame ;
 Let all be true that Envy dooms, yet all,
 Not on herself, but on her name, shall fall ;
 While she thy fortune and her own shall raise,
 And decent Truth be call’d, and loved as modest Praise.”

Crabbe was doubtless really influenced by Spenser for whom he frequently expressed the warmest admiration. But the methods here employed were not native to him. *The Birth of Flattery* is only successful in an occasional vengeful satirical thrust or in brief touches of characteristic grey realism.¹

In the eagerness of students of English literature to

¹ For other examples of Augustan-Spenserian satire see Richard Owen Cambridge’s *Archimage* (1742–50), a rather graceful bit of vers de société with some playful satire on his friends. The poem shows a distinct appreciation of and a power to reproduce Spenser’s qualities. He also wrote *On the Marriage of His Royal Highness, Frederick Prince of Wales ; In Imitation of Spenser* (1736). A glance at the poet’s other work will show how uncomprisingly neo-classical he was. Robert Lloyd’s *The Progress of Envy* (1751) is a virulent Spenserian satire on Lauder, the Scotch tutor, who spent his learning in the endeavour to convict Milton of plagiarism. Lloyd attacked Spenserian “Imitations” in a tirade against imitation in general : *To . . . about to Publish a Volume* (1755). Dr. Johnson was the force who encouraged a wave of protest against the Augustan ideal of imitation. Lloyd’s poem is not to be seriously reckoned with. He even attacked those who strove to imitate “Mat Prior’s unaffected ease,” a thing which he himself never ceased doing throughout his career. Equally cursed were those who imitated Milton or Pope. William Wilkie’s *A Dream, In the Manner of Spenser* (1759) may be mentioned as literary satire in part. He revolts, in thought, against the neo-classical “Cobweb limits fixed by fools.” But the style of his poem, like that of his fossilized epic, *The Epigoniad*, which he is defending, is thoroughly neo-classical. See also Cowper’s *Anti Thelyphthora, A Tale in Verse* (1781), occasioned by his ire over a tract by Martin Madan defending polygamy on scriptural grounds.

discover romantic traits too little attention has been paid to the tenacity of neo-classicism. Another argument that the influence of Spenser was not a cause of romanticism lies in the fact that Spenser was imitated in a purely Augustan way long after the romantic cause was safe. We shall find Augustan imitations of Spenser among the most radical romanticists themselves. An instructive example of neo-classical tenacity is to be found in Hugh Downman's, *The Land of the Muses. A Poem in the Manner of Spenser* (1768), and his recension in heroic couplets (1790). The poem was devised: "As if to be inserted in the Second Book of the Fairy Queen, between the Eleventh and Twelfth Cantos." It takes up Spenser's narrative then, after Guyon and Arthur had rescued the House of Alma from a rabble of besieging monsters. Guyon had departed to destroy the Bower of Bliss but Arthur remained to cure his wounds. Downman interpolates an episode:

"The Prince nigh cured of mortal stowers,
Alma to entertain,
Shows him Dan Phoebus' magick bowers,
Where the Nine Ladies reign."

Spenser, then, is to be used for an allegorical treatise on poetics. Downman interjects his canto very neatly. He had an easy mastery of his characters and included even the lesser figures with great adroitness. The poem opens in the moralizing vein usually borrowed from Spenser's preludes by his Augustan followers, with some reflections on Temperance. Arthur, cured of his wounds, listens with delight to the sage words of Alma and to the sweet music discoursed by the maidens, Praise-Desire and Shamefacedness. One evening he saw a land beyond the river which Alma told him was inhabited by Apollo and the Muses. At Arthur's request they took a gondola steered by Good-Culture. Upon landing, Arthur and Alma met Youth and his spouse

Hygeia, leading their son, Content, and bearing a babe, Simplicity. Alma was directed by Youth to Fancy. Downman's romantic theories are here allegorized. They found the haunt of Fancy.

"In that retired vale oft times she sate,
Where Nature strayed wild, by Art not found;
But not therein immersed was her state,
Nor yet y-pent in any fixed bound,
Free and at large she raung'd creation round,
Or, breaking thro the brazen gyre, would steer
Her flight, with cheek not blanch'd, nor heart astound,
The din of Chaos and Confusion hear.
Ne all the ever-bickering elements would fear."

Fancy whirled them through the air to her tower, of glass seemingly frail, but outlasting all the works on earth. It was filled with pictures which Fancy saw in her ranging and would tell to a virgin named Description, a cunning painter. A neo-classical "reverend Eld," however, called Judgment, held her palette. They looked down and saw an enchanting country full of flowers and groves and garrulous brooks where shepherds, fairies, satyrs, and dryads played and danced. They saw the God of Love on a gentle lamb, on the one side Sincerity, on the other Innocence, then Novelty with Admiration, Friendship with Sans-Self-Love, Youth with Hygeia, and many more.¹ Fancy showed them other visions, but told Arthur that he could not hope to see Apollo and the Muses until he had gone forth and fought many hard battles. Plainly Arthur symbolizes the young poet himself.

But with all his romantic theories, so ingeniously allegorized, Downman, in his maturity, recast his poem in tame Augustan couplets. He published his revision in 1790 with

¹This is obviously an imitation of Spenser's "Maske of Cupid," (F. Q. 3, 12) where Love enters riding on a lion, accompanied by Fancy and Desire, Fear and Hope, and many more.

some interesting dedicatory verses to Dr. Blacklock, the blind poet.

“For thy amusement first I tuned the lay,
And dressed my thoughts in Spenser’s antique stile,
’Twas but a frolic task, a youthful play,
Whose best reward was thy approving smile.

“It scarcely claim’d th’ offended Critic’s rod,
We love to imitate what we admire;
The Persian thus adores the Solar God,
And lights, faint emblem, his terrestrial fire.

“No longer inexperienced I presume
On fancied worth, beneath the quaint disguise,
But strip the veil, remove th’ incumbent gloom,
And modern numbers give to modern eyes.”

Despite his neo-classical rifacimento Downman deserves the credit of having been one of the first to see that Augustan-Spenserianism had been too academic and artificial in its purely mechanical adoption of Spenser’s stanza and diction. The Augustans imitated Virgil, Juvenal, Milton, Spenser by rote. Downman, in his recension, has a glimmer of the romantic method—to imitate more freely.

Meanwhile romanticism had long been girding itself and growing stalwart for its triumph. Yet Augustan-Spenserianism died hard even when hemmed in by foes. It lived well through the Renaissance of Wonder. For instance, Mrs. Barbauld, the sentimental Sappho of the late Augustans, perpetrated *Stanzas: In the Manner of Spenser* as late as 1814. She also employed the Prior-Spenserian stanzas in *To a Friend*.¹ Besides some surviving members of the old school the leaders of the romanticists themselves showed occasional striking relics of the Augustan-Spenserian mode.

¹For other examples of late Augustan-Spenserian see: Mrs. Mary Robinson’s *The Cavern of Woe* and *The Foster-Child* (*Poetical Works*, 1806), Henry Kirke White’s *Fragment* (on consumption) and portions of an epic *The Christiad* (c. 1804).

The Spenserian imitations of Coleridge are almost purely neo-classical. The *Lines In the Manner of Spenser* (1795?) and *To the Author of Poems* (Joseph Cottle) (1795?) might have been written by any Eighteenth Century poetaster.¹ Everybody remembers that Keats' first known poem is an *Imitation of Spenser* (c. 1813) quite Augustan despite his early love for Spenser himself. Like any enthusiastic youngster he found the works of inferior Spenserians like the fabled lost books of *The Faërie Queene* and knew not the gay tin-foil beaten thin from the deep-hued red gold till time ripened him. In his maturity he was, at times, a perfect reincarnation of Spenser. Yet at the close of his life he could write *Spenserian Stanzas on Charles Armitage Browne* in a vein of good-humoured personal satire much cultivated in the Eighteenth Century and given consummate expression, as we shall see in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. Like any Augustan-Spenserian, he gave his own turn to the episode of Artegall and the giant in a *Spenserian Stanza* of political allegory.

“In after-time, a sage of mickle lore
 Yclep'd Typographus, the Giant took,
 And did refit his limbs as heretofore,
 And made him read in many a learned book;
 Thereby in goodly themes so training him,
 That all his brutishness he quite forsook,
 When meeting Artegall and Talus grim,
 The one he struck stone-blind, the other's eyes wox dim.”²

¹ Yet they deluded the fine insight of his doting friend, Charles Lamb. “I want room to tell you how we are charmed with your verses in the manner of Spenser” (*Letters to Coleridge*, No. 2, 1796). *The Blossoming of the Solitary Date-Tree*, in the old stanza of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island* has some of Coleridge's elusive magic but none of Spenser's.

² The episode in question occurs in *The Faërie Queene*, 5, 2. To Spenser the giant's radical notions were naturally revolting and the henchman of Justice kicked him off a cliff. To Keats, with his eyes dilated by the French Revolution and by many new political visions, the giant's spirit of revolt was crude but far more worthy than Artegall's inflexible conservatism.

This study would be warped if, after such monotonous emphasis on the neo-classical side of Spenserianism, it failed to consider the development of the real romantic poetry. My purpose has been to protest against the common fallacies that Spenser was antipathetic to the Augustans and that an interest in the *Faërie Queene* spelt romanticism. Before I discuss the mingled classicism and romanticism in Thomson I wish to consider one poet who shows definite romantic tendencies early in the Eighteenth Century and several genuine romanticists who will show us how different were their characteristics from the sort of thing we have been investigating.¹

¹Of course no absolute line of demarcation can be drawn. But I readily place the following poems under the Augustan-Spenserian group already discussed as containing no qualities that warrant detailed treatment. The *Pastorals* of Ambrose Philips (1709), like Pope's, have many definite echoes of Spenser and are excellent examples of neo-classicism. With these group Congreve's *The Mourning Muse of Alexis* (1695); Gay's *Shepherd's Week* (1714), which avowedly borrows its general scheme from Spenser and which really makes use of the homely rusticity of *The Shepherds Calendar* both for purposes of burlesque and to make verse of genuine picturesque attractiveness; Elijah Fenton's *Florellio, A Pastoral Lamenting the Death of the Late Marquis of Blandford* (1717) with its definite reference to Spenser's *Astrophel*; Moses Browne's *Piscatory Eclogues* (1727-29), with its interesting preface; Mrs. Mary Leapor's *The Month of August* in which a shepherdess instead of a shepherd laments an unrequited love and expires elegantly of a broken heart; John Whalley's *Thenot and Cuddy* (1738), a typical example of academic activity of this kind; Sir William Jones's well-known versification of Steele's pastoral allegory on Spenser and other bucolic poets in the *Guardian*, etc., etc. For other examples of the formal "Imitation":—Mrs. Mary Leapor (1742-46) imitated Spenser's episode of the "maske of Cupid" in her *Temple of Love*. In a vision an attractive pageant goes through the Temple of Venus. The poet's eyes are dazzled by Pride, Riot, Flattery, Pomp, Folly, Suspicion, Rage. Palace and pageant vanish and, in a feeble light the poet sees an abbey. About a pale ruined girl throng Reproach, Revenge, hollow-eyed Despair, etc. Samuel Croxall should be mentioned for: *An Original Canto of Spenser* (1713), *Ode to the King* (1714), *Another Original Canto* (1714), and *The Vision* (1725). *Another Original Canto*, the only one of these poems I have seen, is merely

William Thompson is something of a romanticist, in so far as he looks back to the Age of Elizabeth, but with no anticipatory tendencies. There is genuine poetry to be

a clever use of Spenser for purposes of political allegory. *The Fair Circasian* (1720), a paraphrase of the *Canticles*, is mentioned by some critics in this connection. It does not seem to me to turn from its original to follow Spenser in any marked way. To Professor Edward Payson Morton I owe a record of a fragment after the manner of Spenser, in heroic couplets, by George Sewall (*A New Collection of Original Poems*, 1720). In 1746 appeared two conventional Spenserian poems by Thomas Blacklock: *A Hymn to Divine Love* (a b a b b c b c C) and *Philanthus: A Monody*. In 1758 a collected edition of the sonnets of Thomas Edwards, author of the ireful *Canons of Criticism* and sturdy lover of Spenser, was published. Some of the sonnets are in the seldom essayed Spenserian form and others, such as *On the Cantos of Spenser's Fairy Queen lost in the passage from Ireland*, bristle with allusions to the master. In William Mason's *Musaeus: A Monody to the Memory of Mr. Pope* (1747) various poets assemble to lament. Spenser is given two stanzas (the a b a b c c of *Januarie* and *December*), wherein the manner and even the particular archaisms of *The Shepherds Calender* are imitated, and three regular Spenserian stanzas in the style of the *Faërie Queene*. In 1755 appeared Cornelius Arnold's *The Mirror*, Spenserian stanzas on *Westminster Abbey* (*Gentleman's Magazine* for August), and Lewis Bagot's imitation of the *Epithalamion* (in *Gratulatio Academiæ Cantabrigiensiis*, etc., on the marriage of George III and Charlotte). In the same year Charles Emily wrote *The Praises of Isis*, a close though not acknowledged imitation of Spenser's episode of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway (published in Dodsley, ed. 1763, vol. 1, p. 26). The scheme of Mason's *Musaeus* was followed by Philip Doyne in *The Triumph of Parnassus, A Poem on the Birth of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* (1763). The advent of the royal babe is first celebrated by Collin in a long speech in Spenserian stanzas steeped in allusions to all parts of *The Faërie Queene*. Cowley sings with Pindaric rage, Prior furnishes some Prior-Spenserian stanzas, Ossian and others appear. Doyne wrote also *Irene, A Canto on the Peace; Written in the Stanza of Spenser*, a political allegory. William Blake's *Poetical Sketches* (written between 1768 and 1777, published 1783) contains *An Imitation of Spenser*, little more than an invocation to Apollo, Mercury, and Pallas, probably the boyish beginnings of an ambitious work. Although Blake was strongly influenced by the Elizabethans at this time the *Imitation* is purely Augustan. Evidently the young poet was non-plussed by the difficulties of the Spenserian form for some of his stanzas are irregular in rime scheme and in the final alexandrine

made, not only by the lofty buccaneering of a Milton, but in the humbler thefts of a gentle spirit steeped in the good things of the Titans. William Thompson, stealing with all the rapturous eclecticism of an irresponsible butterfly, is writing minor but charming poetry. He should be better known. It takes a certain amount of genius to echo with felicity. Thompson had a very catholic taste. He admired Elizabethan, Marinist, Augustan. But he sounded none of the new notes that we shall find in the new romanticism.

His first Spenserian imitation, *An Epithalamium on the Royal Nuptials, in May, 1736*, borrows freely but delicately from Spenser's marriage of the Thames and the Medway and from the *Epithalamion*. A band of nymphs awaits the royal pair.

"The wanton Nays, Doris' daughters all
Range in a ring : Pherusa, blooming fair,
Cymodoce dove-ey'd, with Florimal
Sweet-smelling flowrets deck'd their long green hair,
And Erato, to Love, to Venus dear,
Galene drest in smiles and lily-white,
And Phao, with her snowy bosom bare,
All these, and more than these, a dainty sight!¹
In daunce and merriment and sweet belgards delight."

The same year was productive of another poem in Spenserian stanzas : *The Nativity, a College Exercise*. Thompson begins with a familiar Spenserian trick :

"A shepherd boy (young Thomalin he hight)"

¹ Compare the following, *Faërie Queene*, 4, 11, sts. 48, sq.:

"All which the Oceans daughter to him bare

The gray eyde Doris : all which fifty are,"

"Fairest Pherusa,"

"And she that with her least word can assuage

The surging seas, when they do sorest rage,
Cymodoce,"

"All goodly damzels deckt with long greene haire,"

"With Erato that doth in love delight,"

"Galene glad," "Phao lilly white."

was singing of "David's Holy Seed" and a vision came upon him.

"Eftsoons he spy'd a grove, the Season's pride,
All in the centre of a pleasant glade,
Where nature flourished like a virgin-bride ;
Mantled with green, with hyacinths inlay'd,
And crystall-rills oe'r beds of lillies stray'd,
The blue-ey'd violet and the king-cup gay,
And new blown roses, smiling sweetly red,
Outglowed the blushing infancy of Day,
While amorous west-winds kist their fragrant souls away."

Here was a pavilion wherein Mary sat on an ivory throne with Christ in her lap. Faith, Hope, Charity, Humility, and many more beautiful women came to worship. The poem closes with a tribute to Pope's *Messiah*.

Thompson's best piece was *An Hymn to May*. For its romanticism he has interesting defense. "I hope I have no apology to make for describing the beauties, the pleasures, and the loves of the season in too tender or too florid a manner. The nature of the subject required a luxuriousness of versification, and a softness of sentiment ; but they are pure and chaste at the same time ; otherwise this canto had neither ever been written nor offered to the public." Here is romanticism of a kind. But Thompson uses many neo-classical authorities for his statements, including Scaliger, Davenant, and Prior. The coming of May is described with sensuous detail. From the earth spring rich flowers. As in Spenser's *Epithalamion* there is a prayer against evil creatures.

"In this blest season, pregnant with delight,
Ne may the boading owl with screeches wound
The solemn silence of the quiet night
Ne croaking raven, with unhallow'd sound
Ne damned ghost affray with deadly yell
The waking lover, raise'd by nightly spell,
To pale the stars till Hesper shine it back to Hell.

"Ne witches rifle gibbets, by the moon,
 Ne let hobgoblin, ne the pouke profane
 With shadowy glare the light, and mad the bursting brain."¹

"Yet fairy-elves (so ancient custom's will)
 May gambol or in valley or on hill,
 And leave their footsteps on the circled green.
 Full lightly trip it, dapper Mab, around ;
 Full featly Ob'ron, thou, o'er grass-turf bound :
 Mab brushes off no dew-drops, Ob'ron prints no ground."

But Thompson imitated Spenser in the pure Augustan manner in the second canto of *Sickness*, a poem in blank verse. A description of the Palace of Disease is preluded with an invocation to Spenser. The poet will tread dreary paths, by mortal foot

"Rare visited ; unless by thee, I ween,
 Father of Fancy, of descriptive verse,
 And shadowy beings, gentle Edmund, hight
 Spenser ! the sweetest of the tuneful throng,
 Or recent, or of eld. Creative bard,
 Thy springs unlock, expand thy fairy scenes,
 And with thy images enrich my song."

Various allegorical figures, Fever, Dropsy, and others appear. The description of Melancholy, a close copy of Spenser's Despair may be quoted as an example.

"Next, in a low-brow'd cave, a little hell,
 A pensive hag, moping in darkness sits

¹ Cf. *Epithalamion*, ll. 332, sq.:

"Let no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,
 Be heard all night within, nor yet without :
 Ne let the Pouke, nor other evil sprights
 Ne let mischeivous witches with theyr charmes,
 Ne let hobgoblins, names whose sense we see not,
 Ne let the shriech oule, nor the storke be heard,
 Nor let the night raven that still deadly yels,
 Nor damned ghosts cald up by mighty spels," etc.

Dolefully-sad ; her eyes (so deadly-dull !)
 Stare from their stonied sockets, widely wild ;
 Forever bent on rusty knives and ropes." ¹

Most of Thompson's poems were written in youth. *Sickness* lead us to suspect that had he continued he would have fossilized into a pure Augustan. He made a wide but short-lived reputation and surely had no appreciable influence in the rise of romanticism.²

We can afford to turn now to the more radical romanticists and to see what entirely different paths they hewed out. A few examples will suffice. Then, with a clear understanding of the workings of classicism and romanticism among the Spenserians we shall be prepared to examine the conflicting elements in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* and all their significance in relation to the greatest metamorphosis in the history of English Literature.³

¹ See *Faërie Queene*, 1, 9, sts. 33, sq., for strong verbal resemblances.

² Thompson was also one of the few who wrote Spenserian sonnets. See : *Garden Inscriptions* : 1) *On Spenser's Faerie Queene*, 2) *On Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar*, (printed only in Fawkes' and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, 1763, vol. 8, p. 97).

³ I catalogue here a few poems that show interesting anticipatory qualities but which need not receive detailed treatment at a time when scholarship is only too busy finding heralds of romanticism real and fancied. William Collins, at his best the truest and most visionary of the early romanticists, shows interesting evidence of Spenserian inspiration in a long passage at the beginning of his *Ode on the Poetical Character*. William Melmoth was one of those interesting Eighteenth Century country gentlemen without any genius who, being far from the modish town, satire, and dull Occasional Poems, could contribute to the revival of romanticism by his leisurely pursuits. In his once popular *Fitzosborne's Letters* (To Timoclea, October 1, 1743) he writes his sentimental fair friend : " But, though you have drained me of my whole stock of romance, I am not entirely unprovided for your entertainment." Whereupon he transcribes *The Transformation of Lycon and Euphormius* in Spenserian stanzas. The tale, however, has little that can be called "romance" from our point of view. A quickened appreciation of nature that may be called romantic is apparent in *The Seasons*, a poem in Spenserian stanzas by Moses Mendez (1751) and

Every student of the history of literature knows that a mediocre poem may fire a chorus of geniuses with an inspiration of which its poetaster never dreamed. Of all the Spenserian poems of the Eighteenth Century James Beattie's commonplace *Minstrel* had by far the widest influence. A letter to Dr. Blacklock (September 22, 1766) reveals him in the process of composition and contains the best remarks on the Spenserian stanza that had yet been written :

"Not long ago I began a poem in the style and stanza of Spenser, in which I propose to give full scope to my inclination, and to be either droll or pathetic, descriptive or sentimental, tender or satirical, as the humour

in R. Potter's *A Farewell Hymn to the Country, Attempted in the Manner of Spenser's Epithalamion* (1749), a close copy both of the intricate stanza-form of Spenser's marriage hymn and of its rich music. Mr. Beers has well noted in William Julius Mickle's *The Concubine, A Poem in the Manner of Spenser* (1767) a feeling for nature that may have influenced Scott. The plot of the poem, however, a rather powerful picture of an ill-considered marriage, is quite Augustan in its didactic treatment of country squire and wanton servant. Mrs. Tighe's *Psyche* (written before the end of the century but not published until 1805) is famous for its influence over the young Keats. It is a fluent, sensuous, somewhat langorous poem, the work of a talented lover of Spenser, and transitional from the artificial spirit of the Eighteenth Century to the freer expression of the new era. The first two cantos give the regular version of Psyche's marriage with Cupid and of the ruinous influence of her jealous sisters. The later trials of Psyche are related with some romantic freedom but with much allegory of the Augustan-Spenserian kind. Psyche is befriended by a stranger knight and his squire, Constancy. Passion in the form of a lion appears but is submissive when he sees the knight. They arrive at the Bower of loose Delight. A dove saves Psyche from a perilous draught by dashing the cup from the tempting hand of the queen of the bower. They escape through wild ways to a hermit's cell where they remain for a time. Psyche is betrayed into the subtle net of Ambition but is rescued by her knight. Psyche is then tortured by the hag Credulity and led to the Blatant Beast, who is driven away by her knight. In the Castle of Suspicion, Gelyso shows her a false vision of Cupid in the Bower of loose Delight. Other adventures at the Palace of Chastity, the Coast of Spleen, Glacella's ice-palace on the Island of Indifference follow. At last Psyche is brought by her knight (Cupid of course) to Venus and reconciled.

strikes me ; for, if I mistake not, the manner which I have adopted admits equally of all these kinds of composition. I have written one hundred and fifty lines, and am surprised to find the structure of that complicated stanza so little troublesome. I was always fond of it, for I think it the most harmonious that ever was contrived. It admits of more variety of pauses than either the couplet or the alternate rhyme ; and it concludes with a pomp and majesty of sound which, to my ear, is wonderfully delightful. It seems also well adapted to the genius of our language, which, from the irregularity of inflexion and number of monosyllables, abounds in diversified terminations, and consequently renders our poetry susceptible of an endless variety of legitimate rhymes. But I am so far from intending this performance for the press, that I am morally certain it never will be finished. I shall add a stanza now and then, when I am at leisure, and when I have no humour for any other amusement ; but I am resolved to write no more poetry with a view to publication, till I see some dawnings of a poetical taste among the generality of readers, of which, however, there is not at present anything like an appearance."

Beattie shows the bookish man's ignorance of his times. The public was waiting to devour stuff like *The Minstrel*. And when he did publish the first book, in 1771, there was a thunder of applause. The poem ran through four editions before the second book appeared in 1774. He was lionized in London even by the most distinguished. Beattie's *Minstrel* may be compared with Pere Wagner's *Simple Life*. If a man can present, with the gesture of a prophet, a cleverly written compendium of the truisms long mouthed by the populace, neatly veneered and labelled "High Art," he may appear, for a time, both to the wise man and the fool, to be a genius. Professor Beers has admirably summed up the qualities of *The Minstrel*:

"It was in the Spenserian stanza, was tinged with the enthusiastic melancholy of the Wartons, followed the landscape manner of Thomson, had elegaic echoes of Gray, and was perhaps not unaffected in its love of mountain scenery by MacPherson's 'Ossian.' But it took its title and its theme from a hint in Percy's 'Essay on the Ancient Minstrels.'"

There is no plot. Edwin, a very sentimental and unprimitive bard, wanders about aimlessly and finally meets a

hermit who tells him all about the divinity of nature and the degeneracy of man. But Beattie had a considerable talent for mellifluous verse and he was astute enough to avoid mere mechanical Spenserian affectations. Sometimes, as in Edwin's vision of the fairies, the verse is genuinely charming.

"Anon in view a portal's blazon'd arch
Arose; the trumpet bids the valves unfold;
And forth an host of little warriors march,
Grasping the diamond lance, and targe of gold.
Their look was gentle, their demeanour bold,
And green their helms, and green their silk attire;
And here and there, right venerably old,
The long-rob'd minstrels wake the warbling wire,
And some with mellow breath the martial pipe inspire."

The influence of *The Minstrel* was immense for over sixty years after its appearance.¹ We must treat only the greatest poem inspired by it—Byron's *Childe Harold*. The first two cantos appeared in 1812 and Byron continued the poem through the best years of his maturity. Much of the material of *Childe Harold* was in the air all over Europe, but its dependence in general scheme upon *The Minstrel* was absolute and has never been sufficiently emphasized.² Byron was chafing to express his clamoring restive individuality. In the sentimental Edwin roaming the solitudes he saw a

¹ E. g.:—John Herman Merivale began his career by: *The Minstrel, or The Progress of Genius. In Continuation of Dr. Beattie*. Miss Hunt (in *Poems chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall—1792*); *Written on Visiting the Ruins of Dunkerwell Abbey in Devonshire, September, 1786*. Hector Macneill: *The Pastoral, or Lyric Muse of Scotland* (1801). Bernard Barton: *Fancy and Imagination, Power and Benevolence, Stanzas Selected from 'The Pains of Memory,' Stanzas addressed to Percy Bysshe Shelley, etc.* William Millar: *The Fairy Minstrel* (1822). John Wright. *The Retrospect* (1824). Professor Wilson (Christopher North): *Waking Dreams, The Children's Dance, etc.*

² Though Byron himself mentions Beattie as an authority on the Spenserian stanza in his preface to *Childe Harold*.

vast opportunity. He created the wayward Child Harold who was to have the same irresponsible career. His travels gave him a treasure of material for a vagrant hero of this sort who had nothing to do but wander everywhere and express himself. For the great burst of eloquence in *Childe Harold* there were, allowing for inferior genius, some notably suggestive passages in Beattie. One of many stanzas will illustrate Beattie in these exalted moods.

“Hail, awful scenes, that calm the troubled breast,
And woo the weary to profound repose !
Can passion’s wildest uproar lay to rest,
And whisper comfort to the man of woes !
Here innocence may wander, safe from foes,
And Contemplation soar on seraph wings.
O Solitude ! the man who thee foregoes,
When lucre lures him, or ambition stings,
Shall never know the source whence real grandeur springs.”

Beginning with a sentimental spoiled child for a hero and archaizing with amusing artificiality and capriciousness Byron abruptly cast off the few remaining shackles of Augustan imitation and became true to his own fiery romanticism. His splendid and defiant music, generous, selfish, noble, rebellious, rings in the ears of everyone. Thus the spirit of *The Faërie Queene* came through tortuous paths to become metamorphosed into the spirit of *Childe Harold*.

It is well to glance again at Keats, the truest Spenserian that ever lived, to see how differently he follows his master when moved by a purely romantic mood as compared to his ways in his experiments with Augustan-Spenserianism already mentioned. Cowden Clarke’s delightful story of how he awakened the poetic impulse in Keats by reading Spenser’s *Epithalamion* is too familiar for quotation. But though Spenser was Keats’ first chosen master we find also the intermediary influence of such Spenserians as the late Augustans, Leigh Hunt, his somewhat effeminate mentor,

and the garrulous William Browne.¹ We have already noted some late specimens of mixed Spenserianism. *The Cap and Bells* or *The Jealousies* is his most complex piece of Spenserianism. This unfinished attempt to write a popular humorous fairy-tale in Spenserian stanzas was done towards the close of his life in the very grip of Giant Despair. Keats worked with real enthusiasm, but it was a pathetic attempt to play the motley with a cracked heart. Eighteenth Century Spenserianism and Byronic satire jostle along side by side with the spirit of *The Faërie Queene*. There are some good stanzas in the poem, especially some gay colored city pictures.

“The morn is full of holiday ; loud bells
 With rival clamours ring from every spire ;
 Cunningly-station’d music dies and swells
 In echoing places ; when the winds respire,
 Light flags stream out like gauzy tongues of fire ;
 A metropolitan murmur, lifeful, warm,
 Comes from the northern suburbs ; rich attire
 Freckles with red and gold the moving swarm ;
 While here and there clear trumpets blow a keen alarm.

“Onward we floated o’er the panting streets,
 That seem’d throughout with upheld faces paved ;
 Look where we will, our bird’s-eye vision meets
 Legions of holiday ; bright standards waved,
 And fluttering ensigns emulously craved
 One minute’s glance ; a busy thunderous roar,
 As when the sea, at flow, gluts up once more
 The craggy hollowness of a wild reefed shore.”

The child Keats is alert again for a moment. The ghost of Spenser walks in modern London-town and, with a touch of his wand, transforms its sooty grandeur into glimmering Thule. But the poem is from the flotsam and jetsam of Keats’ mind.

¹These influences have received final treatment in Mr. Selincourt’s well-known edition of Keats.

Eighteenth Century Spenserianism is not a part of the great poetry of Keats. And all that remains of the Huntean worship of Spenser as a divine confectionery is only beautiful in the mature works. Porphyro, heaping the candied apples, quinces, and manna and dates from Fez in golden dishes, regardless of lurking foes, while his Madeline slept an azure-lidded sleep, the delight in "blanched linen, smooth, and lavender'd," hushed carpets that should never have been put into real castles—these are relics of the deliciousness of Hunt—but sheer poetry. *The Eve of St. Agnes* has more of the spirit of Spenser than any poem since *The Faërie Queene*. Yet the microscope reveals little or no tangible imitation. We have here the essence of romanticism—to follow subtly and deeply where the neo-classicists followed superficially and mechanically. For once, at least, the unfortunate critic who deals with the deceitful matters of literary influences must be allowed to say that Keats divined the essence of Spenser and recreated him. If I could label the magic I could write you the poem. There is more than Spenser in *The Eve of St. Agnes*. But that is not my province. Let me quote two stanzas which I would describe as sheer Spenser if they were not also sheer Keats who, for the moment, is the bard of *The Faërie Queene* in a new incarnation.

"A casement high and triple-arch'd there was,
 All garlanded with carven imag'ries
 Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
 And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
 Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
 As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings;
 And in the midst, 'mong thousand heraldries,
 And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
 A shielded skutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings.

"Full on the casement shone the wintry moon,
 And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,

As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon ;
 Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,
 And on her silver cross soft amethyst,
 And on her hair a glory, like a saint :
 She seem'd a splendid angel, newly drest,
 Save wings, for heaven :—Porphyro grew faint :
 She knelt, so pure a thing, so free from mortal taint."

We are now prepared to appreciate Thomson's great transitional poem with a Janus-vision of what was past and future for him. *The Castle of Indolence* is of absorbing interest to the most unimpassioned historical student of literature because of its extraordinary blend of Augustan and romantic elements and of equally absorbing interest to any catholic minded lover of poetry because these elements combine remarkably to make a masterpiece.

✍ *The Castle of Indolence* appeared in 1748. Beginning years before as a mere piece of good-natured satire on his friends who had frequently accused him of indolence, it grew into a very serious and ambitious poem. Mr. Phelps quotes from the preface, which says that "The obsolete words, and simplicity of diction in some of the lines, which borders on the ludicrous, were necessary to make the imitation more perfect," and suggests that the *School-mistress* of Shenstone had something to do with the making of Thomson's poem. This is no doubt true. But there is an abundance of evidence of Spenser's first hand influence. Indeed we are told by Shiels in his *Life of Thomson*: "He often said that if he had anything excellent in poetry, he owed it to the inspiration he first received from reading the 'Fairy Queen' in the very early part of his life." The descriptions of the land of Indolence, especially some of the opening stanzas, were probably influenced by Spenser's description of the dwelling of Morpheus.¹ There is a

¹ Compare especially canto 1, stanzas 3 and 4, beginning, "Was nought around but images of rest," and *Faerie Queene*, 1, 1, 40 and 41. Compare with these also: *Castle of Indolence*, c. 1, 43 and 44.

"Mirror of Vanity?" a magic crystal globe, in which the dreamers delighted to see:

"Still as you turned it, all things that do pass
Upon this ant-hill earth; where constantly
Of idly-busy men the restless fry
Run bustling to and fro with foolish haste,
In search of pleasures vain that from them fly,
Of which, obtain'd, the caitiffs dare not taste."

This derives from Merlin's magic "glassy globe" wherein Britomart first saw Arthegal.

"Who wonders not, that reades so wondrous worke?
But who does wonder, that has red the Towre
Wherein th' Aegyptian Phao long did lurke
From all mens vew, that none might her discoure,
Yet she might all men vew out of her bowre?
Great Potlomaee it for his leman's sake
Ybuided all of glasse, by Magicke powre,
And also it impregnable did make;
Yet when his love was false he with a peaze it brake."¹

The Knight of Arts and Industry, who overthrows the Castle of Indolence, the son of rough Selvaggio who violated Dame Poverty, spending his youth running wild in the forest, is the descendant of Spenser's Sir Satyrane, whose mother Thyamis was ravished by Therion, "a loose unruly swayne," and who was taught to roam the woods without fear. The Knight's companion, the bard, "in russet brown bedight," suggests the palmer who was Sir Guyon's mentor on a similar quest: the destruction of the Bower of Bliss. The net in which the Knight entraps the wizard is like the net in which Guyon entangles the enchantress Acrasia. These and many more relics of the *Faërie Queene* were skillfully used by Thomson.

The satirical and humorous aspects of Thomson, whether suggested by Shenstone or not, lie far below any superficial

¹ *C. of I.*, c. 1, sts. 49, sq., and *F. Q.*, 3, 2, sts. 18, sq.

influence. Thomson was a jolly good fellow. The spirit of burlesque appears in his earliest works.¹ Even the ponderosity of his *Seasons* is occasionally lightened by a passage of merry Miltonism in the vein of *The Splendid Shilling*. The early edition of *Autumn* contained a description of a drinking-bout so uproarious that Lyttleton saw fit to strike it out in the reissue of 1750. The spirit of gentle satire is one of the prime charms of *The Castle of Indolence* and should not be depreciated by those who go to Thomson only for romanticism. Evidently only a genius was required to make Augustan-Spenserianism thoroughly admirable. There is fun worthy of Chaucer in the waggish description of Murdoch, Thomson's pastoral friend and biographer.

“Full oft by holy feet our ground was trod ;
Of clerks good plenty here you mote espy.
A little, round, fat, oily man of God
Was one I chiefly mark'd among the fry :
He had a roguish twinkle in his eye,
And shone all glittering with ungodly dew,
If a tight damsel chaunced to trippen by ;
Which when observed, he shrunk into his mew,
And straight would recollect his piety anew.”

Of the romanticism of *The Castle of Indolence*, a part comes from a Spenserian love of sensuous detail, but a more striking part comes from a new and momentous spirit that takes no suggestion from *The Faërie Queene*. Full of Spenser's dreams he wrote :

“A pleasing land of drowsy-head it was ;
Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye ;
And of gay castles in the clouds that pass,
Forever flushing round a summer-sky.
There eke the soft delight, that witchingly
Instil a wanton sweetness through the breast,
And the calm pleasures, always hover'd nigh ;
But whate'er smack'd of noyance, or unrest,
Was far, far off expell'd from this delicious nest.”

¹ See *Lizzy's Parting with her Cat* and *On the Hoop* in his *Juvenile Poetry*.

Even here there is a spirit of suggestion that Spenser, because of his very love of tangible lovely details, did not characteristically employ. An oft-quoted stanza will illustrate perfectly how far Thomson wandered into new mysterious regions.

“As when a shepherd of the Hebrid-Isles,
Placed far amid the melancholy main,
(Whether it be lone Fancy him beguiles;
Or that ærial beings sometimes deign
To stand embodied, to our senses plain),
Sees on the naked hill, or valley low,
The whilst in ocean Phœbus dips his wain,
A vast assembly moving to and fro:
Then all at once in air dissolves the wondrous show.”

However dim and shadowy Spenser's beings were he never questioned their reality. This question, “Is it reality or delusion?”, this spirit of pampering a delightful doubt is a new current in English romanticism. It could not exist in England until after the Augustan age of reason. Then sceptical reason, combined with the luxurious dreams of Spenser which their creator, while he wrote, never disbelieved, produced the spirit of delighted doubt which Thomson cherished for brief and wistful moments. To find this spirit soaring unfettered England had to wait for the best work of Coleridge. It was a new note in poetry.

Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* is a typical Augustan “Imitation” of Spenser with a romantic tinge. Its neo-classical side is too often forgotten. Its satire and its moral allegory is of the very essence of Augustanism. And all this is good poetry. The second canto loses quality a little, not because it is too Augustan, but because it drops one of the Augustan elements—the enlivening sly satire. It is only in an occasional stanza that Thomson's wonderful romanticism gives us the elusive light—the spirit of delighted doubt.

If my examination of this important chapter in the history of English poetry is sound the conclusions are of considerable moment. Historians of English literature have repeatedly stated that Spenser fell upon evil ways in the early part of the Eighteenth Century and that the "revival" of interest in him was an important force in the rise of romanticism. Indeed the statements of some critics of the age under consideration have yielded support to this notion. Thomas Warton wrote of "this admired but neglected poet." But what ardent admirer of Spenser in our own day of supposed enlightenment and catholicity would not echo the same phrase with vigor and truth? I am sorry that the limitations of this paper forbid me to marshal the long list of Augustan critical utterances on Spenser that show that they appreciated certain aspects of the master more fully than we do, that their criticisms are, as a whole, the equals of ours. That is reserved for a later study. But I hope that my citations from the poets have proved that the Augustans followed him with considerable energy if not genius, that they followed him as they followed Virgil and found little difficulty, on the whole, in reconciling him with their classical ideals, that it was long before these Spenserian imitations showed any persistent spark of romanticism, that the influence of Spenser, then, was not one of the great causes of romanticism, and that the phrase "Spenserian Revival" is at least misleading. On the one side the essence of Augustanism was to imitate self-consciously, superficially, mechanically, whoever the model might be. Yet Augustan-Spenserianism, like other forms of Augustanism, made better poetry, at its best, than we have learned to admit. If we accept the common notion that *The Castle of Indolence* is a great poem we must accept Augustan-Spenserianism. On the other side the essence of romanticism is

to imitate (though this word is hateful to romanticists) unconsciously, subtly, and with proud independence. Much of the romantic side of Thomson and of many romantic Spenserians after him is in a spirit unknown to Spenser. For Thomson enriched English poetry with the spirit of delighted doubt.

HERBERT E. CORY.

IV.—THE QUEENES MAJESTIES ENTERTAINMENT AT WOODSTOCKE

The unique quarto to which this title has been given was printed at London for Thomas Cadman in 1585. It crossed the Atlantic as part of the Rowfant Library, and was for some time offered for sale in New York, until Mr. A. W. Pollard, on his recent visit to this country, bought it for the British Museum. It has been privately printed in England, with an introduction by Mr. Pollard, to whom I am indebted for many courtesies, but otherwise it has not been published since the original issue of 1585. It is, unfortunately, imperfect, lacking sig. A (title page and three other leaves) and beginning on B₁ with the latter part of a sentence. Apart altogether from its rarity, it has features of considerable interest, but before entering upon questions of authorship and interpretation, it will be well to put the reader in possession of the text. Only obvious errors have been corrected, and in these cases the original readings are given in footnotes. I have numbered the lines of the comedy for reference.

I.—THE TEXT

followeth brought no lesse like to the Queenes maiestie: and al the rest that were present: for at his comming hee caused them to dismount themselues and said:

You must fight no more, most valiant Knightes: vyolence must giue place to vertue, and the Doubtfull hazzard you be in, by a most noble helpe must be ended. Therefore ceasse your fighte and followe me, so shall you heare that you would least beleeeue, and shall haue with me that shal most behooue you. And you fayre Lady, fal into this fellowship, where it shall appeare Sibilla said trewe, and your infortunes shall haue ende.

This said, he bringeth them al to y^e place where the Quenes Maiestie stood (in a fine Bower made of purpose couered with greene Iuie, and

seates made of earthe with sweete smelling hearbes, (euen suche a place as you shall coniecture) and after some reuerence beginning his tale, hee shewed a great prooue of his audacity, in which tale if you marke the woords *with* this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the deuises, you shoulde finde no lesse hidden then vttered, and no lesse vttered then shoulde deserue a double reading ouer, euen of those (with whom I finde you a companion) that haue disposed their houres to the study of great matters.

Heere followeth *Hemetes* tale.

Moste excellent Princes, forepoynted from aboue with youre presence and your vertue to profite more then you are aware of, howe much you are bound to the immortall Goddes, and mortall men are bound to you, our present case will partely prooue: But before you vnderstand the woorth of your vertue, maye it please you to heare the variablenesse of our aduentures. Not long since in the Countrie of *Cambia* which is situate neere the mouth of the riche Riuer *Indus*, a mightie Duke bare dominion called *Occanon*: who had heire to his estate but one onely Daughter named *Caudina*: this Lady then more fayrer then fortunate, liued most deere to her father and best beloued of his people: But to prooue that Beautie is not always a benifit, nor highest states be euer the happiest, it chanced within a while that *Caudina* being sought vnto by sundry that were great, and serued by many that were worthie, had more competitors of her beautie then did either well content her, or proued commodious vnto them: for loue, which is not led by order nor chosen by appoyntemente, had limed her affections vnreasonably with the liking of a knight, of estate but meane, but of value very greate called *Contarenus* who as he exceedinglie loued her, so the desires of diuers others was somewhat for his glorye, but nothing for his gain. In smal proces of time the seecret fires of their fancies discovered by the smoake of their desires, bewrayed this matter vnto her father long time before they woulde. The Duke dissembling what he sawe, but determined to disapoynt that he most missliked, neither made challenge to the Knighte, nor charged his Daughter for any loue was betwixt them, but deuised a way as he thought, more sure, (but as it proued moste sorrowfull) to set these louers asunder by the worke of an inchantresse most cunning in her kind: he caused *Contarenus*, to be conueyed vp and carried in the ayre from the cost of *Cambia* to the very bounds of the *Occean* sea: which cost *Occanon* twentye thousande Crownes (a deere price for repentance:) but it is no nouelty for Princes to make their wils verie costly, and sometime to pay deere for their own displeasures. *Contarenus* thus strangely deuided from his ioye and perplexed aboue measure was charged by the inchantresse to weare this punishment with patience, which necessitie did put on, and destiny would put off: and ere seuen yeeres came about, she truely assured him, he should haue for his reward the height of his desire:

but first he should fight with the hardiest knight, and see the worthiest Lady of the world. The whilst shee told him, hee must there take the gard of a blinde Hermit, who shoulde recouer his sight, and he his satisfaction, both at one time, so shee left him on the earth, and tooke her way again into the ayre. *Caudina* now lacking long that she looked for, the sight & seruice of her knight, fel soon in those diseases that accompany such desires, as to be acombred with mistrust, curiosite, and exceeding vnrest. At last "as Princes doe fewe thinges priuily, but they haue partakers of their Councel: & heires to crowns lack neuer seruants of hope, which be curious to please them:" The deuise and dealing of *Occanon* came to the eares of his daughter, which beeing told her: And is it euen so, quoth *Caudina*? care kings for no right? then right cares for no kingdomes. It is neither the court of *Oceanon*, nor the countrey of *Camb.* that I can account of, if *Contarenius* be gone: Farewel most vnhappy countrey, and most cruel Father, that turnes me to this fortune, to follow my fates, which neyther greatnes of estate nor hazard of mine aduenture shal make mee forsake: but if I lose not my life, I wil finde *Contarenius*, if he be in the world. This said, shee pursueth her most hard determinations, and taking onely two Damsels with her in simple habit, with such things as were necessary, she straightwaies conueyed her selfe most closely from the borders of *Camb.* & with toyle too long to tell, passed perils past beliefe, til at last she arriued at the grate of *Sibilla*, where, by chaunce she met with a most noble knight eclipsed *Loricus*, by loue likewyse drawn thither, to learn what should betyde him. This *Loricus* loued a Lady that was matchlesse, in such maner as is strange, for after much deuise to attaine but the fauour that she would be pleased, hee myght but loue her without looking froward: and seeing no glaunce of her lyking (his vttermost deuotion) to find surely out her fancie (which she carried most closely,) he made a straunge assay with all the semblance that might be. He shewed to set by her but lightly, that was so sought for of all, and the better to couler the passion, hee was not able to conquer, hee made shew of choise of a new mistris, that liued euery day in her eye: A peece sure of price, but farre from such a pearle, as his heart onely esteemed. And to this Idoll he seemed to offer all hys loue and seruice, leauing no manner of obseruance vndone, that to loue appertayned: As wearing her colours on his backe, her pictures in his bosome, keeping her company aboue all others, and continuing most at her commandement: which espyed by this Lady (that indeed was liked no more) for whatsoeuer man may thinke might become or content though she cared not for his choyse, yet [S]he¹ shewed scorne of his change: and by iealousie disclosed that which loue could not discover. Which *Loricus* perceiuing, he fel by & by to consider, that the want of his worth made his seruice vnaccepted, and no impossibility in her will to

¹ he.

receiue one too serue her, that merited the honour of such fauour. Therefore hee left his owne countrey, and betooke himselfe altogether to trauel, and to armes, desiring with most indeuour but to deserue that reputation as this great and noble mistris woulde but thinke him worthy to be hers, though she would neuer bee none of his, so thinking no toyle too tough, nor no attempt too hard to attayne to renown, he wandred through the world till he came by painfull wayes to *Sibillas* grate, where he met with *Caudina*. Where these two louers hauing occasion to vnfold al their fortunes: the Lady seeking to know the end of her trauel, and the knight aduise for the ease of his hope, they both receiued this answeare of *Sibilla*: That as they were nowe coupled by this fortune, so they should neuer depart fellowship, till they had found out a place, where men were most strong, women most fayre, the countrey most fertile, the people most wealthy, the gouernment most iust, and the Princes most worthy: so shoulde the Lady see that would content her, so shoulde the knight heare that might comfort him. Now most deere and best deseruing Lady, it falles to my purpose, and your praise, to say somewhat of my selfe. Olde though you see me here, & wrinckled and cast into a corner, yet once haue I been otherwise: A knight knowne and accounted of, with the best of the world: and liuing in court of most fame amongst a swarm of knights and Ladies of great woorth and vertue, where beauty bade the basse & desire sought the goale. It chaunced me to loue a Lady, to be beloued of Loue himselfe, if he could but haue seene her: but as she wassuch as did excell, so was she of woonderfull condition, wythout disdaine to be desired, but most dainty to bee dealt with: for touch her, & she wil turne to 20. diuers shapes, yet to none but to content, as me thought, that thought stil to touch her, was a heauen: & so it seemed by my hold that was so loth to let her go. Till (alas) it liked her at last to put on the shape of a Tigris so terrible to behold, as I durst hold her no longer, and being so escaped, I could neuer more sette eie on her. Madam, thus began my paine, but you heare not yet my punishment: beeing shifted from the sighte of that I sought aboute the world, and then little delighting to looke on any thing els, I tooke by & by a Pilgrimage to *Paphos* in *Cyprus*, trusting to heare of my mistris there, where *Venus* was most honoured. Whither when I came, as I began to step in at the doore of her temple, I was sodainly stroken blind: Astonied at my mischaunce, and vnderstanding not the cause thereof, I fell downe on my knees and said: O fairest of the Goddesses and farthest from cruelty, what hath been my fault, that thou art thus offended? Thy folly and presumption (quoth *Venus* Chaplen as I gesse) from my youth vp quoth I, haue I euer been an honourer of vertue, a delighter in learning, and a seruauant of Loue. But it is no parted affection quoth he, that *Venus* wilbe honoured with. Books and beauty make no match, and it is an whole man or no man, that this Goddess wil haue to serue her, and therewithal taking me by the shoulders,

he thrust me out of the Temple. So with sighes and sorrow I sate down in the porch, making intercession to *Apollo* (the peculiar God I honored) to haue compassion on my estate: Now faithfull prayers beyng hard ere they be ended: *Mercury* comes vnto me, and bid me be of good comfort, the goddesses be al found to haue this fault: *Diana* with *Acteon*: *Pallas* with *Arachne*: *Iuno* with *Tirecias*, were angry aboue measure: so is *Venus* now with thee, the cause with the remedy shall be told thee at *Delphos*, whither straight I must carry thee. Which he had no sooner spoken, but by & by I was set in the temple of *Apollo*, Where first demanding my fault, the Oracle made answer: Thy feare and not thy faith: and what quoth I, may be my remedy? The best besides the beautifullest, the Oracle straight answered. And with this *Apollo* his priest tooke me by the hand, recounting vnto me the whole course of my life, whom I loued, and how I lost her. And when I told him of the faithfulness of my seruice,¹ & the faithfulness of my meaning, of the variableness of her condition, and at the last of the fearefulness of her apperance: Ah, good *Hemetes* quoth he, it is not the kind of women to be cruell, it is but their countenance, & touching their variableness who wil not apply himselfe thereto, shall not muche please them, nor long hold them, neither is it to be found fault with. Nature her elfe loues variety, so it be done without deceit. Nowe for thy faithfulness it sufficeth not, the seruants of *Venus* must not onely haue faith, but also lacke feare, feare lost thee thy mistris, and thy boldnes to enter into *Venus* Temple, being vnacceptable, made her strike thee blind. But *Apollo* bid me tell thee, the Gods wil receiue, whom women forsake, thy eyes shut vp from delight, shall geue thy minde more open vnderstanding: this punishment shall be thy profite, *Venus* can barre thee but from her felicity of loue: but for the deuotion thou bearest to *Apollo*, hee giues thee this gift, to be able to discipher the destinie of euery one in loue, and better to aduise them, then the best of her Darlings. And furthermore, doth promise thee, that in reuolution of yeres thou shalt recouer thy sight: but this shall not betide thee till at one time, and in one place, in a countrie of most peace, two of the most valiant knights shal fight, two of the most constant louers shal meet, and the most vertuous Lady of the world shall be there to looke on. And when thy eyes shal beholde what thy heart delighteth in, euen a Lady in whom inhabiteth the most vertue, Learning, and beauty, that euer yet was in creature, then shal they be opened, and that shall bee thy warrant.

Al *Apollo* sayeth is sooth: the while, it is determined that thou shalte dwell in an Hermitage, where nothing that longes vntoo Natures vse, shall bee lackinge vntoo thee: so sodainelye I was shifted vnto this hill harde by, where I haue wintered manye a yeere farre from the woes and wronges, the worlde besides is full of. And nowe beste Ladye and moste beautifull,

¹ Full stop instead of comma.

so tearmed of the Oracle, and so thought of in the world: what the Inchantresse tolde *Contarenius*: *Sibilla* shewed *Caudina*, and *Loricus*: and *Apollo* said to me, by your most happy comming is verified, The most hardy knights *Cont.* and *Lori.* haue here fought, the most constant Louers *Cont.* and *Caudina* here be met, and I poore *Hemetes* (as the knight knowes ful long blind) haue receiued my sight. Al which happened by vertue of your grace, which the best so much honor, & we most bound vnto you: and so I present these noble persons to please you with their seruice, & my self to serue you euer with my prayers, & leauing these Louers to their delights, must leaue *Loric.* to this aduise. Knight, prosecute thy purpose, it is noble, learning by me not to feare of thy self to take paine: remembring, nothing notable is woon without difficulty, *Hercules* had by his laboures his renowne, and his end by his Loue: *Loricus*, thy end wilbe reward, at least most reputation, with noblest women most esteemed. But I feare I haue too long tyred your most noble eares, & therefore only now I beseech your Ma. with your happye presence to honor my poore home, whither straight I mean to guide you.

This Learned or long tale being brought to his end: the poore Hermit loden as it were with beades and other such ornaments of his profession, begins to tread the way before the Queen, which her Maiestie espying, refused her steed, and betook her self in like sort to the vse of her feet, & accompanying the Hermit (her self waited on of the rest) fel into some discourse & praise of his good tale, which not ended, or rather scarce fully begun, the Q. Ma. had in sight the house, which indeede was a place by art so reared from the ground, as neuer before, nor hereafter, shal I see ye like. First it was incompassed the number of 200. paces round with lattise, the place of the princes entrance bedect with Iuy & spanges of gold plate, the glimring whereof was such, that men of great iudgement might haue held themselues at stay. The ground from thence reared litle & litle to the altitude of forty foot or more, the path in mounting couered with fresh turues, with such art, that a great many made question of his skil, which was ye Layer. The way was railed with lattice, beset with sweet flowres & Iuy, as before: aboue in the house was a Table made in order of a halfe moon or more, couered with green turues (& so replenished with sorts of dainty, & those diuers dishes belonging to banquet, that the beholders might wel haue though[t],¹ *Iupit.* had hoped the comming, & trusted the pleasing by banquet of his faire *Europa.*) At one ende thereof somewhat distant, from ye other, was placed another table (but round) with a chayre costly made of Crymson veluet, imbrodred with branches & pictures of wild beasts & trees, as it had beene a peece of woork made in the desartes. But leaste I hold you too longe, this mounte made, as I haue sayde, aboute an Oake, the toppe whereof was inforced by strength too

¹ though.

bende downe her branches to couer the house, whiche was done wyth such art, that ye praise of the beholders comming wold haue sufficed the woorker for his trauel : although hee was not so satisfied for his skil, by more then 40. pounds. A number of fine Pictures with posies of the Noble or men of great credite, was in like sort hanging there, wherewith many were in loue, and aboue the rest the French Embassadour, whiche was present at these sightes, made great suite to haue some of them. The whiche posies, with some perfect note of their pictures, I would haue presented vnto you : but because the Allegories are hard to be vnderstood, without some knowledge of the inuentors, I haue chosen my tyme rather when my selfe shall be present, & more the sooner, because I would leaue nothing vnfulfilled of my firste determination. Now *Hemetes* hauing brought her Maiesty to the entraunce of this place sayde :

Here most Noble Lady, hauing now brought you to this most simple Hermitage, where you shal see smal cunning, but of nature, & no cost, but of good wil, my houre approching for my orrisones (which according to my vow I must neuer breake) I must here leaue your maiestie, promising to pray, as for my selfe, that whosoeuer wish you best, may neuer wish in vayne.

Thus the Hermite departes, & the Queenes Maiesty addresseth her selfe with merry cheere to banqueting, which to encrease a diuine sound of vnacquainted instruments in the hollow roome vnder the house, made such stroakes of pleasure, & moued such delights, that if *Apollo* himselfe had byn there, I thinke hee would haue intreated the learning of their skill, or at the leaste forgotten the pleasant remembrance of his sweete *Daphnes*. Her Maiesty thus in the midst of this mirth might espy the Queen of the Fayry drawn with 6. children in a waggon of state : the Boies brauely attired, & her selfe very costly apparrelled, whose present shew might wel argue her immortality, and presenting her selfe to the Queens Maiesty, she spake as followeth.

As I did roame abroade in woody range,
In shade to shun the heate of Sunny day :
I met a sorrowing knight in passion strange.
by whom I learned, that coasting on this way
I should ere long your highnesse here espie,
to whom who beares a greater loue then I ?

Which then tooke roote still mounting vp on height,
when I behelde you last nigh to this place,
with gracious speech appeasing cruell fighte.
This loue hath caused me transforme my face,
and in your hue to come before your eyne,
now white, then blacke, your frende the fayery Queene.

Which marking all, as all to me is knowen,
 your face, your grace, your gouernment of state,
 your passing sprite whereby your fame is blowen :
 doe knowe by certein skill you haue no mate :
 and that no man throughout the worlde hath seene
 a prince that may compare with th' English Queene.

This knowledge kends in me so hot desire
 to see your highnesse here in this my walke,
 as since your parting hence I flam'de in fire.
 till your returne that I might heare you talke,
 that none to you a better harte doth beare
 my selfe in speech to you might make it cleare.

In signe whereof accept most sacred Queene,
 this simple token wrought within this woode,
 which as but base so better should haue beene
 If I had not at suddaine vnderstoode
 of your arriuall here, which made me take
 what came to hande, and no great choyse to make.

Her speache thus ended shee deliuered her gifte, which was a gounne for
 her Maiestie of greate price, whereon the imbroderer had bestowed the
 summe of his conning, which she receiued with yelding thanks : to whom
 the fayry Queene replied :

The thing is farre beneth both your desert,
 and my desire, yet am I glad to heare
 your highnesse take it thus in so good parte,
 which for my selfe, if it like you to weare :
 then shall I reape the frute of happie minde,
 as honored by you the honor of your kinde.

To gratifie the rest of the Ladies present, there was deuised many excel-
 lente and fine smelling Nosegayes made of all cullers to euery one whereof
 was annexed a posy of two verses, giuen by a handmayde of the fayry
 Queene, and one aboue the rest of greatest price for the Queenes Maiestie
 with her posie in Italian, which because I neither vnderstoode it, nor
 scarce canne write it to be vnderstood : I leave also till my next comming
 to visite you : for the rest as they weare giuen, I haue sette downe : euery
 seuerall posie was fayre written and bordered about conningly with seuerall
 branches excellent to beholde.

L. Darby. The vertues foure went wandring once and harbarlesse astray,
 Till *Darby* gave them roome to rest whereas they now may stay.

L. War- If your desertes surpassed not my silly pen and speache,
wicke. Some other men shuld view them then, which now do passe my
 reach

- L. Huns-* For husbände, children, and your selfe, or ornaments of fame,
don. You are aboue comparision, a right thrice happie dame.
- L. Ha-* The meanes that make a mother bleste, you haue a frutefull race,
ward. A noble dame, a patient wife, whats this but blessed case.
- L. Susan.* Take heede least in a moode, dame *Venus* worke you wooue,
 For spight of right must worke in her, you passe her beautie so.
- L. Mary* Where vertue, birth, and beauty to, are thus in one mould cast,
Vere. This place to simple' is for her seate with gods let her be plast.
- Mistris* Trustie and true, secrete and sage in place where you do serue.
Skidmore. With wise foresight these prayses loe your worthinesse deserue.
- M. Parry.* For longe and faithfull service sake which hath abidden tuche,
 good *Parry* is a paragon, shew me a nother suche.
- M. Ab-* Good liking vppon choise made way, to bring you first in place,
bington. Which you mainteine by modest meane still in your Princes
 grace.
- M. Sidney.* Tho yonge in yeares yet olde in wit, a gest dew to your race,
 If you holde on as you begine who ist youle not deface?
- M. Hopton.* When *Phebus* saw fayre *Hopton* come to Court & leaue the towre,
 He spread his beames with merry lookes that erst before did
 lower.
- M. Kathe-* For noble race, and vertues giftes, compare you with the best,
rin Ho- Who list to seeke, in you shall finde, no lesse then in the
warde. rest.
- M. Gar-* Whie doe men set their sights to feede on Pictures set in goulde?
ret. sith *Garret* giues the very vewe of natures modest mould.
- M. Brid-* In guesse is guile, coniectures fayle, your graces be well knowen :
ges. Which who denies, fame saith he lies, by whom the brute is
 blowen.
- M. Bur-* *Apollo* seeing his Burroughes browes his *Daphne* did forgette,
rough. so stald in stay, so rapped in loue as he standes musing yet.
- Mistris* You gallants giue the roome a Dame of price doth come,
Knowles. Coniecture what your bragges may be when she hath cast the
 summe.
- M. Frances* Somme say dame nature tooke in care, to keepe *Cornelias* moulede,
Howarde. But *Howard*'tis about her neecke eframed in finest goulde.

I think (good sir) I haue within little repeated the names of those that were Ladies and maides of Honor, at these sightes, wherein you shall see the vaine, that runneth to the liking of such kinds. Now her Maiestie being risen: with good cheere, accompanied with the Queene of the fayrre and the Ladye *Caudina*; she commeth from her banquite, and at her departure the Lady *Caudina* sayth :

Let thanks suffice in worde where strength in pow're doth faynte.
 lette pith in prayer from Heauen to craue requite,
 stande for reward to such a sacred Saint.
 in whom on earth the goddes in Heauen delighte,
 whose moulded when nature made she gan to stande,
 in wonder of the worke she had in hande.

The goddes for all their good bestowed on man,
 accept our speeche, as fruite of thankfull hearte :
 which sith it is the vtmost that we can,
 let humble thanks be price for your deserte.
 Contente your selfe with that contentes the gods,
 twixt whome and you I see such little oddes.

The daye thus spent, her Maiestie tooke her coach with ioy in remem-
 bring what had passed, recounting with her selfe and others how well she
 had spent the after noone, and as it fell of necessitie in her waye home-
 warde, closelie in an Oke she hearde y^e sound both of voice and instrument
 of y^e excelentest now liuing whose pleasantnesse therein bred a great liking
 with a willing eare to y^e purport which I haue hardly gotton to present you
 withal : assuredlie I see greate inuention therein, and yet no more then
 the iust fame of the deuiser doth both deserue and carrie.

The songe The man whose thoughts against him doe conspire,
in the Oke. in home mishap her story did depante :

The man of woo, the matter of desire,
 free of the dead that liues in endlesse plainte :
 His sprite am I within this desert wonne,
 to rewe his case whose cause I cannot shune.

Dispaire my name who neuer seeke releife,
 friended of none, vnto my selfe my foe,
 An idle care mayntayned by firme beleife,
 that prayse of faith shall through my tormentes growe.
 And count the hopes that other hartes doe ease,
 but base conceates the common sorte to please.

I am most sure that I shall not attaine,
 the onely good wherein the ioy doth lye.
 I haue no power my passions to refraine,
 but wayle the want which nought els may supply.
 — Whereby my life the shape of death, must beare
 that death, which feelles the worst that life doth feare.

But what auailles with Tragical complaint,
 not hoping helpe, the furies to awake ?

Or why should I the happie mindes acquaint
 with dolefull tunes, their setled peace to shake?
 O yee that here behold infortunes fare,
 there is no griepe that may with mine compare.

Now was it darke nighte, and her Maiestie filled with conceites, returneth home, leauing earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing, which being done, as I heare, she vsed, besides her owne skill, the helpe of the deuisors, & how thinges were made I know not, but sure I am her Maiesty hath often in speech some part hereof with mirth at the remembrance.

But to keepe my promise for the rest, I will begin in order to make you priuy of the sequele: which indeed followeth, as an apt consequent to what is past. Therefore shal you vnderstande, that vpon the 20. day of the same moneth, the Queene being disposed to spend her time with some delighes, this Comedy was presented, acted before her Maiesty.

And the more to egge you forward with desire of the end, assure your selfe, it was as well thought of, as anye thing euer done before her Maiestie, not onely of her, but of the rest: in such sort, that her Graces passions, and other the Ladies could not shew it selfe in open place more then euer hath beene seene.

THE ACTORS NAMES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 ROXANE <i>Caudinas</i>
<i>maide.</i> | 6 CONTABENUS <i>Cau-</i>
<i>dinas Louer.</i> |
| 2 OCCANON <i>the Duke.</i> | 7 NIPHE <i>Cau-</i>
<i>dinas other</i> |
| 3 ACHATES <i>his Coun-</i>
<i>seller.</i> | <i>mayde.</i> |
| 4 <i>Queen of the fairy.</i> | 8 ALEXANDRO <i>and</i> |
| 5 CAUDINA <i>the Dukes</i>
<i>daughter.</i> | 9 GUILFRIDO, <i>Pa-</i>
<i>ges.</i> |

Roxane

I THINKE as yet all here hath fresh in minde,
 a strange aduenture past in act of late,
 How that a Lady borne nigh to the Inde,
 arriued here in quest of louing mate:
 Whom she did finde by such aduentrous sort,
 as erst the Hermite shewed by large report.

5

Which Hermit then if you remember well,
 requirde the Prince and Lady of this land,

That she with her would let the Lady dwell :
 and wayting still on her, attend at hande : 10
 And that the Knight in Court there might remayne,
 till that they both returned home agayne.

Which thing consented too by Princes voyce,
 they haue persude and wayted on the trayne,
 Til late desire hath made them alter choyse : 15
 the Ladies heart stil longing home agayne,
 And glad to winne the Duke her Fathers will :
 for mouing whom she knoweth she hath done yll.

For though at first in heat she set him light,
 and forst by fathers wrong, went wandring so, 20
 Yet doth she stil suspect strong Natures might,
 who checking chaffe sure workes the chafer woe :
 Which to appeare, is now her chiefe desire,
 and therefore home she meaneth to retire.

Which thing to compasse well, and leaue no part
 of dutie vn[ful]filde ¹ both here and there, 25
 She with the fairy Queene is gone apart,
 of whom she hopes the rediest way to heare :
 How to returne with loue from whence she came,
 as she for loue departed from the same. 30

Now wil'd she me (as loth to moue offence)
 if she were cald for ere she could come backe,
 To be in place, and not to part from hence,
 that for excuse in me might be no lack :
 Til whose returne faire Ladies if I may, 35
 among you with your leaue I meane to stay.

Achates. Occanon.

Now good my Lord, let mourning moane haue end,
 the harme is yours, your selfe th[u]s ² still to wracke,
 The Heauens I trust some better newes will send,
 the Gods which suffered you these paynes to take, 40
 Intend you to behold with cheerefull eye :
 your helpe is neere, it must of force so be.

Occan. In seeking hope, hap flieth stil away,
 my weary corpes is ready for to faynt,
 Then death, that debt which I at length must pay, 45

¹ vnfulfulde.

² this.

by yeelding life receiue, and end my plaint.
 Now is the time most for to pleasure me,
 when I in grieve, doe craue it thus of thee.

Who hath not heretofore beheld on stage
 the hard conflict which breach of duety breedes, 50
 With natures might in way to vanquish rage,
 let him behold me and my daughters deedes :
 Twixt whom, as strange contempt hath caused flame,
 so nature seekes againe to quench the same.

She set her loue where she her selfe likt best, 55
 I much mislikt because her choise did light,
 Beneath her birth, though I might like the rest :
 to stay this streame I did all that I might.
 First with perswasions sweete I did beginne,
 to trye if so my daughter I could winne. 60

The more I chargde, the sorer she repeld,
 wherefore my labour lost, I changde my way,
 And from my Court her Louer I expeld,
 thereby in hope to worke my daughters stay.
 But while I sought to wring her from her loue, 65
 loue wrought her cleane from me, as thende did proue.

No sooner did she finde her selfe alone,
 bereft of him whom she a loue did chuse,
 But secretly her selfe must needes be gone :
 her state, her traine, her wealth, she did refuse : 70
 And held that hadde to be her onely blisse,
 him to inioy whom she in Court did misse.

Her parting first, because it did proceede,
 from vilde contempt of duety to her Syre,
 Did stirre my choler much, for that her deed, 75
 till nature did arrest, and wrought desire
 To haue my child restorde to me againe,
 whose absence then had wrought my woe and paine.

Then I began such parentes to accuse,
 as be too sowre to those they haue begot, 80
 And found of al, them farthest from excuse,
 whose noble state doth make them more of note,
 On them and theirs Loue hath the greatest power,
 therefore on Loue they ought the least to lower,

A quiet life where neede no labour willes, 85

a seemely face whereon all eyes be cast,
 A diet where desire the heart fulfils,
 A world of sport while day, while night doth last,
 How can these things but make Loue open a way,
 and fancy force with her delights to play ? 90

Here did I fayle in seeking to withstand,
 where I confesse the power of loue is most,
 Hence did proceed the leauing of my land
 to finde her out, which I so lewdly lost.
 This is the cause why in such simple case, 95
 I wander seeking her from place to place.

So as I feele my weery bones to shrinke,
 not able long my fainting corpes to beare,
 Sleepe doth oppresse my limmes which gin to sinke,
 while slumbring ease relieues my toylesome cheare. 100
 I pray you Sir, depart not hence from me.
 your faithful helpe mainteynes my hope I see.

Acha. I wil my Lord not once part from your side,
 take you your rest, your trauels doe it craue,
 Here fast by you I am resolved to byde, 105
 to gard you so, as naught your rest depraue.
 The griefe of mind I see works wondrous things,
 commanding al estates both Lords and Kings.

Roxa. O Goddes what haue I heard, O cruel fates,
 must that needs fal which you wil needs fulfill : 110
 My Lord the Duke to leaue his Princely states,
 and wandring thus to yeeld to Fortunes will?
 Then doe I see that euen as you please,
 men reape their rest and feele their most disease.

This haughty Duke which set so light by loue, 115
 as though he could commaund him to obey,
 Doth now himselfe by strange aduentures proue :
 that gainst Loues force no power beareth sway :
 For where Loue liues at will, he soonest dies,
 and where he flaunts at ful thence soonest flies. 120

But yet to learne more certainly whats past,
 ere that to him my selfe I doe bewray,
 At this good man I meane to haue a cast,
 of whom I will learne out if that I may :
 By way of glaunce who t'is that lyeth heere, 125
 and what might cause this his so ruthful cheere.

If't be not he, then is my labour lost,
 and being but few words the cost is small,
 If it be he, then hence straight will I post,
 and to my Ladies eares reporte it all : 130
 That she therby may presently aduise,
 what good therin may to her state arise.

Good Sir, I see you sad which greeneth me,
 whom curchy makes partaker of your woe,
 To ryp your grieve vnpleasant it wil be, 135
 as to all pained soules it is I know :
 Yet if I may finde such grace in your eie,
 tell me what man this is that here doth lie.

Ach. Faire Lady this your curteous speech doth craue
 disclose of all that careful brest doth hide, 140
 In him that lyeth here the world may haue,
 wherein with maze to let their minds abide.
 A Prince he is, whom fortune doth constraene,
 with fruitlesse toyle to trauel stil in vaine.

Rox. A Prince ? I pray you where, and of what land ? 145

Ach. An Asian Lord the great Cambaian Duke.

Rox. What fate might force him take this toyle in hand ?

Acha. To find his daughter out these paines he took.

Rox. Why where is she, how hapt he her to leese ?

Ach. Because in loue her minde he did displease. 150

Rox. Perhaps he did not like where she had lou'd,

Ach. Euen so it was : for hee from court remou'd
 her friend, for whom her countrey she forsooke,
 As not of force her Louers lacke to beare :
 which knowen, the Duke to trauel him betooke : 155
 To find her out whom Nature made so deare,
 With mynde resolu'd if he her met againe,
 to thinke such hap sweet pay for all his payne.

Rox. And hath he not as yet heard where she is ?

Ach. Not yet, but that *Sibilla* bade him goe, 160
 to such a soyle as I suppose is this,
 and there to haue his hope and end his woe.

Rox. These things be strange, yet stranger things haue been
 accomplit here, as I my selfe haue seen.
 Well Sir, I am to thinke my selfe much bound, 165
 for this your curchy shew'd at my request,
 And if your ease may grow within this ground,
 by meanes of me, sure I wil doe my best.
 But Sir, may I desire your Princes daughters name ?

Ach. *Gaudina* she is called of worthy fame.

170

Rox. I thank you Sir, I can no longer stay,
but for requite commaund me any way.

Ach. I thank you for your curtesie.

Rox. Now to my L. Ile goe with speed,
that hearing this she may accordingly proceed.

Exit.

175

Occanon from sleepe.

Ah, ah, it is but vaine to hope in sleepe,
to purchase ease, where waking fils with care :
In sleepe I felt my slumbering eies did weepe,
my heart did pant for griefe in minde I bare.
Now let vs passe vnto our iourneyes end,
til we find out what chance the Gods will send.

180

Ach. My Lord, if words that passe from faithfull heart
may stay your mynd, my hope here bids me stay,
For marking all that's here in euery part,
and minding that which *Sibil* once did say :
Me thinke this place should be the happy land,
where we should rest, as she bare vs in hand.

185

Besides while you tooke rest, a Lady came
with shew of griefe, that your mishaps were such,
And learning both yours and your daughters name,
did passe away : all which perswade me much :
That if you stay til she agayne returne,
your heavy heart with ioyful newes shal burne.

190

Occa. The neerer hope to haue that I desire,
to see my child whom I so farre haue sought,
The more I burne, the greater is my fire,
for feare to faile of that to winne I thought,
The wished end requites the toile that's past,
and ioy for griefe is recompense at last.

195

What is the force of fathers care I see,
though I my selfe am father to my care,
To this effect the same hath wrought in me,
that though it be among examples rare :
My selfe I haue disrobed of my state,
to find my child which I did lose of late.

200

205

Acha. For great offence my Lord the paiment great,
the meanest man feeles not the greatest fall,
You rew with time that you did worke in heat,
and yet you find to comfort you withal :

This cost to *Sibilles* words so doth agree. 210
 But sir behold what Ladies do I see :

The Fairy Queene and Roxane entreth.

A royall blood her vertue wil bewray,
 though Fortune seek her neere so to oppresse,
 And noble race wil not run farre astray.
 but of her selfe wil worke her owne redresse : 215
 As I my selfe euen now haue found most true,
 in this your Ladies case whom I so rue.

She fearing fathers wrath for her offence,
 though by constraint vnkindly causd to stray,
 As she intends with speed departure hence, 220
 so wil she not but wisely part away,
 And for aduise resorted vnto me,
 to learne what way her best returne might be.

My Councel was, since fates had found the meane,
 the English Queene to make for her defence, 225
 To whose assured stay she might wel leane
 To swage her fathers wrath, so wrought for her offence :
 For none could helpe her more nor so as she,
 if with such sute her grace content might be.

Her credit is so good, her fame so flies, 230
 Her Honour such, her wisdoms so in note,
 Her name so knowne to all mens eares and eies,
 as better mean could no where els be gotte,
 Then if he might at her hands vnderstand,
 what she hath heard and seen within her land. 235

Whereon when we resolu'd by ioynt assent,
 and I at her request was drawing neere,
 To moue the suit according as we ment,
 I met you by the way which had byn heere :
 By whom I learned a very speedy meane, 240
 to worke her weale and voyde al terrour cleane.
 But mayde where is the Duke of whom you spake,
 whiche tooke this toyle for your good Ladies sake ?

Rox. Yon same is he whose strange attire,
 descries his grieve and points at his desire. 245

Queen. Well : Ile feele his pulse. Sir knight I heare,
 you are in quest¹ your daughter here to find.

¹ inquest.

In weed disguis'd because behaps you feare,
 least being known contrary to your mynd.
 Your seerch might grow too long, yet may it be, 250
 Your state descride you may find helpe of me.

Occa. Alas Madam, and must it needs be so?
 must grieve burst out? and must my careful thought,
 Make you by speech partaker of my woe?
 wherein the wrong that I haue iustly wrought 255
 Vnto my selfe, shal lead me on along,
 til her I find whose wandring is my wrong.

My natie Countrey is, where Indies streame
 doth enter Sea, nigh to th' Cambaian coste,
 From whence I come into this famous realme, 260
 to seeke my child which by mischance I lost,
 There Duke I am, a Lord of fruitful soyle,
 though Fortunes force now taxe me with this toyle.

Queen. How hap your child did leaue you so alone?
 was there no helpe but she must needs be gone? 265

Occa. She would needs loue where I misliked much,
 a man of meane estate, of base degree,
 She is my only care and his case such,
 as, though wel borne, a subiect yet to me,
 Whom I in heate remou'd from her: but she 270
 in greater heat remou'd her self from me.

Queen. Me thinks these words in such high state bewray
 more eger minde then gift of great conceate,
 A Princesse peere a Duke should seeke to stay,
 and not gainst fume with wit to worke debate. 275
 Are you so farre misledde for want of skill,
 as you know not that loue wil haue his will?

He knowes no peere: al states stoupe to his checke,
 he spares no prince no more then meane estate;
 But makes ech one obey him at a becke: 280
 He takes great scorne to heare tell of a mate,
 But where he findes such match as he doth like,
 without gainsay he bends his bow to strike.

Because you are a Prince of high degree,
 in Countrey where you dwell, you hold it light 285
 That Loue should wound your only heire I see,
 but were you of farre more puissant might,
 And she of price as peerelesse as may be,
 loue hath subdu'de farre brauer Dames then she.

Occa. Madam I must confesse the force of loue, 290
 to be a thing in vaine against to bend,
 Which blind reason first did after proue,
 to set vs so as we can not defend,
 And so triumphing when we cannot see,
 we must confesse, who is the God but he? 295

Queen. As who should say, Loue neuer hits aright,
 but beetle like bereau'd of sight doth runne,
 Not waying worth, nor marking where to light,
 But loue oft times by due desart is wonne,
 And most prest on in Dames of highest prise, 300
 wherfore iudge right, for loue oft times is wise.

Perhaps your daughters Loue sprang from desart,
 perhaps the persons worth procur'de her choise,
 Perhaps he was so tyed he could not start
 from her, commaunding him by vertues voyce : 305
 And would you seeme at such linke to repine,
 which vertue did with her owne fingers twyne?

Therefore make your account this griefe you feele,
 proceeds from offence gainst such a power,
 And neuer hope to winne your better weale, 310
 till that his wrath appeas'd, he leaue to lower.
 Loue is a Lord, who lothes hym[,] him¹ he shames,
 not sparing Lordes, not sparing princely Dames.

And chiefly where with vertue he doth linke,
 for vertues sake, where loue doth like to light, 315
 There can no force enforce his force to shrink,
 he trusts so much to his confederates might :
 Wherefore your daughters loue for vertues sake,
 worke what you could, no ouerthrow would take.

Occa. I neuer did repine where vertues loue did link, 320
 but where there seem'd Disperagement to rise,
 As in her match I did and do stil think,
 his birth to hers in no point did suffice,
 A Princes child inheritour to state,
 too good I thought so farre to vndermate. 325

Queen. Alas good Sir, know you not at these yeeres,
 that Loue doth alwaies fight on equal ground,
 And where he mindeth match, he makes them peeres :
 if mynds agree the ground of states is found.

¹ lothes, hym him.

A Princely heart in meaner man may dwell, 330
where, if a Princesse like, she doth but well.

For when the eare is fed with worthes report,
when eie beholds what rauisheth the sight,
The heart straight to desire yeelds vp the fort :
where if againe like liking hap to light, 335
When vertues ioyned and like with like is knit,
what match is made more excellent then it?

This match should you mainteine where loue crept in,
not of himself but gesse-waies led by hand,
For vertue was the first that did begin, 340
against whose force whilst you thought to withstand,
In single termes as not allowing loue,
the compound strength of vertue you do proue.

You blame not him for mounting vp so hie,
She beares the blame for bending down so low,
Whom fortune bids looke vp, too blame were he 345
if he should quaille, and worthy ouerthrow.
And she too blame, of neere so high degree,
not casting Loue where vertues doth agree.

Alas, whats birth, though borne so much in eye ? 350
the onely meane to blind who so is borne,
Who looking bigge with countenance on hye,
with vaine conceites holdes vertues giftes in scorne,
Unhappy he that bragges in that behalfe,
where vertue lacks he proues himself a calfe. 355

Occa. You force me sore, yet this youle not deny,
that though Loues powre be not to be withstood,
And that the match of minds be beyond cry,
and they best linkt where liking thinks it good,
Yet should my child of me make so smal store, 360
as match her selfe and not moue me before ?

Queen. If match were made by onely meane of man,
you had byn first, as whom the cause concernd,
But what the Gods first moue doe what you can,
they wil passe on though parents be not warnd, 365
It is but vayne to say loue shal not winne,
vnlesse at your consent he first begiue.

Occa. But was not that vnkindly done of her,
vnknown to me to stray from Countries soyle ?
Therby her Fathers blood so sore to stirre, 370

which for her sake doe take this yrksome toyle?
In kinde a child, vnkind to such a Syre,
deseruing iust reuenge of fathers yre.

Queen. Nay was not that vnkindly done of you,
vnknownen to her, to send her loue away, 375
To worke you both such woe as you feelee now,
you for her sake, she for her Loue to stray :
In kynd a Syre, vnkind to such a child,
whose only fault hath child and Sire exilede.

Occa. But nature should haue borne with parents heat, 380
sith what was meant was meant but for her good,
The Loue of kind, such fancy loue should beat,
and though she found me for a time in mood,
Tyme would haue turnd and causd me to relent,
in that for which from me she slily went. 385

Queen. Where nature doth but warme loue sets on fire,
and greater force of lesser is obeyde,
For loue by choyce doth drawe more deep desire,
the loue of kind, by kind loue's ouer wayde,
Which maister like giues not time to relent, 390
but on he wil or make the man repent.

How could your Tigrish heart by sundring them,
which liu'd in heauen before you sought their hell,
Defeate the hold where Cupid held his claime ?
but in these termes no longer for to dwell : 395
What if your child were offered to your face,
Should she, or should she not obtaine your grace ?

And if her Loue for whom her toyle hath beene,
should come with her resolu'd to be her owne,
Should not this angry mood of yours void cleane ? 400
answere me that, for that thing being known,
Perhaps I would in part procure your ease,
so that their match your mynd might not displease.

Occa. This compound case doth cause a fight in mind :
to gaine my child my grieve would soone relent, 405
Though in her flight she followed not her kind,
but with her match I cannot be content.
But who are you, Madam, if I may craue
to know your name, which seekes them thus to saue ?

Queen. I am the Fairy Queene.

Occa. O noble Dame, 410
whose skil is such, as nought is hid from you,

Nothing so darke but you doe know the same,
 I know you know where both they be, and how
 I may obtaine the thing I haue so sought,
 whose want I wrought and deerely haue it bought. 415

Queen. Wel Sir, I doe perceiue you are content,
 to take your child into your grace againe,
 In hope wherof she shal straight be present,
 to please her fathers sight, to stay his paine :
 For other things discourse you when you meet, 420
 all wil be wel since you are wonne from heat.

Goe mayd, goe, cal your Lady here. Rox. exit.

Occa. I thanke you noble Dame for pitying me,
 and tendring this my silly daughters state,
 Whom if it be my hap againe to see,
 no such like heat shal set vs at debate, 425
 And yet I hope by reason so to deale,
 as that her match shal stand to Countries weale.

Acha. It wilbe hard her settled loue to shake,
 which grounded once is not light to remoue,
 Yet for your loue and for her Countries sake, 430
 it may fall out she wil forget her loue :
 Which being new and young did rauish so,
 now being old hath better leaue to go,
 But yonder comes the maiden which was sent, *Gaudina*
 and lo my Ladie there for whom she went. *& Roxa.* 435

Qu. T'is true my L. your daughter is in place. *entreth.*
 performe your speech and let her find some grace.

Gaudi. espying her father, falleth on her knees, saying :

Gaudi. I must deere father craue here at your feet,
 for mine offence your pardon to obtaine,
 From whom to fly, I yeeld it was not meet, 440
 yet Loue (my Lord) in me so sore did rayne :
 As victor once repulse he would not beare,
 but bade me seek my loue in place ech where.

You vnderstand my Lord the course I kept,
 you see the gods haue brought this geare to end, 445
 These fatal listes could not be ouerlept,
 but needs my wil to their great might must bend :
 For fault to you their force I must oppose,
 I am your child of me you may dispose.

Occa. Small pardon needs where grace is ready found, 450
 vpon some better hope you haue discharge,
 Affection heales where folly made the wound,
 but these things are to be discourst at large.
 But now the meane to mend your present case,
 is that you yeeld and gaine your fathers grace. 455

This Lady here the Fairy Queene hath laide,
 for your defence in so forsaking me,
 As much as may in your behalfe be sayd,
 to whom we both are bound exceedingly :
 One point remaines, wherein if you relent, 460
 to take you home to grace I am content.

Queen. I dare my selfe for her part vndertake,
 that on her side resistance wilbe small,
 To what request her father here shal make,
 the cause once knowen, and circumstance withall : 465
 To compasse your good will is her desire,
 wherefore demaund the thing that you require.

Occa. *Gaudina* this long time you haue giuen raine,
 to serue your choise and feed your fancy still,
 Wherin as you haue suffered part of payne, 470
 so I became partaker of your yll,
 Now is the time to come to reasons schoole,
 which can alone these hot affections coole.

For loue to leaue the land where you were borne,
 to tread your Fathers teares quite vnder feet, 475
 To stray you wote not where as one forlorne,
 to wander strangerlike in such a heat :
 Doth ill beseem a person of your port,
 which being done, to reason now resort.

You are mine only child, heire to my state, 480
 the wealth whereof doth rest vpon your choyce,
 Which wilbe wel if you in taking mate,
 do vse aduise of Fathers careful voyce,
 Mark wel, hereon doth hang your Fathers loue,
 besides the good by you my state may proue. 485

I wil (considering both birth and your degree,
 wherto at first I cast my chiefe respect)
 To Countries good you chiefly haue an eie,
 which calles you home, and wils you to neglect
 The Loue of him which led you so astray, 490
 and for her sake to take a better way.

Gaudin. A dainty choyse my Lord you offer me,
old rooted loue stil wedded to conceit,
With rufull looke appearing in mine eye,
and to your suit presenting stil debate,
Whom Countries good and nature bids obay,
wherby my tongue knowes not whats best to say.

495

But good my Lord sith you which may command,
doe giue me leaue for my defence to plead,
May it please you in short to vnderstand,
how things haue past twixt him and me indeed,
Which being heard, if you be not content,
my wil to yours shal presently be bent :

500

How worth in him did worke loue first in me,
in Princely state while I did liue at home,
Your selfe therewith displeasd did right wel see,
which banishing him inforced me to rome,
Because the baite which loue for vs had layde,
held vs so fast as it could not be stayde.

505

By land and Sea I wandred farre and neere,
not finding rest til *Sibil* told me plaine,
[the]¹ hap of that I hop'd remained here,
where I should rest and finish al my payne :
Successe confirm'd her speech, and here I found,
to whom by chained linke loue hath me bound.

510

515

For farther linke in marriage to proceed,
because therein I had not your consent,
I followed stil *Apollos* holy reed,
whose priest in that restrained myne intent,
And wild me not to marriage to giue place,
til he should like of whom I tooke my race.

520

Our state is thus, our loue which thus did grow,
stands in these termes, in other termes yet free.
I loued where I likt which reft me froe,
I hasted on the thing I likt to see :
I sought, I found, our loue remayneth stil,
so to passe forth, if it be your good will.

525

Occa. If you stand free saue only that it pleasd
the mighty *Cupid* th[u]s² to cause you rome,
Therein I find my heart wel easd,

530

¹ het.² this.

and trust to match you wel when I come home :
 With loue more fit for you then this can be,
 where both estate and wealth shal wel agree.

Gaud. Alas my Lord, it is but fortunes gift,
 to haue discent brought down from Princes traine. 535
 The persons worth is vertues worthy drift,
 which by desart the highest place should gaine.
 Care not for birth though it be neuer so base,
 but vertue reke which craues the highest place.

Ocea. As t'is a chance to be a Princes child, 540
 so if you thinke that vertue is restraind,
 To one alone, therin you are beguild,
 she doth refuse of none to be obtaind :
 And where that royall blood with vertues meet,
 doth not such one best seem a Princely seate. 545

Such one I know in place where you were borne,
 more fit for you then this to whom you cleaue,
 Whe[r]fore¹ giue your consent, and thinke no scorne,
 at Fathers suit your former loue to leaue :
 For duty so despisde for al my payne, 550
 to find you out, I craue this only gaine.

Gaudi. But yet my Lord consider al the toile,
 which I haue past to compasse this my loue ?
 Shal old conceit at length receiue the foyle,
 whose force I feele not minding to remoue ? 555
 When Loue forsaken shal reuiue agayne,
 alas my Lord how sore wil be my payne :

To be constrained not once to cast a looke,
 where I tofore did pitch my whole delight ?
 To leaue him thus, for whom I all forsooke, 560
 how can true loue abide such poysoned spight ?
 Whats to be said in this vnequall fight,
 where loue denies what nature claimes of right ?

O Cupid be content with that is past,
 thus long to thee I haue my seruice vowd, 565
 Let nature now preuaile at last,
 what she demands hold it not disalowd :
 And shal I then forsake my former ioy ?
 nay my *Gaudina* death were lesse annoy.

Plaint hath found meane, and loue hath won his right, 570

¹ Wherefore.

from whom but death no force shal seuer me,
 Dame Nature be content, here in thy sight
 my Loue I doe release and yeeld to thee,
 Yet neither loue nor nature may possesse,
 but only death the mother to redresse. 575

Occa. See how this heate doth burst to extreame flame,
 see what deuise extreame desire hath founde,
 She loues and cannot leaue, yet to voyd blame,
 she hath found out another helples grounde,
 By death to disappoint both our desires : 580
 see reasons checke when senslesse loue aspires.

Yet this I may not leaue that is begonne,
 Madam of you I must craue farther ayde,
 By whom I trust this fort shal yet be wonne :
 you haue perceiu'd by both what hath byn said, 585
 You see the ground whereon my reasons leane,
 to work my daughters weale be you the meane.

Queen. I see affection arm'd and loth to yeeld,
 whom length of time and strength of loue support,
 I see whereon perswasions right doth build, 590
 which hath me thinks possest the stronger fort :
 If loue had sight and reason could behold,
 or fiery flame could be subdu'de with cold.

But Lady, geue me leaue whose friendship tride,
 doth bid you bend your eare to that I say, 595
 The trueth whereof cannot be wel denide,
 though flaming loue in heate seeme to say nay :
 Immortal states as you know mine to be,
 from passions blind affects are quite and free.

If you may so consent to Parentes minde, 600
 (wherwith is ioyn'd the wealth of countries soyle)
 As loue cannot accuse you for vnkinde,
 ne yet complaine himselfe to haue the foyle :
 Considering he whereon your Loue is bent,
 may haue your loue though you herein relent. 605

If you forsake, not furst by greater cause,
 loue then of some vnkindnes might you blame,
 But weight of greater worth forbidding pause
 If you withstand, you blemish much your name.
 It were no loue that stood so in your sight : 610
 but might be tearm'd meere madnes out of right.

Returne againe with parent whence you came,
 regard the state which birth hath brought you to,
 Relent to loue that wil augment your fame,
 and yet this knight cannot, if you so do, 615
 Condemne you much although you him forsake,
 sith of two go[o]ds¹ the greater you doe take.

Your Fathers reason springs from such a ground,
 as cannot wel by reason be deny'de :
 If he for you so fit a match haue found, 620
 as for your birth no fitter may be spi'de,
 What haue you then against him to withstand,
 since nought but good can come from parents hand.

Set al aside, and onely this obserue,
 to seeke you out, your knight he took no paine, 625
 Yours was the toile, you did from countrey swerue,
 you trauail'de stil, in rest he did remaine :
 So that of you if loue craue further ayde,
 you answere may, he hath his wages payde.

But though you may thus checke his loue you'le say,
 how shal I choake the loue which flames in me, 630
 That, do my best, so keepes me at the bay,
 as ties me fast when loose I fain would be :
 So that I find, the goale must there be woon,
 where fancy fights, and loue the broyle begun ? 635

Your countenance seemes to yeeld, debarre al doubt,
 let meaner loue to greater quickly yeeld,
 Your good it is these reasons goe about,
 let common care giue priuate wil the field, 640
 Why stand you stil as one in sodain traunce,
 giue place to that your honour may aduaunce.

Gaudina. Th'assault is great, yet loue bids keep the field,
 what al this time hath my long trauel won ?
 If now by light attempt I hap to yeeld :
 these reasons hel[d]e¹ before my flight begon : 645
 What is now said but then the fame was true ?
 the ground is old though floures be fresh and new.

When he by flight was so withdrawn from me,
 then did my loue condemne these reasons all,
 And shall I now sith nothing els I see, 650

¹ gods.¹ helte.

by yeelding thus procure both present thral?
 I rather choose to wander with him stil,
 then so to change and countermaund my wil.

I feele a false alarme as though there were,
 a fitter match to be found out for mee : 655
 No *Contarenius* no, I smel this geare,
 to try if so I would relent from thee :
 No, our consents haue ioynd this faithfull linke,
 til thou saiest nay I wil not from thee shrinke.

And yet in thee if slender shewes take place, 660
 Ile neuer yeeld for honour of my kind,
 Let men remoue and slightly turne their face,
 in womans brest more stay they stil shal find :
 My parents pardon me my countrey stay,
 for what is said from Loue I wil not stray. 665

Occan. You see how sore my headstrong daughter's bent,
 she wil not yeeld for aught that can be said,
 Were it not good that to the Knight we went
 to see if his desire might be delaide :
 I see by him the meane must first begin, 670
 to quench the flame my daughter frieth in.

Queen. If it seeme good to you as't doth to me,
 to him where as he is, we will repaire,
 For at his hand this must be wrought I see,
 if he himselfe wil yeeld to countries care : 675
 Com Sir, and you Madam, let vs retire,
 we haue to deale with him whom you desire.

Gaudi. You may so with perswasions deale I think,
 as he to your demaund may seeme to yeeld,
 But inwardly that he from me wil shrink, 680
 no reason can such ground bring for her shield :
 Yet to doe that which both you do desire,
 apart with you my selfe I wil retire.

Exeunt.

*Here the Pages abiding, vse a pretty act of sport, but because the matter
 wilbe full without it, I haue thought good not to trouble you with
 suche Parenthesis, but making their speeches ended I will
 only recite the introduction to their comming in.*

Alexandro. But yonder comes the Fairy Queenee,
 and brings with her in trayne, 685
 My Lord the Duke with merry looke,
 I hope weis home againe.

Occa. the Duke, *Eambia* the Fairy Queene, *Contarenius*,
Gaudina, *Roxa*. *Niphe*.

Queen. You heare Sir Knight the parents iust request,
 you see the force whereon his reasons stand,
 Affections staies what wisdom thinks for best, 690
 the matter rests al onely in your hand.
 By nature you are farther to forsee,
 you are therefore to strike the stroke, not she.

Occa. You know of old what led me so to let
 the great desire wherewith you both so brent, 695
 Against your worth my wil was neuer set,
 to further Countries good was mine intent :
 Which sith in me so constantly doth dwell,
 to yeeld therto me thinks you might do wel.

Gaudi. Yet *Contarenius* think what is in you, 700
 if vertues worth and waight in you be great,
 And such as none but blind can disallow,
 why should perswasions then vs two defeate,
 As who say, any els might better seeme,
 then you and I to rule so great a realme. 705

Birth beares me out, and vertue beares vp you,
 and why should any then thereof mislike?
 As certaine prooffe shal stil preuaile I trow,
 before that is vncertain how to like.
 You are to choose my friend, make answere so 710
 as you do not procure vs endles wo.

Conta. The choise is hard in midst of such extreames,
 my Lord and Prince pretending Countries good,
 On th'other side affections dazeling beames,
 which stil wil shine though clypsed with a cloude, 715
 Layeth in myne eye my Ladies due desart,
 which nought but death can seuer from my heart.

What flashing flames did she at first abide,
 when as on me her loue she did bestow?
 What constance stil in her wrought on my side, 720
 to keepe that loue whereto my life I owe?
 What griefe did then consume her careful heart,
 when as my Lord wil'd me from Court depart?

What was the zeale that made her so forsake,
 the blisse which princely Court to her could bring, 725
 And for my Loue such passing paines to take,

to find me out where brute of me shoulde ring.
 Now should I swerue whom she so long hath sought?
 death were too smal did I but fault in thought.

How can I leaue her thus and not deserue, 730
 to be enrould with those infamous men,
 Whom Loue, because they did from him so swerue,
 hath painted out by Poets publike pen :
 In hel to haue their wel deseruing hire,
 For so defrauding loue of iust desire? 735

Yet pardon me Madam for waighing both,
 if any harme do rise, the griefe is mine,
 You to displease the gods knowe I am loth,
 for whom my heart disdaines not any pine,
 Set loue aside til reason hath found out, 740
 what is the best in that we goe about.

Against our Loue our Countries good is laid,
 for whose auaile we ought not death refuse,
 Then death for loue in Countries cause bewraid,
 ought to reioyce and seeke no other scuce : 745
 Yet leauing Loue for countries cause I die,
 who wil not weep such happe on me to lie.

Because my Lord your father may well know
 that vertue is the linke of this our Loue,
 And not affection blind which leades vs so, 750
 as being bent we cannot once remoue :
 Marke Madam what I say, and yeeld consent,
 it is your loue that causeth me relent.

Without my Lord your parents free good wil,
 at home with him what can his child enjoy? 755
 And thus to liue in state a wanderer stil,
 as you do now, what more may breed annoy?
 Good Madam though I loue as no man more,
 yeeld yet to him, withstand him not so sore.

You shal obtaine such one by his foresight, 760
 as he shal like, and countries weale shal craue,
 You must regard the common weales good plight,
 and seeke the whole not onely one to saue.
 If you doe well, I cannot doe amisse,
 though loosing you I lose mine onely blisse. 765

I doe foresee the griefe that wil insue,

when I shal find my selfe of you bereft,
 When careful mind my late mishap shal rue,
 that voyd of you and of your sight am left.
 A double death my doleful dayes shal feelee, 770
 Yet I resigne my right to countries weale.

Qu. A noble speech confirming what was said,
 that vertues worth was causer of your loue,
 For sure my Lord it cannot be denaide,
 but that this minde a stony heart myght moue, 775
 Which to his praise doth yeeld to Countries good,
 the thing which to possesse so neere he stood.

Occa. Wel *Conta.* I must needs esteeme,
 you of such worth as your estate doth beare,
 And if it might so to all others seem, 780
 you best deserue the garland for to weare.
 But sith the fates against your vertues bend,
 your vertue wils you this to condescend.

Whereto this farre I yeeld if that you please
 with me againe to Countrey to resort, 785
 You shal in noble state there liue at ease,
 and spend your daies in most delightful sport.
 And as for loue I banish't you my lande,
 euen so for loue in grace stil shal you stand.

Cont. My Lord, what you haue done, your state maintains, 790
 exiling me that did offend your eye,
 My life must be in course of restlesse paines,
 for her whom care of countrey doth denye.
 Good hap light on the land where I was borne,
 though I doe liue in wretched state forlorne. 795

Gaudin. Alas that such a spirit cannot perswade,
 Alas that state and vertue sunder so,
 Alas of worth no more account is made,
 but thus from thee my loue must I needes goe.
 Well sith he yeelds which hath most right in me, 800
 Ah Countries good I yeeld my selfe to thee.

Occa. Now haue I that which though I bought with pain,
 I think it light, the gain thereof so great,
 Now I receiue you to my grace againe,
 whereof before Loue sought you to defeat. 805
 The second mends the former fault doth heale,
 since you giue place to care of Countries weale.

Queen. Wel now the force wherto your fate made way
 is wel expired, you haue the heauens to friend,

Who though they say you runne so long astray, 810
yet haue they giuen your care a ioyful end.
Thinke on and thanke, it is a special grace,
first so to stray, then so to end your race.

Your peace is wrought Madam, retire with me,
to place where I do dwel from whence you may 815
To Countrey make repaire when time shalbe.
til when my Lord if you with me wil stay,
What things shal need for that your home retire,
I wil supply your want to your desire.

Occa. Your goodnes hath so bound both her and me, 820
as while we liue we be yours to command,
By you is wrought this wished worke I see,
by power diuine, and by no mortal hand.
Passe on Madam let vs be of your trayne,
the causer of our ioy the healer of our payne. 825

Queen. And you sir Knight whose honest yeelding made
the good consent which past to help this yll,
You may remaine as I before haue said,
where I do dwel with hearty great good will.
And euer haue the Fairy Queene to friend, 830
for vertues sake which I in you do finde.

Conta. Madam I am your owne stil to command,
as one you see of hap bereaued quite,
Resolu'd not to returne to countries land,
sith I haue lost what was my whole delight : 835
When resting pawse hath stay'd my troubled heart,
I will retire and draw my selfe apart.

And now sith cause of such importaunce moues,
my woful heart thus to forgo his loue,
Most worthy Dame sith chaunce so parts our loues, 840
that from my sight your presence must remoue,
Graunt me herein, sith now the last I see,
let not your loue all whole depart from mee.

Waigh wel the cause that mou'd me to relent,
which may perhaps imprint more deep conceite, 845
What man as I, his loue so firmly bent,
would yeeld the hold once maister of the baite?
The gods preserue your honour stil in health,
my priuate good, my common countries wealth.

And if your mind were set that home you will, 850
 it were but labour lost, if I gainsaide,
 And absent if your loue continue still,
 my gaine is great who stil this ground haue laide,
 That honest loue might thinke it no disgrace.
 though they that loue do hap to sunder place. 855

Gaudi. Wel, *Contarenius* wel, what shal ensue?
 You are the cause whose yeelding makes me yeeld,
 Yet of my word for euer hold this true,
 wheron you may assured comfort build :
 Til death my soule and body shal depart, 860
 your loue shal lodge in some part of my heart.

Griefe calles me hence. *Exit.*

Conta.
 Such is my recompence.
 Nowe doe I feele the pangs the Sea men bide,
 which hauing harbour nigh in hope to land 865
 By turning winde are driuen to try the tide,
 and trust the Seas thereby to voyd the sand.
 Now doe I feele the depth of mothers paine,
 for death of child she hop'd to see againe.

Was euer man more neere his hauen of blisse?
 his ship driuen forth with wind that fill'd the sayle,
 Had euer man such cause of hopelesse misse,
 as I which at the fal so soon did faile?
 Did Fortune ere so sodain shew her power
 as in her mirth so soon againe to lower? 875

When I had liu'd so long in strange exile,
 in desart wastes commaunded stil to dwel,
 Disfaured of my prince (alas the while)
 and bard my Ladies sight my heauiest hel :
 Againe at last though to her paine we met, 880
 so Loue in her surmounted lucklesse let,

Which loue as it did worke in her to ease,
 so Fathers search which sought to salue his losse,
 Hath bred vs both more cause of great displease,
 and tied vs thus to trie more bitter crosse : 885
 By duety she is forced to relent,
 and leaues to loue a leasure to repent.

Yet can I not *Gaudina* blame therefore;
 her hearty loue, her toyling tractes bewayles,
 She is the lodge where vertue makes her store,
 it was her syre that bred my doleful daies : 890

Most happy he that on her loue can hit,
most haplesse I for so forgoing it.

And so farre went I yet as one that spied,
her whole estate depend vpon my graunt, 895
Though my mishap herein be not denied,
yet of her spide my selfe may iustly vaunt.
To worke her good my life I would forgoe,
as I haue done though to my endlesse woe.

Niphe and Roxane entreth.

Rox. Friend *Niphe* could we two haue euer once surmised, 900
that such euent would fall to this exceeding loue,
Or that blind *Cupid* could so quickly be suppressed,
which to all reason first so strongly gaue the gloue?

Ni. I neuer thought but that there might fal out some turn,
the streame did run so strong, it threatned stil to stay, 905
The flame so flashing hot could not so alwaies burn,
but being closely kept would burst some other way.

Contar. What *Niphe*, art thou here, and heard'st my plaint?
with silent voyce couldst thou such griefe abide? 910
Which heretofore when fortune gaue the taint,
from sounding shril couldst not thine anguish hide?
Oh helpe in sound to shew my sorrowing state,
which seem'd to thee most happy but of late.

Niphe. I wil good sir doe al that lieth in me,
to ease your care whose case doth touch me neere, 915
To finde you out by lande and eke by Sea,
my selfe did toyle twixt hope and trembling feare,
Whose shaking off in sort as now we see,
is sowre to you, and nothing sweet to mee.

But sith you may with licence of my Lord, 920
returne againe from whence you were exilde,
Why wil you not with him therein accord?
me thinks refusing that, you are beguilde.
There whom you loue, you may haue still in sight,
which step in loue was neuer holden light. 925

Conta. Can I beholde another to embrace,
where I my selfe my Loue haue alwayes cast,
Would not my griefe bewray it selfe in place,
to see my Loue so cleerely from me past.
Good *Niphe* helpe, this is my last request, 930
to shew my griefe good *Niphe* doe thy best.

Niphes song.

O silly Bird what fees thy heauy brest,
 which seeking foode to feed thy young withall,
 At thy returne doest find thy empty nest,
 and none therein to answer at thy call? 935
 How can thy heart but melt away for grieve,
 forgoing them to thee of late so lief?

How could'st thou *Thisby* stay, by trembling hand,
 from reauing thee thy then so lothsome life,
 When dead on ground thy *Pyrramus* gan stand, 940
 who hop'd forthwith to haue thee to his wife?
 The neerer hope the fuller fraught with gall,
 when trust in hope to rest hath sodaine fall.

Poore *Contarenius* how hath Fortune fickle dame,
 procur'd thy grieve in offring thee her hand? 945
 Which in thy cause doth now deserue most blame,
 when she would seem thy special friend to stand,
 O ye that trust the whirling of her wheele,
 beware the wrench at turning of her heele.

And you that look aloft beyond degree, 950
 when fayrest wind doth fill your flying sayle,
 Hold fast for feare your footing ficklest bee,
 when hope wil seeme to helpe you to preuayle.
 So did she here with *Contarenius* play,
 from whom she fled when she made shew of stay. 955

Conta. I thank thee *Niphe* for thy mournful song,
 the tune whereof delights the doleful eares
 Of such as iustly may complaine the wrong,
 whose grieve dammes vp the floud of trickling teares.
 Farewell to both, sith I must needs depart, 960
 beare witnes of my woe and careful heart.

And tel my Lady deere that I intend,
 henceforth to seeke if I may meet her friend,
Loricus whom the Hermit did commend,
 Ile bid him thinke and hope one day to find 965
 Reward for that his faithful seruice long,
 til when we both may plaine of fortunes wrong.

Yet say, I wil abide hers to command,
 where so aduentures hard shal carry me,
 Not leauing Loue by Sea nor yet by land, 970

though that I loue, I neuer hap to see.
 Oh careful heart opprest with such desires,
 as lacks the ioyes that lyking aye requires.

Yet this I am assur'de her Princely heart,
 where she hath lou'd wil neuer quite forget, 975
 I know in her I shal haue stil a part,
 in honest sort I know she loues me yet.
 These thoughts in me mainteine the hope of life,
 which other waies by death should end the strife.

Exit Contar.

Rox. Wel then I see our fortune must deuide, 980
 we must again to Countries land retire,
 This knight delights in sorrowing to abide,
 For missing her which was his whole desire.
 My selfe haue felt such trauel on their traine,
 as I am glad home to returne agayne. 985

The Gods send al good speed that tarry here,
 and chiefly her which gouernes al the rest,
 As for my selfe I wil spread farre and neere,
 for princely prayse that she deserueth best :
 And that God loued vs which made vs stay, 990
 where vertuous Queene doth stately scepter sway.

Finis.

Imprinted at Lon-
 don for Thomas Cadman.
 1585.

II.—AUTHORSHIP AND INTERPRETATION

On the question of authorship, Mr. Pollard's opinion that the comedy was "probably by George Gascoigne" has the first claim to consideration. Mr. Pollard gives reasons (which appear to me to be sound) for concluding that Gascoigne was not the author of the whole pamphlet.¹ In the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the four versions of *The Tale*

¹See especially the passage before the "posies" (p. 99), in which the author says he does not understand Italian.

of *Hemetes* which Gascoigne presented to the Queen on January 1, 1576, he speaks as if he were present at Woodstock on the occasion of the entertainment, but were not himself the author of *The Tale*, whose "skyll" and "well polished style" he contrasts with his own "rude phrases."¹

There seems to be no reason why Gascoigne should disavow or conceal the authorship of any part of the pamphlet, if it were really his; it would be contrary to his practice, for the only known work of his that was not acknowledged by him was *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, and in this case there were special reasons, the pamphlet being his report of service done as a state emissary, whose official position it might not be convenient to reveal. He claimed credit for his share of *The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth*, published within a year of the time of performance (July, 1575), and put his well-known motto, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, at the end of the pamphlet, which was included in the collected edition of his works, issued, after his death, in 1587. Beyond the fact that he was at Woodstock at the time, there is nothing to show that Gascoigne was responsible for any part of the entertainment, and the original ascription of the comedy to him was probably based upon the mistaken notion that he was the author of *The Tale of Hemetes*, upon which it is founded.

The internal evidence in support of Gascoigne's authorship of the comedy is as weak as the external. I should be the last to contend that Gascoigne is a great writer, but my impression, after a careful reading of the whole of his known work, is that he does not descend below a certain level of mediocrity, and the Woodstock comedy strikes me as inferior, in both conception and execution, to any of his

¹ Gascoigne's Complete Works (Cambridge English Classics), Vol. II, p. 477.

acknowledged works; it is certainly much below the standard of the Kenilworth "shew" of Zabeta, written by Gascoigne two or three months before. The plot is bald and shows no ingenuity of invention, the compliment to the Queen is slight, and Gascoigne was enough of a courtier to lay flattery on with a trowel. The Pages' "pretty act of sport" was so irrelevant that the reporter omitted it, and the insertion and the omission are alike contrary to Gascoigne's manner. The metre of the comedy (iambic pentameter, A B A B C C) is singularly ill-fitted for dramatic presentation, and is not employed by Gascoigne on any similar occasion. It is here used with a lack of skill much below Gascoigne's level of workmanship, which, for his time, was at least respectable. Without apparent reason, the writer departs from his rhyme-scheme to fall into couplets (151-2, 171-2, 174-5, 264-5, 436-7); he has an occasional stranded prose line (173 and 421*a*); some lines lack a foot (530, 566), others a syllable (292, 309); a redundant foot is not uncommon (227, 320, 486, 825, 900-907); 246 and 292 will not scan. There are many imperfect rhymes, and the use of alliteration is pushed to an excess beyond Gascoigne's practice. In the last word of 418 we have a glaring case of strained accent, which Gascoigne in his treatise on versification specially condemns; and some of the grammatical forms (*e. g.* *-eth* as the plural termination of the verb) are not his.

Before looking elsewhere for the author, it may be well to consider the purpose and character of the Woodstock entertainment, especially of the comedy which is its most salient feature. The author of the pamphlet goes out of his way to draw attention to the "audacity" of the hermit's tale, "in which tale if you marke the woords with this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the deuises, you shoulde finde no lesse hidden then uttered, and no lesse uttered then shoulde deserue a double reading ouer, euen of

those (with whom I finde you a companion) that haue disposed their houres to the study of great matters." The Princess Caudina, who is the heroine alike of the story and of the comedy, does not in either, it should be noted, obtain the lover for whom she has "passed perils past beliefe"; in the tale, the issue is left doubtful, perhaps with the assumption that the lovers, having met after so many vicissitudes, will be happy ever after; but in the comedy, after a reasonable amount of protestation, they resign their rights for the good of their country, though the lower rank of Contarenus is all that is urged against him. The comedy is thus the counterpart of the "shew" of Zabeta, written by Gascoigne for the Kenilworth festivities, which urged on the Queen the advantages of matrimony, obviously in the interests of Leicester, who appears to have been pressing his suit at this time with some insistence;¹ the "shew" was never presented to Elizabeth, though it was "prepared and redy (every Actor in his garment) two or three days together," doubtless because the Queen had some inkling of its purport, and preferred not to receive, in public, so outspoken a declaration of her favourite's designs. The Woodstock comedy preaches exactly the opposite doctrine—the subjection of personal desires to interests of state; and the fate of Loricus and Hemetes in the story seems to point the lesson which Queen Elizabeth was undoubtedly anxious that her lovers should learn—that of whole hearted devotion without hope of recompense. It appears rash to assume that Leicester, in the two months intervening between the Kenilworth and the Woodstock entertainments, had made such a remarkable change of front; it is more probable that the Woodstock devices were directed not by or for Leicester, but against him, and this supposition is borne out by the interest

¹ *Modern Language Review*, Vol. iv, pp. 231-2.

taken in the proceedings by the French Ambassador, who was known to be hostile to Leicester's designs. This supposition would presumably exclude not only Gascoigne, but the whole corps of court poets employed by Leicester at Kenilworth—William Hunneys, Master of her Majesty's Chapel; George Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court; Henry Goldingham and Richard Muncaster.

Slight as are the literary merits of the entertainment, its allusions evidently provoked a great deal of interest at the time. The Queen gave "earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing, which being done, as I heare, she used, besides her own skill, the helpe of the deuisors, & how thinges were made I know not, but sure I am her Majesty hath often in speech some part hereof with mirth at the remembrance . . . it was as well thought of, as anye thing euer done before her Majestie, not onely of her, but of the rest: in such sort, that her Graces passions, and other the Ladies could not but shew it selfe in open place more then euer hath been seene." It was because Gascoigne saw the Queen's "lernered judgment greatly pleased" with the *Tale of Hemetes* that he chose it to illustrate his skill as a translator. The Gascoigne versions must have been circulated in other MSS. beside that presented to the Queen, for the Latin text, as well as the English, was annexed by Abraham Fleming to his curious pamphlet *A Paradox, proving by reason and example that Baldnesse is much better than bushie hair*, etc. (1579). The publication of the entertainment by Cadman in 1585 (ten years after the event), gives evidence of a certain amount of permanent interest. Still, it is rather surprising to find that as late as 1592 the devices and characters of the entertainment could be alluded to as if they were still kept in mind by the Queen and Court. The reference is so significant that it seems worth while to reproduce it here as it was printed in 1821

by William Hamper of Birmingham from a ms. then in his possession, and reprinted by Nichols in the subsequent edition of the *Progresses* :—

The second daies woork where the Chaplayne maketh this Relation.

Da mihi quicquid habes, animumqu' fidemq' manumq'

Hec tria si mihi des, das mihi quicquid habes.

Elizæ laudes, et vox et lingua loquuntur.

The Oration.

Most excellent Princes! Princes of excellencie! whom God framed in heauen to grace his woorkmanshippe on earth, and whose gratiouse abiding with us belowe is priuiledged by the singular grace of God aboue! Vouchsafe, I beseeche you, from the matcheles heighte of your Royall graces, to loke downe on the humble dwelling of an owld Knight, now a newe religiouse Hermite: who, as heretofore he professed the obedience of his youthe, by constant seruice of the worldes best Creature, so at this present presentethe the deuotion of his yeares, by continuall seruing of the worldes onlie Cretor. In theone, kind judgment was the usher, & beleefe the follower of his sounde loue: in the other, meditation is the forerunner, & zeale the usher, of this streite lyfe. This solitary man, Loricus, for such is his condicion & so is he called, one whose harde adventures were once discovered, and better fortune foreshewed, by a good father of his owne coate, not farr from this Coppies, rann the restles race of desire, to seeke content in the state of perfections; comaunding his thoughtes & deedes to tender theire dutie & make solemne sacrifices to the Idoll of his harte, in as manie partes as his minde had passions, yet all to one ende, because all from one grounde, to wit the consent of his affections. Sometymes he consorted with couragious Gentlemen, manifesting inward joyes by open justes, the yearlie tribute of his dearest Loue. Sometimes he summoned the witnesse of depest conceiptes, Himmes & Songes & Emblemes, dedicating them to the honor of his heauenlye Mistres. Sometymes by lyking drawen to looking, he lost himselfe in the bottomles vewe of unparragonized vertues, eche good ymagination ouertaking other with a better, and the best yelding a degree aboue the best, when they all were deemed too weake for her woorth which ouerweyeth all worthinesse.

Thus spent he the florishe of his gladdest dayes, crauing no rewarde ells, but that he might loue, nor no reputation beside but that he might be knowne to Loue; till the two enimies of Prosperitie, Enuie and Age, (the one greuing at him, & the other growing on him,) cutt him off from the following the Cowrte, not from goying forwarde in his course. Thence, willingly unwilling, he retired his tyred lymes into a corner of quiet

repose, in this Countrie, where he lyued priuate in coelestiall contemplation of manie matters together, and, as he once told me, seriouslie kept a verie courte in his owne bosome, making presence of her in his soule, who was absent from his sight. Amongst manie other exercises (whereof feruent desire ys not scant) he founde it noe small furtheraunce of diuine speculation to walke thorow by-pathes & uncoth passages, under the coole shadowes of greene trees.

And one daie aboue the rest, as he ranged abrode, hauing forgotten himself in a long sweet rauishment, his feete wandring astray, when his mind went right, he hit by chaunce on a homelie Cell of mine which had helde a little space, to my greate solace, & taking mee on a suddaine at my ordinarie Orisons;—By your leaue, verteuouse Sir, quoth he, where lyes the highe-waie I pray you. Marry here, gentell Knight (sayde I) looking on my booke with mine eyes, & poynting up to heauen with my finger; it is the very Kinges hie-waye. You saye true in deede (quoth he) the verie Queene's hie-waye, which my harte inquired after though my tongue asked for another. And so, as it is the use with fellowe humors when they fortunately mete, we light bothe upon one argument; the universall fame of that miraculouse gouernment, which by truthe & peace, the harbengers of heauen, directeth us the verie way to eternall blessedness. Much good discourse had we more, of the vanitie of the world, the uncertaintie of frendes, the unconstancie of fortune; but the upshoot of all was this, that he would become an Heremite, I should be his Chaplaine, & both joyntlie joyne in prayers for one Prince, & the prayses of one God. To which purpose, because this plott pleased him, hee here forthwith erected a poore Loddging or twoe, for me, himselfe, & a page, that wayteth on him, naming it when he had donne the Crowne Oratory; and therefore aduansed his deuise on the entrance after the Romaine fashion in a Pillar of perpetuall remembraunce. But, alas! whilst he seekes to raise one buylding, he sees the rewins of another; & whilst he shapes a monument for his minde, he feeles the miserie of his bodie, whose roofe was roughe with the mosse of greene haire, whose sides were crased with the tempestes of sicknes, whose foundations shooke under him with the waight of an unwildye carcasce: and when he perceaued his olde house in a manner past reparacions, considering his owne unablenes, he recomended the care thereof to the conningest Architect of Worlde, who onlie was able to pull it downe unto the earth, & raise it anewe, in better glorie than it stode before. Then began I to call him to his former preceptes, & his latter practizes, shewing him in fewe woordes (for he conceaued much) that nowe was the time of tryall. A good sayler was better seene in a storme than in a calme. It was no straunge thing to lyue; for slaues lyue, and beastes lyue too. Nature had provided him comforte, who made that most common which shee had made most greeuouse; to the ende the equallnes might aleye the egernes of death.

To which he mildelie replied that my motions fytlie touched him, he was as desirouse to encounter with Death, as to heare of Death, for Fortitude still abode his bed-fellowe. Extremitie thoug[h] it could not be ouercom yet it might be ouerborne, since his minde had secured him by fearing nothing, and oueriched him by desiring nothing. Hee had longe lyued in the Sea, and ment now to die in the Hauen. Hauen (saide I). Yea! the Hauen (quoth he); lett me be carried into the Hauen. Which Hauen I supposed he hadd spoken idellie, but that he eftsones repeted it, and wished to be brought to this poore houell before the gates. What thatt odde corner (saide I). Yes (quoth he) that corner; and angerlie broke of with this sentence: *Subsilire in celum ex Angulo licet.*

So we speedilie remoued him hither, wher being softly layed he uttered these Speeches softelie:—Before I was olde, I desyred to lyue well, and now I am olde, I desire to die well: and to die well is to die willinglie. Manie there be that wish to lyue, yet wott not how to die: lett me be theire example yf they lyke not lyfe, to lyue, to die with lyking, who neither embraced Fortune when shee flew unto mee, nor ensued Fortune when she fled from mee, nor spared niggardlie, nor spent lavishlie, whatsoever she bestowed on me: but since it was my singuler hope to lyue beholding to the Crowne, I accompt it my speciall joye to dye beholding the Crowne. Holy Crowne! hallowed by the sacrament, confirmed by the fates; thou hast been the Author of my last Testament. So calling for pen and inke (which were neuer far off) he drew a formall draught of his whole will, signed & subscribed by himselfe, but witnessed by us, the compassionate spectators of that lamentable action which he had no sooner entituled by wayes of trust, & geuen me charge for the safe deliuering thereof, but he fell soddenlye speecheles, & so continueth to this houre: The stile runnethe thus: *To the most renowned Queene owner of the best Crowne & crowned with the best desertes, the lyuing loue of dying Loricus.* Now, most peereles Princes, sence there is none can laie challenge to this title, except they should also challenge your vertues, which were to complaine of Nature for robbing herselfe to do you right, accept I beseeche you the offer of him who dares not offer it to anie other; & one daie no doubt but the Knight himselfe, if happilie he recouer (as what may not so sacred a Prince promise), will say it is in a good hand, & proue the best expounder of his owne meaning. In the meane season, thoughte myne endevors must be employed about your sick seruant, yet my prayers shall not ceasse for your most gratiouse Majestie, that as you haue ouer liued the vaine hope of your forraine enemies, so you may outlast the kinde wishes of your loyall subjectes, which is to last to the last euerlasting. Amen.

Finis.

To the most renowned Queene,
Owner of the best Crowne, & crowned with the best desertes, the lyuing
Loue of dying Loricus.

I Loricus, Bodie sicke,
Sences sounde, Remembraunce quicke,
Neuer crauing, euer seruing,
Little hauing, lesse deseruing,

Though a hartie true wellwiller
Of the Crowne & crowned Piller,
To that Crowne, my lyues content,
Make my Will & Testament.

Soule ! goe first to heauenlie rest ;
Soule the Bodies heauenlie gieste,
Where, both Host & Inn decaying,
Yeld the gieste no quiet staying.

Bodie ! back againe, departe ;
Earth thou wast, & Earth thou arte.
Mortall creatures still be jurneing,
From the earth to earth returning.

As for anie worldlie lyuing
Nothing haue I woorth the geeuing :
Let the baser indeed take them,
We which follow God forsake them.

But if anie wishe to dwell,
As I did, in homely Cell,
Let him pull his Castells downe,
And as I did serue the Crowne,
Serue the Crowne, O Crowne deseruing,
Better tha[n] Loricus seruing.

In witness whereof I haue set to my hande & harte.

LORICUS, Columnæ coronatæ Custos fidelissimus.

In presence of us whose names are underwritten,

STELLATUS, Rectoriæ Coronatæ Capellanus.

RENATUS, Equitis Coronati Servus obseruantissimus.

- The Page bringeth tydings of his Maister's Recouerie, & presenteth
his Legacie.

The suddaine recouerie of my distressed Maister, whome latelie you left
in a Traunce (Most excellent Princes !) hath made me at one tyme the

hastie messenger of three trothes, your miracle, his mending, & my mirth. Miracles on the sicke are seldom seene without theire mending : & mending of the good ys not often seene without other mens mirth. Where your Majestie hath don a miracle, & it can not be denied, I hope I may manifest, & it shall not be disliked : for miracles are no miracles unlesse they be confessed, & mirth is no mirth yf it be concealed.

May it therefor please you to heare of his life who lyues by you, & woulde not liue but to please you ; in whom the sole vertue of your sacred presence, which hath made the weather fayre, & the ground fruitfull at this progresse, wrought so strange an effect and so speedie an alteration, that, whereas before he seemed altogether speechles, now Motion (the Recorder of the Bodies Commonwealth) tells a lyuelie tale of health, and his Tongue (the Cocheman of the Harte) begun to speake the sweete language of affection. So tourning him selfe about to the ayre & the lyght, O wretched man (quoth he) callamities storie, lyfes delay, & deathes prisoner : with that he pawsed a while & then fixing his eyes on the Crowne, he sayd Welcom be that blessed Companie, but thrise blessed be her coming about the rest, who came to geue me this blessed rest !

Hereat Stellatus, his Chappelaine, besought him to blesse God onelie, for it was Gods spirite who recouered his spirites. Truthe (quoth he again) yet whosoever blesseth her, blesseth God in her : and euer blessed be God for her.—The conference continued long, but louinglie, betwixt them ; till at length upon question to whom the Will was directed, with knowledge how it was deliuered, Loricus publiklie acknowledged the right performance of his true meaning unto your Royall Majestie, to whom he humbly recommended the full execution thereof, & by me hath sent your Majestie this simple Legacie, which he disposed the rather whilst he yet lyueth, than left to be disposed after his deathe, that you might understande how he alwaies preferred the deed. Thus much your diuine power hath performed to him, thusfar his thankfulnes hath brought mee to your Majestie. As for anie other Accomplementes, whatsoever Dutie yeldes to be debt, Deuotion offers to be dischardged ; and if my Maister's best payment be onlie good prayers, what need more than the Pages bare woorde, which is allwaies.—Amen.

The Legacye.

Item. I bequethe (to your Highnes) THE WHOLE MANNOR OF LOUE, and the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging :

(Viz.) Woodes of hie attemptes,
 Groues of humble seruice,
 Meddowes of greene thoughtes,
 Pastures of feeding fancies,
 Arrable Lande of large promisses,

Riuers of ebbing & flowing fauors,
 Gardens hedged about with priuate, for succorie, & bordered with
 tyme: of greene nothing but hartesease, drawen in the perfect
 forme of a true louers knott.

Orchards stored with the best fruit: Queene Apples, Pome Royalls,
 & Soueraigne Peare.

Fishing for dayntie Kisses with smyling countenances,
 Hawking to springe pleasure with the spanniells of kindenes.

Hunting that deare game which repentance followeth.

Ouer & beside the Ryaltie: for

Weftes of fearefull dispaire,

Strayes of wandring conceiptes,

Fellons goods of stolne delightes,

Coppie Holders which allure by witte writings,

Or Tennantes at will who stand upon good behauiour.

The Demaines being deepe sighes,

And the Lordes House a pittifull harte.

And this Mannor is helde in Knightes seruice,

As may be gathered from the true Receauour of fayre Ladies, and
 seene in the auncient deedes of amoureuse Gentelmen.

All which he craueth may be annexed to his former Will, & there-
 with approued in the Prerogatiue Courte of Your Majesties
 acceptance.

In witnes whereof I haue putt to my hande & Seale;

LORICUS, Columnæ coronatæ Custos fidelissimus.

In the presence of us whose names are here under written:

STELLATUS, Rectoriæ coronatæ Capellanus.

RENATUS, Equitis coronati Servus obseruantissimus.

FINIS.

Hamper divided the ms. which he described as "a coeval copy, in a volume of manuscript collections, by Henry Ferrers, Esq. of Baddesley Clinton" into three parts, the extract printed above being headed "Part III." Part I contains "Sir Henry Lee's challenge before the Shampanie," and "The Supplication of the owld Knight." Part II

consists of "The Message of the Damsell of the Queene of Fayries," "The olde Knightes Tale," "The Song after Dinner at the two Ladies entrance," "The Ladies Thankesgeuing for their deliuerie from Unconstancie," and "The last Songe." "The Ladies Thankesgeuing" was printed, with slight variations, in the Phoenix Nest, 1593, under the title, "An Excellent Dialogue between Constancie and Inconstancie, as it was by speech presented to hir Majestie, in the last Progresse, at Sir Henrie Leighe's House." Sir Henry Lee's house at Quarendon was honoured by a visit from the Queen during the progress of 1592, in the month of August,¹ and we are thus able to fix the date and scene of the entertainment, which, by way of corroboration, mentions Sir Henry Lee's name in the text. Part III, which particularly concerns us, was evidently the second day's programme of the entertainment, "The Ladies Thankesgeuing" and "The last Songe" forming part of the first. Sir Henry Lee had been from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the royal champion, and had in 1590 resigned his office at an elaborate ceremony, in which a "crowned pillar," bearing a complimentary tablet to Elizabeth, was the centre of the proceedings.² It is this crowned pillar of 1590 which is so copiously referred to in the entertainment of 1592, as quoted above. This may somewhat lessen our surprise at allusions to the entertainment at Woodstock in 1575, for Sir Henry was not only Queen's Champion, but Lieutenant of the Royal Manor of Woodstock, having been appointed to that office about 1570. In this capacity he would be likely to have charge of the Woodstock entertainment, and the reference to it in 1592 is, in part, at least, accounted for. In any case, that there was such a reference

¹ Nichols, Vol. III, p. 125.

² See Nichols, Vol. III, p. 48.

is beyond doubt. The name Loricus is not a common one ; and the Loricus here referred to is "one whose harde adventures were once discouered, and better fortune fore-shewed, by a good father of his owne coate, not farr from this Coppies." Loricus, we are informed, has turned hermit, and the passage just quoted makes it clear that the "good father of his owne coate" was the hermit of *The Tale of Hemetes*. Moreover, the sentences immediately following, with the references to "open justes, the yearlie tribute of his dearest Loue," and "Himmes & Songes & Emblemes" point to the identification of Loricus with Sir Henry Lee, who as royal champion held an annual tournament "to eternize the glory of her Majestie's Court," and brought the series to a close in 1590 by "justs at the tilt-yard" of unusual magnificence, in which "Himmes & Songes & Emblemes" were prominent features. The allusions to the later years of Sir Henry's life are clear enough ; and on the strength of the evidence the Quarendon entertainment offers, we are perhaps justified in concluding that at Woodstock in 1575 Loricus was understood to represent Sir Henry Lee. The description of the travels and feats of arms undertaken by Loricus in his desire "to deserue that reputation as this great and noble mistris woulde but thinke him worthy to be hers, though she would neuer bee none of his," corresponds to the account given of Sir Henry Lee's knightly exploits by the writer of his epitaph.¹ The

¹ "He gave himselfe to Voyage and Travaile into the flourishing States of France, Italy, and Germany, wher soon putting on all those abillities that became the backe of honour, especially skill and proof in armes, he lived in grace and gracing the Courtes of the most renowned Princes of that warlike age, returned home charged with the reputation of a well-formed travellour, and adorned with those flowers of knighthood, courtesy, bounty, valour, which quickly gave forth their fruite as well in the fieldes to the advantage (at once) of the two divided parties of this happily united State, and to both those Princes his Sovereignes successively in that

momentary defection of Loricus from his devotion to his mistress is perhaps merely a way of apologizing for his previous service to Queen Mary, though there were so many courtiers in the same predicament that no apology might seem necessary; Sir Henry began his courtiership under Henry VIII, and ended it under James I, so that he saw many changes of royal fortune. In any case, these complimentary or self-depreciatory allegories should not be pressed too hard: there was no question of personal devotion to Elizabeth in the sense of modern romantic passion, for Sir Henry Lee was not only married, but in his later years "lived for love" with Ann Vavasour, one of the Queen's maids of honour, to the scandal of even those easygoing times. In ordinary life, moreover, he was no knight errant, but an enterprising sheep grazier and encloser of commons.

There are further references to the Woodstock entertainment in *The olde Knightes Tale*, also recited, apparently, by Sir Henry Lee. The stanzas printed by Nichols, Vol. III, pp. 199-200, should be compared with the account of the Woodstock bower, the pictures with posies,¹ and the Queen of the Fayry. But these allusions, though they make it

expedition into Scotland in the year 1573; when in goodly equipage he repayred to the seige of Edinburgh, ther quartering before the Castle, and commanding one of the batteries, he shared largely in the honor of ravishing that maiden forte; as also in Courte, wher he shone in all those fayer partes became his profession and voves, honouring his highly gracious M^{ris} with reysing those later Olimpiads of her Courte Justs and Tournaments (thereby trying and treyninge the Courtier in those exercises of armes that keepe the person bright and steeled to hardnesse, that by softe ease rusts and weares) wherein still himself lead and triumphed, carying away great spoyles of grace from the Sovereigne, and renowne from the worlde, for the fairest man at armes and most complete Courtier of his times, till singled out by the choice hand of his Royall M^{ris}," &c.

¹ Especially the first two stanzas on p. 200 with the sentence given in the text of the entertainment, beginning "A number of fine Pictures." (p. 98.)

evident that something mysterious was intended by these devices, do not enlighten us as to what the mystery meant.

Nor are we helped much, it must be acknowledged, as to the difficult question of the authorship. Hamper, who had the MS. in his possession, described it as "preserved in a volume of collections by Henry Ferrers, Esq., of Baddesley Clinton," and as Henry Ferrers was a writer of some note, it has been suggested by Mr. Sidney Lee¹ that Henry Ferrers was the author. If this were supported by firmer evidence, one would be tempted to suppose that the explanation of the references to the Woodstock entertainment of 1575 in the Quarendon entertainment of 1592 were explained by identity of authorship; but to add conjecture to conjecture is a frivolous diversion, and it seems better to say frankly that the Woodstock and Quarendon entertainments are alike of unknown authorship. There are peculiarities about them which would be accounted for by the supposition that Henry Ferrers was the author of both, but these peculiarities might be accounted for in a score of other ways.

J. W. CUNLIFFE.

¹ D. N. B., Ferrers, Henry.

V.—AN ENGLISH FRIEND OF CHARLES OF ORLÉANS

In 1907 M. Pierre Champion announced his discovery that the manuscript fr. 25248 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, consisting chiefly of poems by Charles d'Orléans, was to a great extent autograph, and where not autograph, was revised under the personal care of the poet.¹ Important as is this discovery for the knowledge of fifteenth century French literature, there is one feature of the manuscript which may lead us, if the slender clues are followed, to an identification of a new English poet of the courtly school.

On page 346 of the ms. M. Champion finds, in the Duke's autograph, two roundels in English. On pages 310–313, in an interpolated quire not originally part of the volume, are six roundels and a ballade in English. This quire contains no piece in the Duke's hand; but two pieces at the beginning of the quire are by him, and written in the hand of the earliest scribe of the volume. Although the English pieces are by an English hand, nevertheless the whole must have been in the possession of the Duke, and included by his wish in this standard volume of courtly poetry by himself and his friends.² Another ms., Royal 16 F. 11, in the British Museum, was no doubt derived from the court of Burgundy, a literary competitor of the Duke's.³ It contains, among

¹ *Le Manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1907 (*Bibliothèque du XV^e Siècle*).

² This view is confirmed by the fact that the Grenoble ms. of Orléans, which was probably derived through Orléans' secretary, and is fully as early in time as the fr. 25248, also contains these poems in English. See on the authority of this ms. Ch. d'Héricault: *Poésies Complètes de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1874, II, 287–288; and Aimé Champollion-Figeac; *Les Poésies du Duc Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1842, xxii–xxvii.

³ Champollion-Figeac, pp. 452–456; d'Héricault, 292.

Orléans' poems, two roundels in English, evidently by the same hand as those in the autograph ms. at Paris.

Where shall we begin our search for the author of these courtly poems in English? The ms. itself points out the way. In its present state, it is a product of the literary court of Blois, that circle of poets which clustered around 'le doulx seigneur,'—as Villon calls Orléans—after the duke's release from his English captivity in 1440. All of the French pieces in it, not by Orléans, are by personal friends of the Duke, and most of them are addressed to him.¹ The volume is, in short, a kind of album of his own and his friends' poems.

It is reasonable to suppose, upon this analogy, that the English poems Orléans so carefully preserved are souvenirs of some English friend, carried by him out of England, or sent to him in the gracious interchange of courtly letters after his arrival in France. Now history, which has not greatly concerned itself with Orléans' acquaintance in England, tells us of but one English friend, a friend so long valued and so sincerely devoted, that we must fairly grant him, even were other evidence wanting, the first claim to authorship of the 'Poems by an English friend.' This man was William de la Pole, the great Duke of Suffolk.

As one of the inner council of nobles who governed England during the childhood of Henry the Sixth, Suffolk must have met Orléans, who had been a restless captive ever since Agincourt; but it does not appear that the intimacy which was to bear such fateful results for both nations sprang up between the two, until after Suffolk's imprisonment at the castle of Orléans' half-brother Dunois, and the Englishman's return in 1432.² The historical romancer would be sure to

¹ Champion, pp. 5-6, *seq.*

² The facts of Suffolk's career are too well known to require particular reference. His life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives full references to the contemporary documents.

picture Suffolk as the captive *d'amours* to the sublime devotion of the Maid of Orleans. Certain it is that from the time that Suffolk was captured by Jeanne in open fight,—or, as he says in his famous speech of defence before Parliament, evidently resenting some insinuation of yielding to a woman, “not otherwise, I trust, than as a knight should do”—Suffolk bent every effort, with Orléans, to avert the awful consequences entailed by further continuing the Hundred Years' War. Upon his return to England Suffolk obtained the guardianship of Orléans by offering to find the captive prince, at a figure vastly below previous contracts, and probably below cost. For four full years Orléans lived with Suffolk at Wallingford Castle and elsewhere; and the English statesman made the most of his prisoner-guest in his continual manœuvres for peace. The two, according to historical evidence, were often together at Suffolk's house in London. Even after Suffolk, leaving England for a time in 1436, relinquished his prisoner to Sir Reynold Cobham, he continued to meet his friend. At Arras in 1436, and at Calais in 1437, the two men represented their nations in negotiations. It was Suffolk who in 1440 pushed through the release of Orléans by ransom, while Humphrey of Gloucester in helpless rage stayed away from the council meeting. It was Orléans and Suffolk who arranged for Henry's French marriage, Orléans making a personal request that Suffolk should be the English envoy, and Suffolk declining the nominal office on the ground that his well-known intimacy with Orléans might give color to the suspicion of his favoring the French.

These years of intimacy with Suffolk witnessed the production of Orléans' *Poème de la Prison*, under which name his early sequence of roundels, ballades, and chansons may be grouped. *La Départie d'Amours*, which seems to con-

clude the earliest sequence, is dated by the poet 1437.¹ The ballades and chansons in the sequence were probably composed at odd times during the half-dozen years preceding, in the intervals of copying the books of devotion and instruction with which M. Champion has made us familiar.² It would seem most natural, then, that Suffolk, as a courteous host and welcome friend, often helped to while away a day at Wallingford or elsewhere, by encouragement of his friend's poetic gifts, or in the friendly poetic rivalry which was then the fashion.³

¹ Champollion-Figeac, p. 157.

² *La Bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1910.

³ Confirmatory evidence of the literary companionship of Orléans and Suffolk may be adduced from the fact that in MS. Harley 7333 (fol. 32v.), a MS. derivative from the same Shirley that elsewhere copied down Suffolk's French pieces with the details as to their origin, are two fragments of chansons by Orléans, hitherto unknown to the cataloguers, and, I believe, to editors of Charles. The poems may have come into Shirley's hands from the same source that may have furnished him with the work of the English duke, and with the details of Chaucer's minor poems, given in his rubrics; namely, from Alice Chaucer, Countess of Suffolk, through Lydgate.

Balade made by the duc of Orlience.

Mon cuer chaunte joyeusement

Quant il luy souient de la belle

Tout son plaisir se renouvelle

De Dieu en meulx certainement

En esperant q'bien breuement

Jarre quelq bonne nouvelle

Dout je merci amoure et elle

Par chescun iour de foiz plus de cent

E.my las las dolant ami

Que fvege des or en auaunt

Quant jay perdue saunz nul recouvrement

Mon bien mamour ma Joye et mon ami

James naurey ne bon iour ne demi

fïors q'sussy payne et tourment

Peux menz q'soit desoulz le firmament

Joux a la mort Je nayerys q' lui.

My friend, Mr. J. J. Munro, has kindly made this copy, at my request.

Fortunately, we have the completest evidence to substantiate this inference. This consists of the five roundels and ballade in French by Suffolk, printed, for the first time, as a supplement to this paper; and of a seventh French poem, also printed for the first time, which, as Shirley says, "my lord of Suffolk mich alloweþe in his witt." Four of Suffolk's poems were written to a lady from a French prison, precisely in the manner of Orléans' poems. One of them was written "affter his comyng oute of prysoune." The present tense of Shirley's rubric to the French poem mentioned above indicates, since the date of the Shirley ms. is probably about 1440, a long-continued interest in French poetry. These poems by Suffolk are not bad of their kind. Their themes are precisely those of Orléans' poems; fidelity in love, the piteous estate of the absent, the pain and joy of the lover under the commands of Bel Accueil, the woes of love, the perplexity of the lover's life. Now, since there is not extant any French courtly verse by an English contemporary of Suffolk's, who shall dispute the claim that he alone was fitted, not only by political agreement but by community of artistic interest, to be the 'English friend' whose English poems Orléans so carefully preserved?

But before we may safely connect Suffolk's name with these English poems, two links in the chain must be forged. Is there any external evidence proving that Suffolk was likely to be interested in English verse as well as in French? Is there any internal evidence in the English poems pointing to Suffolk as their author? Both these can be answered at once in the affirmative.

The lady to whom Suffolk addressed his poem from prison, in 1430, was probably Alice Chaucer, who became his bride immediately after his return in the following year. She was the daughter of Thomas Chaucer, whose family's interest in letters is attested by Lydgate's *Complaint on Departing of*

Thomas Chaucer, and whose house, according to Lydgate, was the center of the social life of the county of Suffolk. Above all this, she was the grand-daughter of Geoffrey Chaucer. What traditions of courtly usage and manners this couple must have kept in Suffolk! It is certain that the 'gentlemen dwellyng enviroyn,' to whom Lydgate makes reference in the *Complaint for Chaucer*, were most of them interested in the patronage of letters. Judge William and Sir John Paston, Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir John Fastolf, and others were encouraging literature; and Lydgate, Capgrave, and Bokenham were only three among many who sought their encouragement. For the Countess of Suffolk Lydgate wrote his long poem on the *Mass*, and the Duke joined her in several benefactions to the monk's Abbey of St. Edmund. As the most powerful nobleman of the shire, the Duke must have known and befriended the clerk who had written for his father-in-law and his wife, whose literary fame was the first in England, and who was everywhere greeted as Chaucer's successor.

Not only is there this contributory evidence of Suffolk's interest in English poetry, but in one of the two documents extant which show him a master of English, there occur two lines of English verse. At the end of his pathetic letter to his little son, the day before his exile and assassination, he writes,

"And last of alle, as hertily and as louyngly as ever father blessed his child in erthe, I yeve you the blessing of oure Lord, which of his infinite mercy encrece you in al vertu and good lyvyng. And that your blood may by his grace from kynrede to kynrede multeplye in this erthe to hys servise, in such wise as after the departyng fro this wretched world here, ye and thei may glorefye hym eternally among his aungelys in heven.

Wreten of myn hand,

The day of my departyng fro this land.

Your trewe and lovyng fader,

SUFFOLK."¹

¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, I, p. 122, No. 91.

The ryme, written as ryme, with which the letter closes, although the affecting circumstances give it a tragic suggestion to us, is nevertheless the commonplace of the English letter-ballade.

“Written in haste, the very trouthe to say,
At (Wallingford?)¹ upon our lady day.”

So ends a ballade among those of the Fairfax MS. I come immediately to consider.

“Go, lytel bill, and say thou were with me,
Of very trouthe, as thou canst wel remembre,
At my uprist, the fyft day of decembre.”

So ends another. It would appear, then, that Suffolk's half-sad couplet at the close of his last letter, a fine albeit melancholy affectation of “nonchaloir,” as he would have called it, is the result of practise in dating English letter-ballades. The short line followed by the long is precisely the habit of the translator of Orléans in MS. Harley 682, and the author of the *Complaint against Hope* in MS. Fairfax 16. Far from showing ignorance of a regular couplet, it proves acquaintance with a peculiar trick and affectation of the time in courtly poetry.²

Internal evidence, no less than the external, leads to the same conclusion that Suffolk was the author of the ‘Poems by an English friend.’ The ballade *O thou Fortune, which hast the gouvernaunce*, which occurs in fr. 25248 and the Grenoble MS. of Orléans, was recently identified by the writer as one of the twenty courtly poems printed here, for the first time, from MS. Fairfax 16. No one who reads these poems can fail to observe that they are by one man, and that that man is not a humble poet, but a man of position, and

¹ A space in the MS. is left blank. I supply a trisyllable.

² Compare also the poem from Fairfax 16 printed below, XIV, 7-8.

one familiar with Parliament and the Court.¹ The tone is that of a lordly lover, not the sickeningly humble imaginary slave of love in Lydgate's verse. Some of the poems, notably XVIII, seem not to be about love at all, but to refer covertly to political misunderstandings such as often overtook Suffolk in his checquered career.

“ And as I wente, I gan remembre me
How long I had continued my seruyse
With carefull thought and gret aduersyte
And guerdonles, lo, sych was myn offyse ;
The world is straunge, and now yt ys the guyse
Who that doth best aqwyte hym in hys trouthe
Shall sunnest be foryot, and that ys routhe.”

Still more interesting is the *Praise of the Flower* (XIX), a poem which may have been written to please that Margaret (marguerite) whom Suffolk brought to Henry VI, and for whom Lydgate is said to have devised the pageants of welcome in London in 1445. After a light-hearted praise of the Flower, the poet, in words more sincere than any save Hoccleve's, laments the death of Chaucer, who had known so well how to praise this flower in days gone by. Then he turns to Lydgate, and after telling him he is the only worthy successor of Chaucer, takes him jokingly but roundly to task for making light of women in his various works, and bids him, if he would have pardon, to seek it at the next Love's Parliament. The whole tone of this latter portion, it will be observed, is that of a patron, not of a humble imitator of the Monk of Bury. Here, then, we find five points: a lordly patron's tone, familiar with parliaments, an intimacy with Lydgate, a praise of the marguerite, an affectionate regret for Chaucer, and a friendship with Orléans implied by his preservation of one of these poems; and these five attributes taken together can be fitted to Suffolk alone among

¹ Note the distinctly English setting of the *Parlement*, no. xx.

the personalities of the time. The chances that any other man could possess these five points of contact with these poems are so small as to be negligible; and thus Suffolk's identity with the English friend whose poems Orléans treasured, and who wrote the twenty poems of the Fairfax MS., would seem to be proved, so far as anything can be proved, in the absence of a contemporary ascription.

The present writer believes, also, that the probabilities favor the identification of Suffolk with the translator of Orléans, whose 209 poems appear in B. M. Harley 682. Lack of space in the present paper forbids investigation of the topic; and the question must wait either for M. Champion and his pupils to settle, or for the editor of the recently promised edition of the poems by the Early English Text Society. It is sufficient here to say, that there is nothing in the ryme-indexes of the Fairfax MS. poems and the Harley poems to prevent common authorship, and that there are remarkable identities, in the use of ryme, rymetag, expletive, exclamations, line and ballade structure, which indicate not merely common imitation of Orléans' poetical practice, but the work of a single hand. For example, the ryme -oun, so common in Chaucer and almost universal in Lydgate, does not occur once in the Fairfax, and only once or twice in the whole Harley group. On the other hand 'lo' as an expletive appears three times in the Fairfax group and innumerable times in the Harley poems, whereas in the 10,000 lines of the Chaucerian verse of Scogan, Hoccleve, Ros, Clanvowe, Henryson, Lydgate, and many others in the *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. VII, one will hardly find it twice. It would occur of course most commonly in translation, and in intricate ryme schemes; but this does not account for its appearance in the Fairfax MS. group.

It must be left to readers of the translations (now accessible only in the Roxburghe Club print) to realize how much

they resemble in style and general usage of phrase and poetical manner the English poems here printed. No such comparison can here be attempted. Space is left only to call attention to the Chaucer reference, which is deliberately inserted to bring about a reference to *The Dethe of the Duchesse*, just as the Fairfax poet has brought in a reference to the *Legend of Good Women*. The translator renders

Car toute la nuit mon cœur lit
Ou roumant de Plaisant-penser,

by

For al the nyght myn herte aredith rounde
As in the romance of plaisant Chaucer.

Throughout the translation there are the clearest indications that the author is no slavish imitator, but a poet himself, whose work is a labor of love, and who can throw himself with spirit into the ideas of the courtly lover. If the identification here proposed be accepted, we shall have a new poet whose work both in quantity and quality will rank among the first of courtly poets of England.¹

POEMS BY THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK

A. FRENCH POEMS

I

(MS. Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 20, page 25).²

Here begynneþe A Roundell which my lord of Suffolk made after his comyng oute of prysoune.³

¹ It may be possible to identify other poems than those here considered, as the work of Suffolk. Thus the "Ballade coloured and reversed," in MS. Arundel 26, fol. 32v, and the *Compleynt to Fortune*, in Camb. Univ. Ff. 1. 6, fol. 178, are appended as in the manner of the Orléans translator and the Fairfax poet, and possibly by him. Neither has, I believe, been printed.

² The numeration of the MS. is by pages, not by folios. Since Suffolk is called Earl throughout the rubrics, the MS. must antedate 1444, when Suffolk was created marquis.

³ I omit some details scribbled in by John Stowe, between Shirley's lines.

Doye Ie chauntier, plurier, ou ryre,
 Doye Ie toutz Iours viure in martire,
 Ou si ie doye estre quant ioyeux,
 Si vous plest, vueillez le me dire.

Si taunt de dolour, & de Ire
 Assez & bien vous doyt suffire,
 Sanz me faire plus angueissieux.

Moun poure cuer vers vous se tire,
 Pour ce que vous estez le mire
 Que luy poez guerier ses deulx;
 Avisez y vn foitz ou deux
 Tant que mon male plus empire.

II

(*Ibid.*, page 32.)

Loo here bygynneþe a Rondell made by my lord of Suffolk whylest
 he was prysonnier in ffraunce.

Lealement a tous Iours mais
 Depieca & plus quonque mais,
 Ie sui vostre, & vostre me tien,
 Mamour, ma Ioye, & mon seul bien,
 Mon coumfort, mon desyr, ma pais.

Ma volente, mes dys, mes fais,
 Sount tielx, & serrount a Iamais,
 Cest la lesson que Ie retien.

Ou que Ie suis, ou que ie vais,
 Quoy que ie dis, quoy que ie fais,
 Vous auez le coer que fuit mien;
 Or nous entreauiou doncque bien,
 Si serrount noz playsirs parfaiz.

III

(*Ibid.*, page 33.)

Yit filoweþe here anoþer Roundell of my lordes making of Suffolk
 whyles he was prisonier in ffraunce.

Face vo coer tout ce que ly plera,
 Du mien quest trestout seen, & sera

Sans departir, iamaiz ou que ie soye,
 Si fermement pour riens que ie voye,
 Autre que vous, iamaiz ne seruira.

Et si languyt et toutdys languira,
 Tant que par vous alegement avra,
 Mon bien, mamour, mesperance & Ioye.

Car Ie scey bien, que nul ne vous aura,
 Si fort dasses, ne ne fait ne fera
 Que moy tant seul, tenir ne pourroie,
 Et par mon alme, si mourir en devoie,
 Tiel demouray, sans pensir ça ne la.

IV

(*Ibid.*, page 33.)

Puis qualer vers vous ne puisse
 Ne ma dure dolour dyre,
 Suis ie constraint de vous escrire
 La pitous estat ou ie suis.

En rien que soit, ne me deduis,
 Desire me garde bien de ryre.

Le doloreus gens en suis,
 Pour plus nourrir mon doel & ire
 Ore me vueillez dont rescrire
 Ie vous Requere, tant que Ie puis.

V

(*Ibid.*, page 35.)

Ycy comence vn balade que fist monseignur le Conte de Suffolk
 quant il estoit prysonier en ffraunce.

Ie vous salue, ma maystresse,
 Et mon cuer deuers vous sen va,
 Pour vous racounter la distresse
 Dount vous, bel acueile, le pryua,
 5 Ainsy come il ariua
 Au manoir de mes pource yeulx,
 Qui sans blecier moult me greua,
 Et me fist vostre, si mayt dieux.

- Et sy nay quelque hardiesse
 10 De vous dire come il me va,
 Ne vous racontier la liesse, (page 36)
 Que lors Bel acueil esleua,
 Dedeins mon cuer quil escheua
 Dauoir autre espoir que de mieulx,
 15 Car seul sans dame me troua
 Et me fist vostre, sy mat dieux.

- Outre plus, ma vraye princesse,
 Celle ou nature sesproua,
 Et y mist sy bele richesse
 20 Quen vous vn chief doeure aceua,
 Onques amours mais ne maprouua,
 Que ses fais si tot furent tieux,
 Auant perdu me retrouua,
 Et me fit vostre, sy mait dieux.

VI

(Ibid., page 35.)

And filowing here begyneþe a Roundell made þe same tyme by
 my sayde lord þerlle of Suffolk.

Quel desplaysier, quel courous, quel destresse,
 Quel grief, quelx mauls viennent souuent damours.
 Quelx angoisses y troeun tous le Iours,
 Certes Ie croy que pou y a leessee.

Iay bien cuidier, que par choisir maystresse
 Fuisse Ioyeux, mais Ie suy plain de ploures.

Ie nen dy plus, Ie seray ma Iounesse
 En souspirant, pensant a meis dolours;
 Puis quen sy va, que Iay tous le Rebours,
 De mon plaisir, Ie ne quier que tristesse.

VII

(Ibid., pp. 36-37.)

Here filoweþe a Balade made in ffraunce which my lord of Suffolk
 þeorlle mich alloweþe in his witt.

Dieux nous dona petit de vie,
 Et nous viuons en mourant chescun Iour;
 Par accydent selonc Philosophie,

[p. 37]

Par trop Repos, par petit de seïour.
 Par trop inuye, par trop payne & dolour
 Par veylir trop, par trop dormir le main,
 Par boier trop, par delis, par doulcour,
 Il nest home qui ait point de demain.

Lun est que par aguet, par envie,
 Lautre en guerre, lautre muert *par* Rumeur,
 Lun muert par feu, lautre par navye,
 Ly autre cher par planches a destour
 Lun est pendu quand il est maufettour;
 Ly autre pert le chief par cas soudain,
 En ce monde na que painne & tristour
 Il nest home que ait point de demain.

Ou autrement home durer ne puet mie,
 Que soyssant ans outre na nul retour,
 Dont il languist en la greindre partie,
 Et ne pense point a son creatour;
 Ne que mourir doye, cest grand foulour,
 Car de la mort est chescun verray *sertain*,
 Mais de leur milx, ne scet le Retour,
 Il nest home que ait point de demain.

Lenvoye.

Pour ce prions a la vierge Marie,
 Quelle nous doint son filzle souuerain
 Craindre & fremir¹ ou nostre ame est perie,
 Il nest home qui ait point de demain.

B. POEMS FROM THE FAIRFAX MS. 16, IN THE BODLEIAN.

Folios 318-329.

I

Balade

To fle the sect of alle mysgouernaunce
 I am truly wyth-hold² in sych a place³
 Which I purpose to haue in remembraunce
 As longe a while as I haue lyfe and spase,

¹ MS. cremir.

² MS. hole.

³ MS. Palace.

- 5 Waytynge vpon her mercy & her grace;
 And so I thynke my matyr to procede
 Constreynd of hert with stedfast loue and drede.
- For as me thynke I am ryght hylve bounde
 To do that thyng whiche myght be her plesaunce,
 10 And her I thanke, yf in me may be founde
 O poynt of thryft or of good gouernaunce,
 Or thyng that me to worschyp shuld awaunce;
 Thus haue I cause to serue her godelyhede,
 Constreynd of hert wyth stedfaste loue and drede.
- 15 Constreynd I am, but nought ayeyn myn hert
 To loue her best as for myn hertes ese;
 Alway in drede that ought shuld me astert
 Her to offende or any wyse dysplese.
 She may my welfare maynten and encrease,
 20 Wherfor I must obbey her womanhede,
 Constreynd of hert wyth stedfast loue and drede.

II

Balade

- And as¹ for yow that most ar in my mynde,
 Loke, in what wyse the wyll I be demened,
 So wyl I do in any maner kynde
 Wyth alle the seruyse that I can, vnfeyned,
 5 Neuer for othir myn hert to be constreynd,
 But fully set my purpose to endure [fol. 318v.]
 To loue yow best of ony creature.
- And for as much as² I that [am] your man
 And must do seruyse to your womanhede,
 10 I yow bys[e]che as lowly as I can
 To schewe your grace & put me out of drede.
 Ryght goodly fayr, the gentyllest in dede,
 I yowe require, as her that I loue best,
 Relese my payn, and set myn hert in rest.
- 15 Ther is in me no maner of comfort
 But whan that I am styll in your presence,

¹MS. os. The MS. sometimes writes os, sometimes as. I have throughout written as.

²MS. os.

- Wherto I must alway make my resort,
 Of verey force, withoutyn resystence;
 And yf so be that I haue done offence
 20 In worde or dede that shuld you dysobeye,
 I wyll seke grace, ther ys no more to seye.
- Remembre yow, the godely creature,
 How longe a space that I haue lyfyd in payn,
 And of comfort as yit I am not sure,
 25 But what ye lyst of grace for me ordayn,
 I lyue in hope, and ye may make me fayn.
 But of my wo sumwhat I wold ye wyst,
 I can no more, do wyth me what yow lyst.

III

Balade

- O lord god, what yt is gret plesaunce
 For me to thynke, so goodly and so fayre
 Be ye that haue myn hert in gouernaunce,
 So vertuous and eke so debonayre,
 5 So full of bounte which doth not apayre,
 But euer encreseth in your goodlyhede, [fol. 319]
 All this god hath set in your womanhede,
- I haue gret cause of yow thus for to wryte,
 Which beth in syght so goodly to by-hold
 10 And tryst fully, yf I couth wele endyte,
 I wold saye bettyr, many a thousand-fold;
 For I suppose, though god of nature wold
 Schew hys power, and all hys bysy cure,
 He couth not make a fayrer creature.
- 15 O ye Lucretse, and also fair Eleyne,
 Thys I require yow of your gentyllesse
 That in no wyse ye take yt in dysdeyn
 Though she which is my lady and maistresse
 Stand in your nountber, for in sothfastnesse
 20 I know her not alyue, that in thys case
 Is bettir worthy ther to haue a place.

IV

Compleynt

- Now lyst fortune thus for me to purueye,
 That I ne may vn-to your speche attayn,

- Nor I ne wot on whom myn erand leye,
 To tell my thoughtys, of whych I me complayn,
 5 Which hath me bounde in grete dysese and payn,
 Hauyng no triste my purpose to accheue,
 And so I lyue almost out of byleue.
- For wele I wot ther ys no creature
 That can tell al my greuauunce thurughly
 10 As can my-self, whereof I may make me sure,
 He lyueth not that felyth more than I
 Whych longe hath seruyd wyth-out remedy, [fol. 319v.]
 Beyng a-ferd yow to dysplese or greue,
 And [so] I lyue almost out of byleue.
- 15 But for my part ye schal wele know and fele,
 Syth I yow chase my lady for to be,
 Ne louyd I neuer creature so wele
 As yow allone, so god my warant be,
 Of pore ne ryche, of hye ne low degre;
 20 Not knowing yit how my Fortune will¹ preue,
 And so I lyue almost out of byleue.
- And syth that ye me toke in gouernaunce,
 Yow for to plesse I haue don myn entent,
 And wyth² myn seruyse done yow obeyssaunce,
 25 Whyche late nor erly neuer did repent;
 As fortune wyll, I must hold me content.
 Myn hert ys ther as yt wyl not remeue,
 And so I lyue almost out of byleue.

V

Compleynt

- Knelyng allon, ryght thus I may make my wylle,
 As your seruant in euery maner wyse,
 To whom I give myn hert and myn gode wylle
 Euer to be suget to your seruyse,
 5 Ryght as ye lyst to ordeyn and deuyse,
 I wyl be yours, and that I yow ensure,
 Not for to chaunge for erthely creature.

Syth yt is so, my lady and maistresse,
 That I must nede by fortunes ordynaunce

¹ MS. whille.² MS. whyt.

- 10 Depart fro yow which is [my] most gladnesse,
 It ys to me the most heuy greuaunce
 That euer yit cam to my remembraunce,
 But euery man ys ordeyne to endure [fol. 320]
 The stroke of Fortune and of auenture.
- 15 Wherefore my lady, I can say no more,
 But I am yours, with hertys obeyssaunce,
 And wyll be forthe, as I haue ben byfore,
 Abydyng styll your reule and ordynaunce
 As fortune wylle, so must I take my chaunce.
- 20 I can no more, but alle my faythfull tryst
 It lythe in yow, demene me as ye lyst.

VI

Lettyr

- Ryght goodly flour, to whom I owe seruyse,
 Wyth alle myn hert, & to non othir wyght
 To yow I wryte, my lady, in thys wyse,
 As her that I owe fayth of verry ryght,
 5 As ofte as I haue wysshed me in your syght
 And flours in Apryle bygynne for to sprede.
 I recomaunde me to your womanhede,
- Desyryng euer aboue alle othyr thyng
 The welfare of your beauteuous ymage,
 10 Whych ys to me a verey reioysyng,
 To thynk vpon your womanly vysage,
 Havyng in mynde your young and tendir age
 That god of nature hathe in yow endowyd
 Whiche in your person nede must bene alowed.
- 15 And of my matyr shortly to procede,
 This ys treuly theeffect of myn entent,
 That ye lyst grant me of your goodlyhede
 Sum of that grace that god to yow hath sent,
 Besechyng yow though I be not present, [fol. 320 v.]
- 20 To thynk vpon your seruantes heynesne
 That lyueth in tryst of your gret gentilnesse.
- And at thys tyme to yow I wryte no more,
 But wold god ye lyst to haue in mynde
 This symple wrytyng which that ys byfore,
 25 That I sum comfort by your grace may fynde;

And god I pray, that worshypeth alle mankynde,
That lord aboue, that syteth in his empire,
He send yow Ioy of alle that ye desyre.

VII

Compleynt

- O wofull hert profound in gret duresse.¹
Which canst not playn nor opyn thy dysese,
But frete thy-selfe wyth care and heuynesse,
Ay full of thought thy sorous to encresse,
5 No wondir though thou be not wele at ese,
When þou² so far art out of her presence,
To whom thou must do seruyse and reuerence.
- It ys no bote to stryue as in this case,
Though thou complayn, she may not here thy voys.
10 Lat euery seson haue hys tyme and spase
As fortune wyll, ther is non othir chois.
But yit among thou maist thyself reioys
For at thys tyme, though thou sumwhat be greuyd,
Here-afterward yit maistow be releuyd.
- 15 And in as mych as thou hast put thy trist
In her allonly which is thy maistresse,
To gouerne the and reule ryght as her lyst
Haue thou non doute but of her gentyllesse [fol. 321]
She wyll consyder thy grete heuynesse;
20 And trysteth well that in ryght goodly wysse
She wyll reward the after³ thy seruysse.

VIII

Compleynt

- O thou Fortune, whyche hast the gouernaunce
Of alle thynges kyndly mevyng to and fro,
Thaym to demene aftyr thyn ordynaunce
Ryght as thou lyst to grant hem wele or wo;
5 Syth that thou lyst that I be on of tho
That must be reulyd be thyn avysinesse,
Why wyltow not wythstand myn heuynesse?

¹ A recollection of Lydgate, *Life of Our Lady*, line 1,

O thoughtful herte, plongyd in distresse.

² MS. you.

³ MS. for.

- Me thyngk thou art vnkynd as in this case,
 To suffer me so long a while endure
 10 So gret a payn, wyth-out mersy or grase,
 Which greuyd me ryght sore, I the ensure;
 And syth thou knowst I am that creature
 That wold be fauoured be thy gentyllesse,
 Why wyltow not wythstonde myn heuynesse?
- 15 What causyth the to be myn aduersarye?
 I haue not done that which shulde the dysplese¹
 And yit thou art to myn entent contrarye,
 Whiche makyth now my sorous to encrese;
 And syth þou wost myn hert ys not in ese,
 20 But euer in trouble wyth-out sykernesse,
 Why wyltow not wythstande myn heuynesse?
- To the allonly this compleynt I make,
 For thou art cause of myn aduersyte, [fol. 321 v.]
 And yit I wot wele thou mayst vndirtake
 25 For myn wel-fare, yf that thou lyst agre;
 I haue no cause to blame no wyght but the,
 For thys thou doost of very wylfulnessse,
 Why wyltow not wythstand myn heuynesse?

IX

Compleynt

- O cruell daunger all myn aduersarye,
 Of whom alle louers aught sore to complayne,
 Sechyng² the ways to thayr entent contrayre,
 Syche as be trew to haue hem in dysdayne,
 5 When they haue long enduryd in thaire payne
 Supposyng alway mercy to purchace,
 Though thy malyce doth pyte so restrayne
 That trew seruauntes for the may haue no grace.
- I say for me, ther ys no man on lyue
 10 That more hath cause to playn as in this case;
 But yt awayleth not wyth hym to stryue,
 For he is fest in many a goodly place,

¹ MS. which that shulle dysplese.² MS. Sechyn.

- And for bycause he stant so wele in grace,
 Hyt aught not the peple to dysplese;
 15 Though thay ryght sore be boundyn in his lase
 Yit¹ caryth he but lytyll for thayr ese.

- But for alle thys, yit wold I counsayle the,
 Walke not to large In awnter thou be schent;
 And yf thou do, yt well non othir be
 20 But tryst fully, thou shall it sore repent.
 Yit were thou bettyr, aftir myn entent,
 To reule the so that alle thys myght be pesed,
 Vpon this to make apoyntement
 That fro hensforth alle pratyse may be plesyd.

X

Compleynt

[fol. 322]

- Now must I nede part out of your *presence*,
 Whiche causeth me to lyue in gret dystresse
 And I no socour haue, nor no defence
 For to wythstand myn inward heynesse;
 5 Werfor I pray you of your gentyllesse
 Haue mynde on hym that *serueth* faythfully
 And for your *seruaunt* shape *sum* remedy.
- Though I be far, yit haue in remembraunce
 My long *seruyse* abydyng euer in one
 10 Wyth-outyn chaunge or feyned countynaunce,
 Hauyng no comfort but of yow allone.
 To yow, my lady, thus I make my mone,
 As ye that have bene to me the best
 That euer I fonde as for myn hertys rest.
- 15 Hold me escused, I haue non eloquence,
 Nor no konnyng, to wryte to my purpose,
 Made in gret hast to com to your *presence*
 As sone as I thys wrytyng myght endose;
 Besechyng yow, that ye wyll kepe yt close,
 20 And lat this lytyll byll with yow abyde,
 For wykkyd tongys do harme on euery syde.

Go forth, balade, and I shall yive yow wage;
 To her that ys my lady and maistresse

¹ MS. It.

- Be not a-ferde, but sey her thy message,
 25 Me recomawndyng to her hye noblesse,
 Lettyng her wyt, in verey sothfastnesse,
 I wyl be truly hers in euery place
 Besechyng her accept me to her grace.

XI

Compleynt

- What shuld me cause, or ony wyse to thynk,
 To haue plesaunce or Ioy in any kynde
 Or any coumfort in myn hert to synk, [fol. 322 v.]
 When I so sore am vexyd in my mynde
 5 To se the causys which that men do fynde
 To hyndyr me, ayeins all maner ryght,
 Which thynketh not but trouth to euery wyght?

- But he that me vngoodly doth accuse
 So wolde criste, for hys hye pyte
 10 It were wele knawn what maners he dothe vse,
 That hys allonly myght a warnyng be
 To alle women which stand in lyberte
 That thay of answers may be well purueyde,
 Or ells by men they may be sone betrayede.
 15 And he that fully fettyth hys purpose
 To sklaundyr thaym which that unworthy be,
 It ys to deme, as I may wele suppose,
 No poynt of trouthe, but verrey sotelte
 20 To save hym harmles, how that euer yt be;
 But I that am not worthy to be blamyd,
 Me thynke yt wrong thus for to be dyffamed.

XII

Compleynt

- Walkyng allon, of wyt full desolat,
 In my sp[y]rytes turmentyd to and fro,
 And wyth my-self fallyng at gret debat
 That I nad power to wythstand my wo,
 5 Knowyng fully how fortune was my fo,
 And I must nede of verrey force endure
 The vttirmost of all myn aventure;
 And then anon I gan remembre me

How that I had bene hyndred here byfore,
 10 Wyth-outyn cause, by gret aduersyte—
 My troublly thoughtes encresyng more and more, [fol. 323.]
 My wofull hert constreyned me so sore
 That I ne couthe, as by [the] way of kynde,
 Myn heuynesse avoyde out of my mynde.

15 And when I saw ther was non othir way
 But alway styll my fortune to abyde,
 The god of loue anon then gan I pray,
 That he vochesafe to be apon my syde.
 Wher-euer I went, he for to be my gyde;
 20 And of that thought I sodenly abrayde,
 Wyth humble hert, to hym ryght thus I sayde:—

“O god of love, whos noble excellence
 May be not be told by possybilyte,
 Lat thys compleynt com to thyn audience,
 25 And se that I sumwhat rewarded be
 For my seruyse, though I vnworthy be,
 And syth I ment but trouth, as in thys case,
 Haue routh on me, and take me to thy grace.”

XIII

Supplication

Besechyth mekly in ryght lowly wyse,
 Now in hys nede your suget and seruaunt,
 That for as myche as he in your seruyse
 Hath of long tyme always (bene) attendaunt,
 5 Plese yt vnto your goodnes for to graunt
 The sayed besecher sumwhat of coumfort
 That he always may to your grace resort.

Seyng also how that by many a way
 He hath full oft ben hyndyrd to your grace,
 10 By siche reportes, which I dar wele say,
 Can nought but hynder folkes in euery place,
 And yf he be not gylty in thys case,
 Of which he is so wrongfully accusyd, [fol. 323 v.]
 As reson wyll, lat hym be hold excusyd.

15 And syth yt lyked to your hegh noblesse
 Hym to wythholde and take as for your man,
 Be ye to hym good lady and maistresse,

- And he shall do sych seruyse as he can.
 Hym thynketh long syth he thys seruyse bygan;
 20 Wherefore do now a charytable dede,
 To hys entent this lytill byll to spede.

XIV

Lettyr

- Myn hertys Ioy, and all myn hole plesaunce,
 Whom that I serue, and shall do faythfully,
 Wyth trew entent and humble obseruaunce,
 You for to plesse in that I can treuly,
 5 Besechyng yow thys lytell byll and I
 May hertly wyth symplesse and drede
 Be recomawndyd to your goodlyhede,

- And yf ye lyst haue knowleche of my qwert
 I am in hele, god thankyd mot he be,
 10 As of body, but treuly not in hert,
 Nor nought shal be to tyme I may you se;
 But thynke that I as treuly wyll be he
 That for your ese shall do my payn and myght
 As thogh that I were dayly in your syght.
- 15 I wryte to yow no more, for lak of space;
 But I beseche the only trinite
 Yow kepe and saue be support of hys grace,
 And be your sheld from all aduersyte.
 Go, lytill byll, and say, thou were wyth me
 20 Of verey trouth, as thou canst wele remembre, [fol. 324]
 At myn vpryst, the fyft day of decembre.

XV

Compleynt

- The tyme so long, the payn ay more and more,
 That in what wyse It may be long enduryd
 I can not se, It smertyth now so sore
 That for I drede lest yt wyll not be curyd,
 5 Thus I of help stand fully vnassuryd,
 And so dyscomfyt in my wyttes alle
 That now I wot not what shal me byfalle.

The hurt is sych, yt may not wele be sene,
 And eke yt standyth in so lytell space

- 10 That ther nys salue ymade of herbys grene
 That can remeve yt from the deedly place,
 But yf that she lyst of her benyng grace
 Sum medycyn of almes to me dele,
 For in her lythe myn welfar and myn hele.
- 15 To whom I pray, the flour of womanhede,
 "Haue mynde on me, which lythe in paynes bounde.
 Be ye my leche now, in my grettest nede,
 And staunche the bledyng of my pytous wounde.
 Syth that your grace may make me hole and sounde,
- 20 Let me not dye, syth I so long haue seryed,
 For god yt knowyth I neuer so deserued."

XVI

Compleynt

- What shall I say, to whom shall I complayn?
 I wot not who wyll on my sorus rewe;
 And in no wyse I can not me restrayn
 But alle-way styll to be faythfull and trewe. [fol. 324 v.]
- 5 How-euer I spede, thys mater must I sewe,
 For to myn hert sum tydyngs must I bryng,
 And coumforthles in aventurys newe,
 Thus to endure yt is a wondir thyng.
- So cam I forthe in-to a goodly playn,
 10 Wherof myn hertys rest I had a vowe,
 Among othir fair peple, in sertayn,
 I knelyd down, as was my deuyr dewe,
 Hys wofull maters hooly to constrewe;
 And sodenly alle thay bygan to syng;
- 15 Thay rought of me no more than of a rewe,
 Thus to endure yt is a wondir thyng.
- And vpon thys I turnyd hom agayn,
 Vn-to myn hert wyth visage pale of hewe.
 "I trow," quod he, "thy labour ys in vayn;"
- 20 And I answerd that I non othir knewe.—
 "Lo, yit," quod he, "my colour shal be blewe,
 That folke may know of my stedfast lyuyng."
 But for to thynke how my sorous renewe,
 Thus to endure yt is a wondir thyng.

XVII

Lettyr

- My best belouyd lady and maistresse,
 To whom I must of verey ryght obey,
 I, wofull wyght, lyuyng in heuynesse,
 Wyth-out coumfort, I wot nat what to say;
 5 As oftyn tyme as thought ymagyn may,
 Wyth hert, body, my trouth and my seruyse,
 I recomawnde me in ryght lowly wyse.
- And yf it please yow to your gentyllesse
 10 To haue knowlech as of my pore estate,
 Myn hert ys seke, and lythe in gret dystresse, [fol. 325]
 Wyth-outyn help of Ioy full desperate.
 I seke refuyt, it comyth alle to late.
 That I wold faynest haue, ther-of I fayle,
 And though I playn, yt is to non avayle.
- 15 But your presence wold put alle thys away
 And make me hole of alle myn gret greuauce;
 Wher-for to god wyth all myn hert I pray
 To sende yt sone, and yit be hys plesaunce.
 For, trysteth treuly, in my remembraunce
 20 Is non so mych as only your parsone,
 That knowyth god, that made us euerychone.
- I wryte no more, but god in trinite
 He be your guerdon of hys [hye] goodnesse,
 And be your sheld from all aduersyte
 25 From mysfortune and from alle hevynesse,
 Long endure in Ioie and in gladnesse.
 Wrytyn in hast of verey trouth to say,
 At * vpon our lady day.

XVIII

Compleynt

- Not far fro marche, in the ende of feuaryere,
 Allon I went vpon myn own dysport
 By a ryuere, that ran full fayr and clere,
 Whiche in spirytys dyd me gret coumfort,
 5 And to my mynde anon ther gan resort

* Space. In the margin some hand inserts the assumption.

Ryght heuy thoughtys, which, in sothfastnesse,
Cam vn-to me of ryght gret vnkyndnesse.

And as I went, I gan remembre me

- How long I had contynude my seruyse
10 Wyth carefull thought, and gret aduersyte, [fol. 325 v.]
And guerdonless, lo, sych was myn offyse;
The world ys straunge, and now yt ys the guyse
Who that doth best aqwyte hym in hys trouthe
Shall sunnest be foryot, and that ys routhe.

- 15 Thys dar I say, and faythfully assure,
That wyllingly I neuer dyd trespase;
And in thys lyfe I may nocht long endure
Wyth-out coumfort or tryst of byttir grace.
Pyte is lost,—this is a straunge case—
20 And forthermore, sich ys myn happy chaunce,
What-euer I do, yt ys gret dysplesaunce.

Fortune vnstable, this is thyn affray,
To cause debat, wher non was sene byfore,
Thyn olde custum, I se, wyll neuer away,

- 25 For of thy fauour ys but esy store.
Thus went I forthe wyth many syghynges sore,
And wyth my-self full fest I countirpletyd,
That for my trouth I shuld be thus entretyd.

- But for alle thys, my wyll and myn entent
30 Shall stylel abyde as it hath done alway;
And how that euer I haue my seruyse spent,
I wouchewelsafe I can no forthir say.
But yit I hope to god, to see that day
That thouth shall reyng, and (haue) the gouernaunce,
35 And hertys trew to lyue in thair plesaunce.

XIX

How þe loue ys sett to serve the floure.¹

Myn hert ys set, and all myn hole entent
To serue this flour in my most humble wyse,
As faythfully as can be thought or ment,
Wyth-out feynnyng or slouthe in my seruyse, [fol. 326]

¹Title from old table of contents.

- 5 For wytt the wele, yt ys a paradise
 To se this flour when yt bygyn to sprede,
 Wyth colours fressh ennewyd white and rede.

- And for the fayth I owe vn-to thys flour,
 I must of reson do my obseruaunce
 10 To flours all, both now and euery our,
 Syth fortune lyst that yt shuld be my chaunce,
 If that I couthe do seruyse of pleasaunce.
 Thus am I set and shall be tyll I sterue,
 And for o flour all othyr for to serue.

- 15 So wolde god, that my symple connyng
 Ware sufficiaunt this goodly flour to prayse,
 For as to me ys non so ryche a thyng
 That able were this flour to countirpayse.
 O noble Chaucer, passyd ben thy dayse,
 20 Off poetrye ynamyd worthyest,
 And of makying in alle othir days the best.

- Now thou art gon, thyn helpe I may not haue;
 Wherfor to god I pray, ryght specially,
 Syth thou art ded, and buryde in thy graue,
 25 That on thy sowle hym lyst to haue mercy.
 And to the monke of bury now speke I,—
 For thy connyng, ys syche, and eke thy grace,
 After Chaucer to occupye his place.

- Besechyng the my penne enlumyne¹
 30 This flour to prayse, as I before haue ment,
 And of these lettyrs let thy colours shyne
 This byll to forthir after myn entent;
 For glad am I that fortune lyst assent
 So to ordeyn that yt shuld be myn vre
 35 The flours to chese as by myn aventure.

[fol. 326 v.]

- Wher-as ye say, that loue ys but dotage,
 Of verey reson that may not be trew;
 For euery man that hath a good corage
 Must louer be,—thys wold I that ye knew.
 40 Who louth wele, all vertu will hym sew;²

¹This is certainly a burlesque of Lydgate's style.

²This is certainly a parody on the moral poem by Lydgate, with the refrain, "Who sueth vertu, vertu he shall leere." (Halliwell, *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, 1842, pp. 216-220.)

Wherfor I rede, and counsail yow expresse,
As for thys mater, take non heuynesse.

These clerkys wyse, ye say were brought full lowe,
And mad full tame, for alle thair sotelte;—

- 45 Now am I glad, yt shall ryght wele be know
That loue ys of so grete autoryte,
Wherfor I lat yow wyt, as semeth me,
It is your part in euery maner wyse
Of trew louers to forther the seruise.

- 50 And of women ye say ryght as ye lyst,
That trouth in hem may but a while endure,¹
And counsail eke that men shuld hem not tryst,
And how they be vnstedfast of nature.
What causeth this? for euery creature

- 55 That ys gylty, and knowyth thaim-self coulpable
Demyth alle other [to] thair case semblable.

And be your bokys I put case that ye knewe
Mych of this mater whiche that ye haue myned,
Yit god defende, that euerythyng were trew

- 60 That clerkes wryte, for then myght thys be preuyd,
That ye haue sayd which wyll not be byleuyd,
I late yow wyt, for trysteth verely,
In your conseyt yt is an eresy.

A, fye, for schame, O thou envyouus man:

[fol. 327]

- 65 Thynk whens thou² came, and whider to repayr³
Hastow not sayd eke, that these women can
Laugh and loue nat?⁴ Parde, yt it not fair.
Thy corrupt speche enfectyth alle the air;
Knoke on thy brest, repent [the] now and euer.
70 Ayen ther-wyth, and say, thou saydyst yt neuer.

Thynk fully this, and hold yt for no fable,
That fayth in women hath his dwellyng-place;
For out of her cam nought that was vnable,
Saf man, that can not well say in no place.

¹ Cf. Lydgate's poem, *They that nowhile endure*.

² MS. thom.

³ MS. rapayr.

⁴ Cf. *Oxford Chaucer*, vol. VII, no. XIV, l. 19; "For they can laugh and love nat."

- 75 O thou vnhappy man, go hyde thy face;
The court ys set, thy falshed is [out] tryed;
Wyth-draw, I rede, for now thou art aspyed.

If thou be wyse, yit do this after me;

Be not to hasty, com not in presence,

- 80 Lat thyn attourney sew and speke for the,
Loke yf he can escuse thy neglygence;
And forthermore, yit must thou recompence
For alle that euer thou hast sayde byfore;
Haue mynde of this, for now I wryte no more.

XX

Parlement

O ye louers, which in gret heuynes

Haue led your lyfe, by many a straunge way,

Beth of good chere, and leue youre pensyfnesse,

For now the god of loue, in gret aray,

- 5 Of feueryere the two and twenty day

Be good avyse bygan his parlement

At Secret Pense, by thapoyntement;

Wher wyt ye wele ys ryght an huge prese

[fol. 327 v.]

Of one and other sowters many on;

- 10 And ther Cupyde sate¹ hye vpon the deese

As lord and reuler of hem euerychon;

And whan that they were setyd² on and on,

He, full avysed by hys prouydence,

Made crye anon in opyn audience

- 15 That no man shuld, of hy estate³ ne of lowe,

What euer he be, of payn of ponyschement,

Apere in court, but yf that he be know

A man ryght able for the parlement;

Also, he chargyth by comaundement

- 20 That nought be sayd, but yf yt be preuyd,

That no man playn, but yf he fynd hym greuyd.

And what that euer fall by aventure,

To loue treuly ys hys comaundement,

¹ MS. seyd.

² MS. sene.

MS. hye state.

- In wele or wo hys seruyse to endure,
 25 And take in gre all that fortune hath sent;
 And though yt fall sumwhat to his entent,
 As be hys labour and hys trew seruyse,
 Loke he be non avaunter in no wyse.

- And euery man comaundyd by and by
 30 To make his byll as he can best deuyse,
 And who that speketh, speke avysely,
 That to the court yt be no pregedyse.
 Also that euery man in faythfull wyse
 Be warnid thus, that no man hinder othir,
 35 But loue hys felowe as he wer his brothir.

- If tweyn loue one, this thapoynt[ement], [fol. 328]
 Loke who can best deserue to stande in grace,
 But hyndre not to forther his entent,
 In avnter thay be bothe put out of place,—
 40 For syche a thyng thay may lyghtly purchase,
 When on ys wrothe, to say that ys contrarye;
 Malebouche in court ys a gret aduersayre.

- When thys was do, thay bysyd hem full fast
 Forthe¹ to procede in othir maters grete;
 45 And ther thay founde, how that of tymes past
 Myche peple vsyd loue to countirplete
 Whiche lyeth not in thair powers for to trete,
 But yf the god lyst for to be so large
 To graunt his pardon as for thair dyscharge.²

- 50 And vpon this, thay present vp thair byllys
 Vpon her knes, wyth facys pale of hewe,
 Conpleynyng sore for many dyuerse skyllys:
 Sum sayed playnly, that fortune was vntrew,
 And sum bygan a long proces to sewe
 55 Of seuen yere enduryng in seruyse
 Wyth-out coumfort in any maner wyse.

Sum sayd that thay were hyndyrd causeles,
 And how thay couthe not fynde no remedy;

¹ MS. for the.

² This certainly refers directly to Poem XIX, and to Lydgate in particular, who was a monk, and 'herefore had no right to attack Love.

- Sum sayd absence had causyd thair dystres,
 60 Thus were thay hurt, god wot, full pittuouslye;
 And wyth o woys thay sayd all openlye,
 Bothe one and othir, wyth a rewfyl mon,
 "Of Daunger we compleyn vs euerychon."
 And forth-wyth-alle thay go, by one assent,
 65 Vnto the god and prayd hym faythfully, [fol. 328 v.]
 To yive hem leue to vttyr thair entent
 Of that at thay desyr but ryghtwysly;
 Whereof the god, avysed thurug(h)ly
 Of thair compleyntys and thair sores olde,
 70 Yaf hem lycence to say what at thay wolde.

- Then he that was the speker for hem all
 Bygan to knele and sayde all openly,
 "Lord, and yt lyke to your estat royall,
 This we desyr, and pray yow hert(i)ly,
 75 To voyd daunger out of her comppany
 In sich a wyse that he be not so bolde
 To come ayen to court, though that he wold.

- "Lo, thys ys alle theeffect of¹ our entent
 Wherto we pray yow to be fauorable,
 80 Syth we be alle at your comaundement;
 Of verey trouth be now sumwhat treftable,
 And we shall graunt yow sich a good notable
 Frely to pay, and in no wyse rebate,
 For seuen yere to maynten your estat."
 85 And herevpon the god, full wele avysed,
 Thought² in his hert, as touchyng thair request
 It myght be this man were so dyspysed
 Wyth-outen cause, for he had made byhest
 To lusty Venus which he louyd best,
 90 That for no suyt to fauour thair entent,
 He should not voyde but yf she lyst assent...

- And forth-wyth-alle he yaf hem this answere,
 Sayng ryght thus:— "As touchyng your entent,
 I wyll that ye haue knowleche, alle in fere, [fol. 329]
 95 Thys matere axyth gret avysement,

¹ MS. or.² MS. though.

And to yive a sodeyn Iugement
 Off that may touche my worship or my fame,
 Trewly, that were but sklaundyr to my name.

- “ But trysteth wele, I wyll not reule me so;
 100 Wher-fore I wyll, be myn apoyntement
 For thys mater and thir causys mo,
 To Vivre-en-Ioye aiorn my parlement,
 And alle my peple, to be ther-at present,
 Off Apryle the nyne and twenty day,
 105 To make an ende wyth-outen more delay.”

- Then was yt cryde eche man to kepe hys day,
 Off payn of all his seruyse forfettyng,
 And thay that felt hem hurt be any way
 There to apere, apeyn of doublyng,
 110 Then partyd they, and made no tary(e)ng;
 Sum glad in hert, and sum in heuy case,
 Eche creature resortyd to his place.

Lenvoye

- O ye peple, that louers yow pretende,
 Prayeth hertly to Venus the goddesse,
 115 Off your matters sych tydynges yow to sende
 That fro hens-forth we take non hevynesse.

C. ENGLISH POEMS IN FRENCH MSS. OF ORLÉANS

(From the Grenoble ms, printed by Champollion-Figeac, *loc. cit.*, pp. 265-270).

I

Ayens the comyng of may
 That is full of lustynes
 Let us leve all hevynes,
 As fer as we can or may.

Now is tym of myrth and play;
 Wynter weth hys ydynes
 Is discomfet, as y ges,
 And redy to fle away,
 Ayens the comyng of may.

Wherefore, ladys, I yow pray
 That ye take in yow gladnes,

And do al your besynes
To be mery nyght and day
Ayens the comyng of may.

II

Go forth, myn hert, wyth my lady,
Loke that ye spar no besynes
To serue hyr wyth seche lowlynes
That ye get hyr grace and mercy.

Pray hys oftymes pryvely
That sche kepe¹ trewly hyr promes,
Go forth, myn hert, wyth my lady.

I must,² as a hertles body,
Abyde alone in hevines,
And ye schal dwel³ with your maistres
In plesans glad and mery,
Go forth, myn hert, wyth my lady.

III

For the reward of half a yere
Two trewe louys upon the brest,
Hyt ys ynow to brynge yn rest
A hert that love hold in dangere.

Whene he hath be serve w(h)at strangere
To hym ys holyday and fest.
For the reward of half a yere, etc.

Though⁴ hyt be a juel ful dere
And a charme for the tempest,
Yet y conseilte hym to be prest,
And fore ayens the Warderere
For the reward of half a yere, etc.

IV

Alas, mercy, wher shal myn hert yow fynd?
Never had he wyth yow ful aquaintans.

¹ MS. guippe.

³ MS. dowel.

² MS. most.

⁴ MS. Thousches *sic*.

Now com to hym, and put of hys grevans,
Ellys ye be unto yowr frend unkynd.

Mercy, he hath yow ewer¹ in his mynd,
Ons let hym² have sum confort of plesans.
Alas, mercy, wher shal myn hert yow fynd? etc.

Let hym not deye, but mak at ons an ende³
In al hys woo an Right hevy penans.
Noght is the help that whyl hym avans;
Slouth hys to me and ever com behynde.
Alas, mercy, wher shal myn hert yow find?

V

Ye shal be payd⁴ after your whylfulnes,
And blame nothyng but your mysgouvernans,
For when goodlove wold fayn had yow avans⁵
Then went ye bak, wyth wyly fraichednes.

I knew anon your sotyl wylenes,
And your daunger, that was mad for a scans.
Ye shal be payd⁶ after your whylfulnes.

Ye might have been my lady and maistres
Forever mor withoutyn⁷ varians,
But now my hert, yn England or in France
Ys⁸ go, to seke other nyw besynes.
Ye shal be payd⁹ after your whylfulnes.

VI

So fayre, so fresche, so goodely on-to se,
So wele dymeynet in al your governans,
That to my hert it is a grete plesans
Of your godenes, when y remembre me.

An trustyth fully, wher that ever y be,
Y wylle abyde undyr your obeysance.
So fayre, so fresche, so goodely on-to se.

¹ MS. ewer you.

³ MS. a vende.

⁵ MS. nuans.

⁷ MS. with on thym.

⁹ MS. puyd.

² MS. have.

⁴ MS. puyd.

⁶ MS. paupt.

⁸ MS. Ye.

For yn my thought ther is nomo but ye,
 Whom y have servid wythout repentance,
 Wher-fore y pray yow, sethe to my grevance
 And put asyde all myn adversite.
 So fayre, so fresche, so goodely on-to se.

VII

O thou, fortune, which hast the gouvernaunce,¹

VIII

Myn hert hath send glad hop(e) in hys¹ mesage
 Un-to confort, plesans, joye and spede
 I pray to god, that grace may hym lede²
 Wythout lettyng or daunger of passage.

In cryst to fynd³ profit and avauntage,
 Wyth⁴-yn short tym, the help of (al) hys nede.⁵
 Myn hert hath send glad hop in his message
 Un-to comfort, plesans, joye and spede.

Till pat he come, myn hert in ermytage
 Of thoght shal dwel⁶ alone, God gyve him mede;
 And of wysshying⁷ oftty⁸ y⁹ shal hym fede,
 Glad hope folywing, and spede¹⁰ well thys viage.
 Myn hert hath send glad hope in his message.

IX

Whan shal thow come, glad hope, from your vyage?
 Thow hast y-taryed,¹¹ to long many a day,
 For all confort¹² is put fro me¹³ away
 Tyll that I her thythings of your message.

¹ See the Fairfax group, no. VIII, above.

¹ MS. speding.

² MS. leeding.

³ MS. fynding.

⁴ MS. Wych.

⁵ MS. neding.

⁶ MS. dweling.

⁷ MS. wysshyingl.

⁸ MS. of tym.

⁹ MS. ys.

¹⁰ MS. speding.

¹¹ MS. carydge, and so below, ll. 8, 14.

¹² MS. confordeinge.

¹³ MS. my.

Wher that hyt be¹ lettyng of thyn uassage
 Or taryng,² alas, I can not say.
 When shal thow come, glad hope, from (thy vyage),
 Thow hast y-taryed, to long many a day.

Who³ knows fulwol pat I have gret damage
 In abydyng⁴ of the, that is no nay.⁵
 And tho fy, syng⁶ and⁷ dauns, or lagh and play;
 In blake⁸ mournyng is clothyd my corage.
 When shal thow come, glad hope from (thy vyage),
 Thow hast y-taryed, to long many a day.

D. FROM MS. ROYAL 16 F. 11

Champollion Figeac, pp. 455-456

X

My hertly love is in your governauns⁹
 And ever shal, whill that I lyven may.
 I pray to god, [that] I may see that day
 That we be knyht with thouthfull alyauns.
 Ye schal not fynd feynyng or vareauns,
 As in my part, that wyl I trewly say,
 My hertly love is in your gouernauns.

XI

Ne were my trewe innocent hert
 How ye hold with her aliauns
 That sometyme with wordes of plesauns
 Desceyved you under covert.
 Thynke, how the stroke of love cane¹⁰ smert
 Without warnyng or deffiauns,
 Ne were my trewe innocent hert.

¹ MS. Hat that hade be.

³ MS. How.

⁵ MS. way.

⁷ MS. et.

⁹ MS. et.

² MS, cariyrger.

⁴ MS. abydynger.

⁶ MS. syngling.

⁸ MS. clake.

¹⁰ MS. come.

And ye shall pryvely or appert
 See her by me in loves dauns,
 Wyth her faire femenyne contenauns,
 Ye shall never fro her astert,
 Ne were my trewe innocent hert.

E. POEMS IN SUFFOLK'S MANNER

I

Balade coulourd and Reuersid

(MS. Arundel 26, fol. 32 v.)

Honour and beaute, vertue and gentilnesse,
 Noblesse and bounte of grete valure,
 ffygure playsant *with* coulour and fressshenesse,
 Witnesse prudent, *with* connyng and norture,
 Humblesse *with* contynnuance demure,
 Plente of this have ye, lo, souuerayn,
 Expresse soo youe fourmyd hath nature,
 Pyte savyng, ye want no thyng certayne.

Creature noon hath more goodlynesse
 Goodenesse grete, so wred yow hath vre;
 ffeture and shap of faire lucesse,
 Mekenesse of Tesbe, as voide of all rigure,
 ffrendelynesse of mede, port of geynure,
 Pennolope of hestis, true and playne,
 Alcesse of Bounte lo, thus ar ye sure,
 Pite savyng ye want no thyng certayn.

Endure me doth, lo, payne and hevynesse,
 Distresse and thought *with* trouble and Langour,
 Vusure stondyng of socour and Relesse;
 Maistres and lady, trustyng you of cure,
 Witnesse of God, I gre myn aduenture,
 Parde is falle me what joy or payne.
 Gladnesse or woo, thus I you ensure,
 Pytte savyng ye want no thyng certeyn.

[L'envoye].

Prynce[sse] I you beseche this rude meture
 Ye not disdayne, beholde *with* eyen¹ tweyn,

¹ MS. theym.

Witnesse though¹ I doo in this scripture,
Pite Savyng ye want no thyng certeyne.²

II

Ballade from ms. Cam. Univ. Lib. Ff. l. 6, fol. 178, probably by
the same author.

- A mercy, fortune, haue pitee on me,
And thynke that þou hast done gretely amysse,
To parte asondre them whiche ought to be
Alway in on, why hast þou doo thus?
- 5 Haue I offendyd the, I? nay, ywysse;
Then torne thy whele, and be my frende agayn,
And sende me Ioy where I am nowe in payn.
- And thynke, what sorowe is the departyng
Of ij trewe hertes louyng feithfully,
10 ffor partyng is the most soroughfull thyng,
To myn entent, that euer yet knewe I;
Therfore I pray to the, Right hertely,
To turne thy whele & be my frende agayn,
And sende me Ioy where I am nowe in payn.
- 15 ffor tyll we mete, I dare wel say for trouth
That I shall neuer be in ease of herte,
Wherfor I pray you to haue of me summe Routh
And release me of all my paynes smerte.
Nowe sith þou woste hit is nat my deserte,
Then torne thy whele And be my frynde agayn,
And sende me Ioy where I am nowe in payn.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

¹ ms. thowe.

² Note initial and internal ryme in this poem.

VI.--PHILLIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES' DRAMATIC OFFICE FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN

The present study originated in a suggestion of Monsieur Marius Sepet, of Paris.¹ In his famous monograph, *Les Prophètes du Christ*,² in describing the so-called *Festum Asinorum* of Rouen, M. Sepet contributes the following note:

Telle est aussi la voie que suit le cortège dans l'Office de la Présentation, par Philippe de Maizières. Cet office est un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène. Notre confrère et ami M. Anatole Lefoullon se propose de la publier d'après le mss. Celestins 15, B. I.³

The early demise of M. Lefoullon prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and, as it appears, no other

¹ I am glad of every opportunity for expressing my gratitude to Monsieur Sepet for numerous favors extending over a number of years. In the present instance I owe M. Sepet suggestions and encouragement without which I should never have undertaken the task in hand.

² *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vols. xxviii (1867), 1-27, 211-264; xxix (1868), 105-139, 261-293; xxxviii (1877), 397-443. These articles are reprinted and united to form the volume, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, Didier, 1878. I make my references to the single volume.

³ Sepet, p. 45, note 1. The new press-mark of this manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale is Latin 17330. In his *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Philippe de Mézières (Ecole Imperiale des Chartes. Positions des Thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion 1864-65, Paris, 1865, p. 41)*, M. Lefoullon refers to this document as follows: "Dans le manuscrit 15, Célestins, mise en scène de l'office de la Présentation de la Vierge; des noms des 22 personnages, des vêtements et ornements, de l'arrangement du lieu, de la processions, de la représentation de Marie, de la Messe et du sermon."

scholar has hitherto succeeded to his intention. Although, then, this document has lain in neglect these many years, and although, meanwhile, many important additions have been made to our knowledge of mediaeval drama, M. Sepet's appraisal remains, I think, sound and modest: "Cet office est un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène."

I.

The Festum Praesentationis Beatae Mariae Virginis in Templo (November 21) had its origin in the following story from the apocryphal Gospels.¹ In fulfillment of a vow made by her parents, Mary, at the age of three years, accompanied them to the temple, ascended the steps unaided, and, after making a vow of virginity, remained in the temple to be brought up with other virgins.

¹ For the apocryphal texts see C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 14-17 (*Protevangelium Jacobi*, cap. vii-viii); pp. 117-119 (*De Nativitate Mariae*, cap. vii-viii). Cf. K. A. H. Kellner, *Heortology*, London, 1908, p. 265; SS. D. N. *Benedicti XIV Opera in duodecim tomus distributa*, t. x, Romae, 1751, p. 532; F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Vol. iv, Paris, 1904-08, col. 782-783; *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog-Hauch), Vol. xii, Leipzig, 1903, p. 320; A. F. James, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Bible par le Révérend Père Dom Augustin Calmet* (*Encyclopédie Théologique* par Migne), t. iii, Paris, 1846, col. 1233; Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* (*Troisième et Dernière Encyclopédie Théologique* par Migne), t. i, Paris, 1856, col. 1017, 1053, 1065; Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, t. i, Paris, 1878, pp. 47-53. As to the general tradition concerning the presentation of virgins in the temple see *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, pp. 532-534; P. Canisius, *De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei Genitrice sacrosancta libri quinque*, Ingolstadii, 1577, pp. 81-86; [Gosselin], *Instructions historiques, dogmatiques et morales sur les principales Fêtes de l'Eglise*, t. iii, Paris, 1850, pp. 362-363; Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. iv, col. 783-784.

During her years in the temple she rejoiced in daily visits from angels and in heavenly visions. When Mary reached her fourteenth year, the High Priest wished to send her home, in order that she might marry; but she interposed her vow of virginity. After divine consultation the High Priest summoned the youths of the house of David and promised Mary as a wife to him whose rod should blossom and to whom the Holy Ghost should descend as a dove. Joseph was the chosen one.

The feast based upon this tradition originated in the East, where for some centuries, at least, the observance of it was exclusively confined. Although the date at which the feast was established is a matter of doubt, writers agree, in general, that this observance is first officially mentioned in a Constitution of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, of the year 1166.¹ Of the liturgical offices of the Feast of the Presentation in the East no adequate study has yet been made. Their general nature

¹ See *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Nomocanon cum Commentariis Theodori Balsamonis*, Titul. vii, cap. i, in *Bibliothecae Juris Canonici Veteris*, t. II, Paris, 1661, p. 921; *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, p. 534; Kellner, p. 266; Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. iv, col. 784; *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog-Hauch), Vol. xii, p. 320; J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 291; F. A. Zaccaria, *Onomasticon Rituale Selectum*, t. I, Faventiae, 1787, pp. 102-103. Kraus and Schrod (Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2d edit., Vol. VIII, Freiburg, 1891, col. 817) assign the introduction of this feast at Constantinople to the year 730; but their evidence is not trustworthy. Cf. Kellner, p. 266, note 1. G. Moroni (*Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, Vol. 55, Venezia, 1852, p. 171) speaks of this feast as being mentioned "ne' più antichi martirologi." For other statements as to the early observance of the feast in the East see P. Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, Vol. vi, Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester, 1903, p. 345; J. Baudot, *The Roman Breviary*, London, 1909, p. 84; F. G. Holweck, *Fasti Mariani*, Freiburg, 1892, p. 267.

and sanction, however, are indicated in the following passage from a letter of Philippe de Mézières:

Temporibus namque antiquis, et, ut creditur, in primitia ecclesia quando Ciuitas Iherusalem et Terra Sancta per Xpistianos detinebatur, ibique in aliis partibus Orientis in quibus uigebat fides catholica, sanctis patribus instituentibus et uerisimiliter miraculis declarantibus, festum beatissime semper Virginis Marie, quando in tercio etatis sue anno in templo per se ipsam quindecim gradibus templi miraculose ascensis, fuit in dicto templo a parentibus suis presentata, die xxi mensis Nouembris deuotissime et solempniter celebratur. Et adhuc in regno Cypri deuotissime per fideles Orientis colitur de presenti, et habet officium totum proprium et deuotissimum secundum usum Curie Romane, etiam musice notatum.¹

Until further study reveals the nature of the Eastern office more accurately, we must be content with some such summary statement as this from Philippe de Mézières.

However ignorant we may be in regard to the original feast in the East, our information as to the introduction of this observance into the West is both abundant and detailed, thanks especially to the activity and literary diligence of this same Philippe de Mézières (1326 or 1327-1405),² for to this distinguished nobleman we owe the documents printed below. In connection with our present study we find him midway in his fascinating career as diplomat, soldier, writer, traveler, crusader, and religious enthusiast. After serving in one or another of these

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 4r-4v. A description of the manuscript and a complete text of the letter will be found below.

² The definitive life of this interesting personage is that of N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, Paris, 1896 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, Fascicule 110). A short account of Philippe de Mézières' career is to be found in A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, t. iv, Paris, 1904, pp. 112-116.

capacities in France, Italy, and the Orient, and after devoting himself during a score or so of years to the interests of a new crusade, Mézières became (1360-61) Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus, an office which he held until the death of King Pierre de Lusignan, in 1369. It was during the period between the death of Pierre de Lusignan and his own accession (1373) to the office of Counsellor under Charles V that Mézières concerned himself devotedly with the introduction of the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Western Europe. After a sojourn (1369-70) in the convent of St. John the Evangelist in Venice,¹ and after a year or so of activities that are practically unknown to us,² Mézières arrived, at the opening of the year 1372, at Avignon, as special ambassador from the court of Cyprus to announce to Pope Gregory XI the coronation of Pierre II (January 6, 1372). Although the object of the embassy was soon accomplished, Pope Gregory kept the devout and companionable ambassador beside him for a year or more. During this period of intimacy with the Pope, Philippe de Mézières had a sympathetic opportunity for advancing the liturgical project now before us. A devotee of the Blessed Virgin, and familiar with the *Festum Praesentationis* as he had seen it observed in the East, our enthusiast piously urged the establishment of this feast also in his own Western Church.³ Fortunate indeed we are to know every detail connected with this establishment, from a substantial epistle written by Philippe himself. To this capital document, then, we must turn, and to Philippe's own manuscript in which it is to be found.

¹ See Jorga, pp. 402-404.

² See Jorga, p. 404.

³ See Jorga, p. 412.

The official description of ms. latin 17330, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is short:

17330. Office de la Présentation. Fin du xiv s.—Cél.¹

The manuscript measures 240 x 354 millimeters, and contains 25 folios of substantial parchment. The collation may be expressed as follows: *a* a¹² b¹². The principal items of the codex are written in a hand of the late fourteenth century, and none of them could have been written later than during the first half of the fifteenth century. The recto of the fly-leaf is blank. Of the entries (and numerous scribblings) on the verso, the following three are the most important:

- (1) In a hand of the end of the fourteenth century:

: Ihesus :

Iste liber est Domini Philippi de Maseriis
cancellarii regni Cipri.

- (2) In a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century:

Iste liber est de Conuentu Fratrum Celestinatorum de Parisiis.
29. a.²

- (3) In a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century:

Tabula contentorum in hoc uolumine.

Primo: Sermo de Presentatione Virginis Marie a Magistro
Johanne de Basilia Doctore in Theologia Generali Fratrum
Heremitarum Sancti Augustini.

¹ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 16719-18613*, Paris 1871, p. 41.

² 29. a. is the mark given the manuscript in the library of the Celestines of Paris. The same mark is found on fol. 24r. The possession of this codex by the Celestines of Paris is explained by the fact that after the death of Charles V (1380), Mézières associated himself with this community for the rest of his life. See Jorga, pp. 443 ff.

Item: *Epistola Domini Philippi de Maseriis quondam Cancellarii Cipri de Solemnitate Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis.* Fo. 4.

Item: *Quiddam miraculum Beate Marie de doubus Iudeis per pedes supensis quos Beate Virgo inuocata liberauit, et baptizati fuerunt.* Fo. 6.

Item: *Officium Presentationis Beate Marie cum nota.* Fo. 7.

Item: *Historia de Presentatione Beate Marie per sex lectiones pro octaua.* Fo. 14.

Item: *Missa de eodem festo cum nota.* Fo. 15.

Item: *Recommendatio solemnitis Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo.* Fo. 17.

Item: *De quibusdam actibus representantibus¹ eandem Presentationem Beate Marie in Templo et processione fienda in Missa.* Fo. 18.

An additional inventory, in some respects more detailed, may be constructed as follows:

(1) Fly-leaf, recto: Blank.

(2) Fly-leaf, verso: Several entries of the late 14th and the early 15th centuries as to the ownership and content of the manuscript.

(3) Fol. 1^r-3^v: <headed> *Sermo de Presentatione Marie in Templo . . .* <saec. xiv ex.>.

(4) 4^r-5^v: <headed> *Epistola de solemnitate Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo et nouitate ipsius ad partes occidentales . . .* <saec. xiv ex. Printed below>.

(5) Fol. 5^v-6^r: Appendix (in the same hand) to the *Epistola*, recounting a miracle of two Jews.

(6) Fol. 6^v: <headed> *Oroison de Monsigneur Saint Joachim, pere de la Vierge Marie . . .* <saec. xv>.

(7) Fol. 7^r-17^r: *Officium Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis in Templo, quod festum celebratur uicesima prima die mensis Nouembris* <saec. xiv ex. *Cursus* = fol. 7^r-15^r; *Missa* = fol. 15^r-17^r>.

¹ MS. *represententibus*.

(8) Fol. 17^v: Without heading, a note of the early 15th century regarding the *officia* of the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin. Printed below.

(9) Fol. 18^r-24^r: Without title, in a hand of the late 14th century, a dramatic procession for the Mass of the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin. Printed below.

(10) Fol. 24^v: Irrelevant entries of the 15th century.

That this manuscript belonged to Philippe de Mézières himself is definitely settled by the entries on the fly-leaf, printed above. The date and content of these entries prove their original association with the body of the manuscript. This codex is, then, a thesaurus of information as to the Festum Praesentationis Beatae Virginis in Templo, and in all that relates to the establishment of this feast in Western Europe it is certainly the most important of known documents.¹

For our present literary purpose the two most important articles of the manuscript are number (4), the Epistola (fol. 4^r-5^v), and number (9), the dramatic procession (fol. 18^r-24^r). The text of the first of these is as follows:²

¹That this document should have been so generally neglected by liturgiologists seems little short of incredible.

²Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 4^r-5^v. A 15th century text of this letter is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 14454, fol. 2^r-4^v, and an incomplete text of the early 15th century is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 14511, fol. 182^v-183^r. Jorga (pp. 411-414) quotes sparingly from a text of this letter in Meurisse, *Lettres de Charles cinquième et de Philippe de Maisières*, Metz, 1638, in -12, pp. 6 ff. Since this print is not to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the British Museum, or in the Bodleian Library, it may fairly be considered inaccessible. In *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis . . . autore Caesare Egassio Bulaeo*, t. iv, Paris, 1668, p. 441, the opening sentences of our Epistola are quoted "ex Epistola Philippi erga B. Virginem toto animo affecti intelligitur, quae legitur in libello excusso Metis anno 1638."

<fol. 4^r> *Epistola de Solemnitate Presentationis
Beate Marie in Templo et Nouitate ipsius ad
Partes Occidentales que Celebratur XXI No-
uembris.*¹

Uniuersis in *Domino* fidelibus, maxime *Xpistianis* occidentalibus, Philippus de Maiserijs, Picardie miles infimus, regni Cypri indignus cancellarius uocatus, ac gloriose Virginis Marie zelator abortiuus, sentencias irati summi² iudicis per Mariam euadere et ad uitam sempiternam peruenire, exclamare plerumque compellitur dolorem communem et mala gentis nostre in lucem ad memoriam reducere. Dicant igitur nunc cum lacrimis qui redempti sunt a *Domino* Ihesu: Ve nobis *Xpistianis*, rubor in facie et liuor infamie, quia non sunt occultata hodie a filiis alienigenarum infidelium qui in circuitu nostro sunt mala inexplicabilia *Xpistianis* adeo inflicta peccatis hec impetrantibus. Quante nempe pestilentie, seditiones, mortalitates, guerre, proditiones, et hereses temporibus nostris insur<r>erunt, maxime ad plagam occidentalem, patet intuenti.

Flagellauit etenim Deus et continue flagellat *Xpistianos*, qui ad mortem, qui ad gladium, qui ad famem et captiuitatem, Ieremia predicente, et uere cum Bernardo ad Ostiensem, Penestrinum, et Tusculanum cardinales scribente, hodie non immerito dici potest: Sapientiam uincit malicia, adduntur ubique cornua impiis, et exarmatur iusticie zelus, et non est qui facere bonum, non dico uelit, sed possit; superbi iniqui agunt usquequaque, et nullus audet contra mutire, et utinam uel ignorantia tuta

¹ A later hand has added: A Magnifico D. Philippo De Maseriis Edita.

² Supplied from a contemporary entry in the right margin.

esset, *et iusticia ipsa sibimet sufficeret defensioni. Hec ille.*

Nec mirum, *Patres et Fratres carissimi, quia cum precibus nostris pulsamus redemptorem non calescit, quia natus est nobis; auertit faciem suam et conturbati sumus. Quid igitur fiendum est desperandum? Absit. Sed in tantis processis flagellis et periculis secure ad portum salutis festinandum uidelicet ad aduocatam peccatorum, Mediatricem Dei et hominum, Reginam misericordie, et Matrem Dei, intemeratam Virginem Mariam Xpistiferam cum nouis laudibus uociferando reccurendum, ut uidelicet sua pietas sinum sue ¹ misericordie nobis adaperiat, et in recensione iocunditatis laudum sue Presentationis deuotius allecta apud benedictum fructum uentris sui, Ihesum filium suum unigenitum, pro miseria nostra ipsum placando plus solito intercedere dignetur, ut ipsa adiuvante et protegente a malis liberemur, ad uiam rectam reducamur, et sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati seruiamus illi deinceps in sanctitate et iusticia omnibus diebus nostris.*

Cantemus igitur carmen nouum Regine celi, *et antiquas laudes Marie Presentationis in Templo de partibus Orientis nouiter coruscantes uniuersis fratribus nostris Xpistianis in plaga occidentali, australi, et septentrionali de gentibus pro antidoto et leticia spiritali annunciemus. Audiant ergo uniuersi Catholici Europe et Affrice, presertim deuoti intemerate Virginis, eius deuotissimam solennitatem utique in ecclesia occidentali nouam ac rutilantem in cordibus zelatorum Virginis, quamuis antiquam in ecclesia orientali, et ad nouam deuotionem excitentur. Temporibus namque antiquis, et, ut creditur,*

¹ This word is written above the line, in a later hand.

in primitia ecclesia quando ciuitas sancta Iherusalem et Terra Sancta per Xpistianos detinebatur, ibique in aliis partibus Orientis in quibus uigebat fides catholica, *sanctis patribus instituentibus et uerisimiliter miraculis declarantibus*, festum Beatissime semper Virginis Marie, quando in tercio etatis sue anno in templo per se ipsam <fol. 4^v> quindecim gradibus templi miraculose¹ ascensis, fuit in dicto templo a parentibus suis presentata, die xxi mensis Nouembris deuotissime et solempniter celebrabatur. Et adhuc in regno Cypri deuotissime per fideles Orientis colitur de presenti, et habet officium totum proprium et deuotissimum secundum usum Curie Romane, etiam musice notatum.

Quod quidem festum supramemoratus cancellarius, quamuis indignus et inutilis, pre deuotione Virginis et iocunditate admirans et in corde suo pie extimans indignum quod tanta solennitas partes lateret occidentales, in quibus, protegente Domino, fidei plenitudo consistit, ob reuerentiam ipsius Beatissime semper² Virginis, ipsa adiuuante, dictam solempnitatem iam pluribus annis elapsis in aliquibus partibus Ytalie, uidelicet in preclara ciuitate Venetiarum, aliquibus electis deuote Virginis ipsius ciuitatis adiuuantibus, solempniter celebrari fecit cum representatione figurata et deuotissima, aliquibus signis et uisionibus dictam solempnitatem de cetero celebrandam confirmantibus et eam communicantibus, de qua certe noua deuotio et iocunda Matris Dei in cordibus multorum fidelium non mediocriter exorta est.

Adueniente plerumque dicto cancellario ambasiatore serenissimi principis, Petri Iherusalem et Cypri regis iuueniculi filii, quondam armipotentis Machabei uictorio-

¹ A contemporary entry in the left margin.

² A contemporary entry in the left margin.

sissime ac lacrimabilis memorie sui quondam domini pro factis orientalibus ad pedes Sanctissimi in Xpisto Patris et Domini Nostri Domini Gregorii Pape undecimi, Sacrosancte Romane ac Uniuersalis Ecclesie Summi Pontificis, toto nisu anhelante ut solennitas sepetacta Beate Marie semper Virginis ubique terrarum auctoritate apostolica diuulgaretur, et cum illa humilitate qua potuit, non qua debuit, et deuotione qualicumque oracionum tamen fultus multorum deuotorum Virginis utriusque sexus et adiutus non in arcu suo sperans sed in arcu celesti qui diuinam maiestatem inclinauit usque ad uterum uirginalem, dicto Sanctissimo Pape Gregorio dictam solennitatem rutilantem noue deuotionis beatitudini sue tunc ignotam minus male annunciauit, ac officium integrum etiam musice notatum humiliter presentavit, supplicando eidem sanctitati, uice deuotorum Virginis, ut tanta solennitas Matris Dei, ab occidentalibus incognita et neglecta, ubique terrarum auctoritate apostolica celebrari mandare dignaretur, aut saltem deuotis uolentibus celebrari permetteret. Qui quidem sanctissimus Pater Gregorius sane uigilans in hiis que fidei sunt, et recensione multiplici armonie diuini cultus, uelut alter Dauid ipsius panaye¹ singulariter electus imitator, in summa clementia et mansuetudine in florida castitate et humilitate in zelo fidei et feruenti deuotione Marie, non utique annunciantis linguam balbutientem abhorrens seu leprosum haurientem aquam mundam repellens, sed amore Virginis tactus et inflammatus, libellum officii memorati manibus propriis dignanter recepit ac post multa et deuotissima uerba ipsius animam dicti Cancellarii fragilem pre deuotione penetrantia, concludendo Sanctissimus Pater in laudem Virginis prorupit

¹ A tick over this word refers to the words: grece Marie, in the margin.

dicens: Non est aliquod remedium ita efficax cuiusque¹ peccatori sicut recursum habere in omni necessitate ad Beatam Virginem Mariam, eique adherere sibi servire et ipsam laudare. Hec ille.

Tandem clementissimus² Papa² zelator honoris Marie, uiso officio in studio proprio, importunitate dicti³ Cancellarii³ postea prosequente uoluit pie et catholice sepe-tactum officium per aliquos reuerendissimos patres et dominos cardinales ac magistros in sacra pagina solempnes examinari debere, quod et factum est, nam Episcopus Pamiensis sancte memorie, Urbani Pape ac Domini Nostri Gregorii Pape confessor, solempnis in theologia magister Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, et Guilielmus Romani Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum etiam in sacra pagina magister Sacri Palatii, primo examinauerunt dictum officium. Deinde Reuerendissimus Pater Dominus Bertrandus Glandatensis, tituli Sancte Prisce, Presbyter Cardinalis, solempnis magister in sacra pagina de Ordine Minorum officium prolixè examinavit et aliqua propria manu correxit; deinde etiam Reuerendissimi Patres Dominus Anglicus Albanensis, Episcopus Cardinalis, et Dominus Petrus Hyspalensis, tituli Sancte Praxedis, Presbyter Cardinalis; post istos uero dominos Frater Thomas quondam Minister Generalis Ordinis Beati Francisci, nunc uero Patriarcha Gradensis, Episcopus Cauilonensis, Minister <fol. 5r> Francie, Minister Hibernie, et Procurator Ordinis Minorum. Omnes magistri in sacra pagina insimul congregati dictum officium uiderunt

¹ A contemporary entry in the left margin.

² Supplied from a contemporary entry in the left margin to replace the words *sanctissimus pater*, which are crossed out.

³ Supplied from a contemporary entry in the left margin to replace the word *mea*, which is crossed out.

*et in presentia reuerendissimi dicti Domini Cardinalis Glandatensis non solum dictam sollemnitatem et officium approbauerunt sollemnizandum, sed etiam ut celebrari debeat a deuotis uolentibus ubique instanter intercesserunt. Factaque relatione de omnibus ad sanctitatem Domini Nostri Pape, idem uicarius dignissimus et imitator illius, qui non cessat Matrem honorare in terris quamuis deuotissimus*¹ *uicarius Matris sui magistri prudentissimus tamen maturius et catholice in hac parte procedere uolens, quam plures dominos cardinales ad se uocauit, et inito consilio supplicationeque dicti Cancellarii, hic inde uentilata tandem diuina clementia honorem Matris in salutem et consolacionem Xpistianorum uerisimiliter reuelante ac Virgine gloriosa in corde uicarii filii sui inspirante, cui plane interest pro tempore et loco cultum diuinum corrigere, modificare, tollerare, augmentare, et de nouo instituere, celebrandi deinceps publice sollempnitatem Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo a fidelibus pie, sancte, et digne tollerantiam seu permissionem misericorditer concessit; et facta est sollempnitas Presentationis Beate Marie cum officio suo proprio sepetacto in Curia Romana, Beatissimo Papa Gregorio tollerante ac in sacro palatio suo degente Auinionensi in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, uidelicet die dominica xxi die mensis Nouembris, anno de Natiuitate Domini MCCCLXXII, indictione decima pontificatus Domini Nostri Domini Gregorii Pape xi^{mi} anno secundo.*

In uigilia namque ipsius dominice Vespere sollemnes, et de nocte Matutine de officio prelibato per Fratres Minores celebrate fuerunt. Et dominica pretacta Missa sollempnis et pontificalis in dicta ecclesia Beati Francisci

¹ This word is repeated.

celebrata fuit per Reuerendum Patrem Dominum Episcopum Cortonensem Romanum, magistrum in sacra pagina solempnem de Ordine Predicatorum, cum sermone eiusdem solennitatis ad clerum in Missa et predicatione uulgari in Vesperis Secundis ad populum laudabiliter factis per Fratrem Franciscum de Fabrica, ministrum Assissii, solempnem doctorem in theologia.¹ Verumptamen ad honorandam prelibatam solennitatem Beate Marie in Missa interfuerunt deuoti Virginis Reuerendissimi in Xpisto Patres et Domini² Cardinales infra-scripti, uidelicet Dominus Anglicus Albanensis Episcopus Cardinalis, frater quondam sancte memorie Urbani Pape Quinti, Dominus Petrus Pampilonensis tituli Sancte Anastasie Presbyter Cardinalis et Vicecancellarius Ecclesie Romane, Dominus Guilielmus tituli Sancti Clementis Presbyter Cardinalis, consanguineus germanus Domini Nostri Pape, Dominus Florentinus tituli Sancti Laurentii in Damasco Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Iohannes Lemouicensis tituli Sanctorum Nerey et Achilley Presbyter Cardinalis, consanguineus Domini Nostri Pape, Dominus Bertrandus Glandatensis tituli Sancte Prisce Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Iohannes de Turre tituli Sancti Laurentii in Lucina Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Hugo Sancti Martialis tituli Sancte Marie in Porticu, Dyaconus Cardinalis, et Dominus Petrus de Barentonio³ tituli Sancte Marie in Via Lata Dyaconus Cardinalis.

¹ A tick at this point refers to the following, written in the upper margin in a hand of the 17th or 18th century: Ad augmentationem uero dictae solennitatis assistentes in dicto officio recitando, item sanctissimus Papa Gregorius omnibus qui interfuerunt ad dictam solennitatem tres annos et tres quadragenas de indulgentiis misericorditer concessit.

² This word is repeated in the manuscript.

³ I have no confidence in this expansion.

Fuerunt insuper alii domini et prelati ecclesie, Dominus Patriarcha Gradensis, prothonotarii, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, magistri sacri palatii, et alii magistri in theologia diuersarum religionum regentes in sacra pagina, doctores sollennes utriusque juris, ac catholicus populus utriusque sexus, quorum non erat numerus, omnes congregati in laudem nouam Virginis Marie gloriose saciati plerumque nouo spiritali cibo a Virgine exquisito et preparato finaliter in uitam eternam.

Nec mirum, Patres et Fratres karissimi, quia plerumque in ista sancta solempnitate, misterio non carente, mens deuota contemplando quintuplici cibo refici potest et saciari. Primus namque cibus dici potest quedam translatio Marie sanctificate, ymmo sanctissime, trium annorum de domo patris carnalis ad domum eterni Dei Patris, de tenebris cellule parentum ad ostensionem populi Israel et aulam Regis uiuentium. Si igitur ecclesia sancta de translatione ossium mortuorum, tantam celebritatem facit, quid fiendum est de translatione Marie beatissime domus paterne ad Domini Templum? Secundus uero cibus ymaginari potest oculo mentali, uidelicet matura ascensio Marie quindecim graduum, de quibus non immerito ecclesia quindecim psalmos graduales in memoriam ascensionis prelibate sibi assumpsit. Ac sancti laudatores Virginis in suis carminibus <fol. 5^v> quindecim gaudia Virginis Marie deuotius recitarunt. Tercius autem cibus, et in sollennitate nostra principalis, est ipsa Presentatio Beate Marie in Templo ad Deum Patrem. Congruum nempe et conueniens erat, ut illa que ab initio et ante secula ordinata erat ad concipiendum et portandum in utero pretium humane redemptionis, Deum et hominem, in templo Deo presentaretur, ibique a Spiritu Sancto de diuinis instrueretur et a conuersacione et contubernio

mundanorum totaliter abstraheretur. Delectabilis est certe cibus iste contemplantibus preparationem redemptionis nostre in Maria. Sed quartus cibus uirgines et mentes castas inebriare debet, Maria plerumque presentata in templo summo pontifici et reducta in contubernio uirginum, expectans redemptionem Israel, contra morem humanum a Spiritu Sancto edocta in templo prima uirginitate, uouit quod tantum Deo placuit, ut Mater Filii Dei fieret et uirginitatem non amitteret. Quintus plerumque cibus mentem deuotam ab omni corpore releuare certe debet contemplando totam uitam Marie, singulares actus, et uirtutes ipsius a presentatione ipsius in templo usque ad annum tredecimum uel quartumdecimum sanctissima uita sua continue ibidem in templo relucente. Quis enim plene contemplari ualet diuinam illam dispensationem atque nouitatem, in qua Virgo regia seni Ioseph nuptui traditur, florente uirga Ioseph approbante et Iudaico populo admirante?

Omnia etenim ista misteria et preparatoria aduentus Saluatoris in Mariam in templo subsequenter acta sunt, de quibus omnibus sub titulo Presentationis hodie in ecclesia Dei mens deuota sabbatizando in corde iubilat. Igitur sancti patres non sine magno misterio solennitatem istam gloriosam nec immerito ad laudem Dei et Virginis instituerunt, in qua nobis proponuntur tot misteria principia et fundamenta humane redemptionis nostre, que omnia in carminibus officii prelibate Presentationis uestre deuocioni lucidius apparebunt.

Istam modicam epistolam incompositam ac sine sale conditam, cum deuotissimo officio Presentationis Marie in Templo, Patres et Domini catholici occidentales, meridionales, et septentrionales, memoratus Cancellarius uermiculus uester et zelator abortiuus deuotioni uestre mitti

decreuit, ad excitandum corda fidelium maxime deuotorum Regine Celi, necnon ad recensendum ipsius laudes dignissimas, non ut inde uentum humane laudis acquirat, ipsa intemerata Virgine teste, sed ut ipsa inspirante *et* Filio suo consumante, sequentibus signis in cordibus uestris tanta solennitas non lateat, *et quandoque* in consistorio contemplacionis uestre solennitatis noue in Mariam rapti *et* affecti per gratiam pro anima uestri uermiculi uestra deuocio *quandoque* apud ipsam intercedere dignetur humiliter exorat, ut etiam multiplicatis intercessoribus latas sentencias irati summi Iudicis per intercessionem Beate Marie semper Virginis Xpistiani nostri euadere mereantur, *et* ad illam beatissimam uisionem, cuius, *secundum Augustinum*, cernere finis est, peruenire ualeant. Quod nobis concedere dignetur fructus Marie benedictus qui uiuit, regnat, *et* inperat per infinita secula seculorum, Amen.

According to the testimony of Philippe de Mézières, then, the Festum Praesentationis B. V. M. had been celebrated "temporibus antiquis" by the Eastern Church on November 21, and was still observed, in his own time, in the kingdom of Cyprus by a special office. It appears, moreover, that in Venice, several years before (pluribus annis elapsis),¹ Philippe himself had brought about a solemn observance of this feast, in which prominence was given to some sort of dramatic office (cum representatione figurata). Pope Gregory XI cordially approved of the new feast, took from Mézières' hand the book containing the *Officium Proprium* (libellum officii), and after examining the document himself, submitted it to a learned body

¹ Concerning Mézières' visits to Venice see Jorga, pp. 236-244, 402-404.

of ecclesiastics for their approval. With the approbation of all, the Pope committed the arrangements to Mézières, and the feast was given its first official celebration in the Western Church on November 21, 1372, in the church of the Franciscans at Avignon.¹

II.

To students of mediæval drama, however, the chief interest of the establishment of the Festum Præsentationis Beatæ Virginis Mariæ in the West attaches to the dramatic office mentioned in Mézières' pious letter,—the "representatio figurata" which he had brought forward as part of the observance of the feast in Venice. That this dramatic office was given a prominent place also in the papal obser-

¹For statements as to the introduction of the feast at Avignon, based upon Mézières' letter, see *Histoire Universitatis Parisienis . . . autore Cesare Egassio Bulæo*, t. iv, Paris, 1668, p. 441; *Benedicti XIV Opera*, Vol. x, p. 534; *Acta Sanctorum . . . editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Propylæum ad septem tomos Maji*, Parisiis et Romæ, 1868, *Paralipomena addendorum, mutandorum, aut corrigendorum in conatu Chronico-Historico ad catalogum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 108, col. 2. With the further history of the feast we are not concerned here. See *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, pp. 535-536; S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire* (trans. by R. Biron), Vol. II, Paris, 1905, pp. 72, 110, 252, 275, 380, 386; Guéranger, Vol. vi, pp. 345 ff.; Kellner, p. 266.

The letter of Charles V, of Nov. 10, 1374, to the College of Navarre at Paris, urging the yearly celebration of the feast, is an important document concerning the history of the Festum Præsentationis in the West. Charles' letter, however, gives no important details as to the nature of the celebration itself. The letter is found in *Joannis Launoi Constantiensis Parisiensis Theologi Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*, Pars Prima, Parisiis, 1677, pp. 77-79. Cf. *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, p. 534; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, Vol. 55, Venezia, 1852, p. 171; J.-B.-E. Pascal, *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1844, col. 1038.

vances at Avignon, is indicated by the following note, or "recommendatio," found in the manuscript before us:¹

Item pro refractione consolacionis deuotorum Beatissime. Virginis Marie qui sepe tactam solempnitatem Presentacionis ipsius Virginis in templo deuote celebrarunt et in futurum iubilando celebrabunt.

Notandum est quod Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo octogesimo quinto in ciuitate Auinionensi, superius tacto Philippo de Maseriis, regni Cipri cancellario, personaliter procurante apud Dominum Nostrum Summum Pontificem Clementem Septimum, ipso summo pontifice non sine deuotione et reuerencia ipsius Matris Dei non solum permittente sed deuote ordinante pretacta solempnitas Presentacionis ipsius Virginis a parentibus in templo xxj die Nouembris anni pretacti in ecclesia Fratrum Heremitarum Beati Augustini Auinioni deuotissime ac solempniter celebrata fuit cum missa pontificali, utique presentibus usque ad finem misse xvij. cardinalibus archiepiscopis episcopis cum uniuersali clero ipsius ciuitatis Auenionensis totoque populo utriusque sexus. In qua quidem missa solempni, ad laudem Virginis deuotionemque suorum deuotorum, facta fuit quedam representacio .xv. iuuenularum uirginum trium aut quatuor annorum, quarum una formosior representabat Mariam associatam a dictis uirginibus, et sic uariis indutis cum processione deuotissima cum Ioachim et Anna figuratis et angelis precedentibus Virginem ac sequentibus, ducta fuit cum instrumentis musicorum ad altare, ibique uelox ascendit xv. gradus ligneos tendentes ad altare et presentata a

¹This note is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 17330, fol. 17v. The note is written in a hand of the early 15th century, a hand seen nowhere else in the manuscript.

parentibus fuit figuraliter, *et* deuote accepta a summo sacerdote legis Ueteri<s> Testamenti induto habitu summorum pontificum Iudeorum. Qua presentata ad altare cum laudibus et carminibus dauiticis alta uoce per angelos Ioachim et Annam et ipsam Mariam recitatis, reducta est in medio chori *et* cardinalium in loco eminentiori, ut tactum est, associata, ibique expectauit usque ad finem misse celebrate, in qua quidem missa hora offertorii de *sancta* solempnitate Presentacionis Marie in templo predicauit ad dominos cardinales et ad clerum reuerendus et in scientia admirabilis magister Iohannes de Basilia, solempnissimus doctor in theologia Theothonicus natione ac generalis ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum Beati Augustini, qui quidem generalis de mandato uiue uocis Domini Nostri Summi Pontificis, fecit sermonem nec habuit spacium prouidendi sermonem pretactum nisi tres dies nec completos et tamen ad confirmandum cor deuotum transformatum per gratiam in amorem Virginis, ut uidelicet tanta solempnitas non lateat quin ymo a fidelibus, ubique terrarum deinceps celebretur, ipsa uirgine uirginum in animam ipsius generalis mirabiliter inspirante sequentibus signis toto clero et dominis cardinalibus publice atestantibus quasi una uoce omnes dicebant quod numquam temporibus ipsorum pulcriorem sermonem de Beata Virgine audiuerant in Curia Romana. Denique ipse Dominus Noster Papa Clemens Septimus, deuocione Virginis Marie eiusque deuota solempnitate accensus, in pretacto diuino officio et festiuitate omnibus existentibus tres annos et tres quadragenas indulgenciarum misericorditer concessit, et qui audiuit et narrata uidit testimonium perhibuit, et uerum est testimonium eius ad laudem Matris Dei Filiique eius benedicti, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum.

From this note it appears, then, that the Mass of the Presentation at Avignon, in 1385, included a dramatic performance in which figured personages representing Mary, fourteen other young maidens, Joseph, Anna, and a number of angels. To the accompaniment of music Mary was led to the altar, where she quickly ascended fifteen wooden steps, was presented to an ecclesiastic vested as a Jewish high priest, and was lauded with the singing of psalms. Although we cannot be sure that the dramatic office referred to by Mézières as having been performed at Venice was identical with the dramatic office described above as part of the observance at Avignon, we do know, at least, that the "recommendatio" describes with almost perfect accuracy the "repraesentatio figurata" that follows it immediately in the manuscript. And if the "recommendatio" leads us to expect a particularly noteworthy dramatic document,—even "un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène,"—our expectations are not to be disappointed.

<REPRÆSENTATIO FIGURATA IN FESTO PRÆSENTATIONIS BEATÆ VIRGINIS MARÆ IN TEMPLO>¹

< fol. 18^r > Quibusdam deuotis personis Matris illius qui dat sapientiam sapientibus *et* scientiam intelligentibus disciplinam, qui reuelat profunda *et* abscondita *et* nouit in tenebris constituta, cum quo lux est reuelans misteria que uentura sunt, a quo omne donum optimum *et* perfectum descendit, reuelare placuit ut xxj. die Nouembris pro commemoracione diei illius quo eius eterni uerbi Mater per carnales parentes in templo domini extitit presentata, ut sibi cui seruire regnare est in perpetuum

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 18^r-24^r.

assisteret, immaculata secundum eorum uota aliquam¹ ordinauerunt solempnitatem cum representationibus quibusdam deuotissimis uerbis nouisque actibus et signis ornatis ex quibus omnibus in *Xpisto* credentibus declararent quod per hanc humilissime Uirginis presentationem in templo omnia catholica fundamenta incepta sunt, ex quibus etiam a carne mens agrauata tamquam per uisibilia signa et opera secundum apostoli doctrinam ad cognitionem inuisibilium uisibiliumque misteriorum Dei peruenire ualerent ut in sequentibus lucide declaratur.

Et primo de *xxij.* personis ac nominibus ipsarum pro representatione fienda.

Secundo de indumentis ipsarum et ornamentis diuersis.

Tercio qualiter pro representationibus omnibus locus ordinetur.

Quarto de² processione fienda et ordine ipsius.

Quinto de representatione fienda et laudibus Marie.

Sexto de Presentatione Marie solempni Missa celebranda et breui sermone.

Primo namque erit quedam uirgo iuuenula et pulcherima circiter trium aut *iiij.*^{or} annorum, que representabit Mariam, et cum ea alie due uirgines pulcherime eiusdem etatis. Deinde erunt Ioachim et Anna; ceterum erunt duo angeli Gabriel et Raphael. Deinde erunt nouem angeli representantes nouem ordines angelorum. Postea erit quedam mulier pulcherima etatis circiter *xx.* annorum que uocabitur Ecclesia et representabit ecclesiam. Deinde erit quedam mulier prouecte etatis, que uocabitur Synagoga et representabit legem Moysi et Uetus Testa-

¹ Preceded by the words: *nouisque actibus*, which are crossed out.

² This word is repeated in the manuscript.

mentum. Ceterum erunt duo iuvenes cum instrumentis pulsantes. Deinde erit Michael archangelus et Lucifer. Ultimo erit episcopus cum dyacono et subdiacono.

Dicto de nominibus personarum pro representatione fienda, dicendum est de indumentis et ornamentis ipsarum.

Maria uero tunicam habebit indutam albissimam de cendato, sine aliquo artificio superfluo, cum plicatura parua eiusdem tunice exterius apparente circa inferiorem partem tunice in circulo, et tunica lata erit ubique exceptis manicis, que erunt adiacentes, nec super tunicam se cinget. Postea habebit quendam mantellum etiam albissimum de cendato aut panno serico, apertum ante in longitudinem corporis cum cordula de frizello aureo in firmatione mantelli ante pectus secundum formam mantelli sponsarum et tunc collare tunice et aperturam mantelli in longitudine apponetur paruus frizellus aureus et in circulo man < fol 18^v > telli inferius erit etiam plicatura apparens exterius ipsius mantelli. Capud autem Marie nudum erit, et capilli extensi retro super humeros; habebit autem super capud quemdam circulum aureum de argento deaurato in latitudine modici digiti cum diademate rationabilis latitudinis de argento deaurato subtili firmato in circulo in posteriori parte capitis. Hoc erit ornamentum capitis Marie, nec anulos nec zonam nec aliquid aliud super se habebit nisi album et aureum, puritatem et uirginitatem Marie demonstrans et caritatis claritatem ipsius.

Due autem uirgines associantes Mariam; una induetur de cerico seu cendato uiridi, figurante humilitatem Marie, et alia de colore blauio seu celestino, fidem et spem Marie figurante; nam secundum apostolum conuersatio nostra, sed potius Marie in celis est. Iste due uirgines man-

tellum non portabunt sicut Maria, sed tunicas latas habebunt cum plicatura inferiori, ut supra dictum est; nec etiam ornentur super tunicas. Super capud uero nudum portabunt unum circulum de argento sine diademate in latitudine prius declarata; et capilli extensi retro, ut supra de Maria.

Ioachim uero pater Marie induetur alba sacerdotis desuper cinctus uelud sacerdos cum stola ad collum, et ante pectus in cruce procedente ut sacerdos, et desuper induetur quodam pluuiali antiquo non fracto, et in capite habebit quoddam uelum subtile et aliquantulum longum et, si inuenietur, aliquantulum laboratum, cum quo inuoluet capud et collum et duas extremitates ueli quolibet longitudine duarum palmarum et modicum plus proiciet super humeros super pluuiale a dextris et a sinistris; habebit ante prolixam amplam et albam barbam procedentem super pectus, et tenebit in manu extra pluuiale unum vas mediocre uitreum pleno uino rubeo.

Anna uero induetur de lino albo, tam in corpore quam in capite ad modum antiquum honeste matrone, et portabit in manu unum pannum rotundum albissimum et satis magnum.

Duo autem angeli induti erunt Gabriel et Raphael cum amictibus albis cincti desuper cum stola ad collum et in cruce ante pectus. Super capud uero portabunt quasdam barretas adiacentes in capite super aures, et in circulo capitis desuper habebunt formam triangularem aut quadrangularem non nimis latas, cum duabus fanis retro uelud in mitra episcopi. Et erunt iste barrete de cendato albo seu panno sericeo aut de papiro seu de pergamento cum quodam frizello in circulo barreti de pictura aliqua et floribus seminatis picture super barretam, et qui uoluerit poterit ponere in circulo barretarum paruas fringias

de cerico diuersi coloris. *Habebunt etiam duo angeli quilibet duas alas, et portabunt in manu dextra quilibet unam uirgam rubeam.*

Nouem angeli induentur sicut Gabriel *et* Raphael, excepto *quod* tres qui representabunt *superiorem ordinem angelorum sic: cherubim et cetera, habebunt barretas suas rubeas de pictura, ut dictum; tres uero secundi ordinis angelorum habebunt barretas blauias seu cele*<fol. 19^r>*stini coloris; et tres tercii ordinis angelorum, albas barretas. Habebunt omnes nouem lilium super quandam uirgam subtilem uiridis coloris et lilium primi ordinis deauratum erit et lilium secundi ordinis celestini coloris et tertium argentei coloris.*

Ecclesia uero erit quidem pulcerrimus iuuenis circa xx. annos sine barba et induetur totum de auro in habitu diaconi capillis pulcerrimis mulieris extensis super humeros; et super capud portabit quandam coronam auream cum liliis et lapidibus preciosis. Contra pectus uero erit firmatus cum cordula quidam calix argenteus et deauratus sine patena, qui calix significabit nouum testamentum; et in manu sinistra portabit quandam crucem longam latitudine corporis, et capitis cuius crucis uirga rubea erit latitudine pollicis magni, et crux tota deaurata erit sine aliquo artificio. In manu uero dextra portabit quoddam pomum rotundum totum deauratum significans uniuersalem dominationem ecclesie.

Synagoga uero induetur ad modum antiquum uetule cum tunica talari inueterata alicuius panni simplicis coloris, et mantello nigro et rupto. Capud uero ad modum uetule ornatum de aliquo uelo obscuri coloris, et coram oculis et facie habebit uelum nigrum, per quod tamen possit uidere. In manu uero sinistra portabit quoddam uexillum rubeum cuius hasta nigra fracta ap-

parebit, uexillo inclinato *super humeros suos*. In quo quidem uexillo rubeo scribentur *litere de auro: S. P. Q. R.*, que sunt arma Romanorum. Et in manu dextera portabit duas tabulas lapideas inclinatās uersus terram, in quibus tabulis lapideis erunt scripte *litere quasi litere Hebreorum* significantes legem Moysi et Vetus Testamentum.

Duo iuuenes qui pulsabunt instrumenta dulcia induti erunt sicut angeli, excepto quod non portabunt stolas neque alas; sed bene barretas uiridis coloris.

Deinde erit Michael archangelus qui armatus erit armis pulcerrimis de pede usque ad capud, et *super galeam seu bachinetum seu barbutam habebit quandam coronam deauratam in signum militis uictoriosi et in signum Xpisti triumphantis*. In manu autem dextra¹ tenebit Michael gladium nudum fulgentem et erectum uersus celum; et in sinistra manu tenebit quandam catenam ferream, cum qua² Lucifer in collo ligatus retro sequetur Michaelē.

Lucifer autem ornetur tali ornamento sicut eidem decet turpissimo et abhominabili cum cornubus, dentibus, et facie horribili. Et cum manu dextra tenebit Lucifer quendam trocum seu uncum ferreum portando *super humerum*; et cum sinistra manu tenebit catenam, quasi rebellare uellet Michaeli.

Qualiter pro Representatione fienda locus ordinetur.

In ecclesia namque inter portam magnam occidentalem et portam chori canonicorum seu fratrum in medio ecclesie aliquantulum tamen magis prope portam chori quam prope

¹ The manuscript reads: *autem dextra] autem tenebit*.

² MS. quo.

portam occidentalem, ut ab omnibus partibus ecclesie lucidius uideri possit, construetur quoddam edificium de lignis seu < fol. 19^v > stacio in altitudine vi. pedum desuper, uero erit tabulatum ad modum solarii, quod quidem solarium in transuerso ecclesie sic: de aspectu partis septentrionalis ad partem australem habebit x. pedes in longitudine, et de aspectu partis orientalis ad occidentalem solarium habebit in latitudine viij. pedes; et contra medium solarii uersus portam occidentalem erunt gradus tot quot esse poterunt de pauimento ecclesie usque ad solarium, et similiter erunt similes gradus in opposito porte chori, ad descendendum de solario, ita quod quilibet gradus in se longitudinem circiter trium pedum, ut minus occupet solarium quam fieri poterit, et isti gradus ab utraque parte clausi erunt cum tabulis seu lignis ita quod nemo ascendere ualeat nisi cum ordine ad representationem faciendam. Desuper uero solarium in uia inter utrosque gradus uia plana erit; sed ad partem septentrionalem erit quoddam scampnum ad sedendum protensum supra solarium de parte occidentali ad partem orientalem, et istud scampnum ita longum erit ut Ioachim et Anna in capitibus scampni et Maria in medio sedere ualeant; ita tamen quod sedes Marie tamen eleuetur, ut, sedentibus ipsis tribus, capud Marie sedentis in medio in equalitate altitudinis cum patre et matre inueniatur. Et inter scampnum et extremitatem solarii uersus partem septentrionalem dimittetur spacium pro Gabriele et Raphaele, qui ibidem stabunt retro Mariam in pedibus. Ad partem autem australem super solarium ultra uiam graduum erunt due sedes ita alte sicut scampnum predictum, super quibus sedebunt Ioachim et Anna, quarum sedium una erit posita ad partem orientalem solarii et alia ad partem occidentalem, super quibus sedebunt Ecclesia et Synagoga

respicientes Mariam, ita quod ascendendo gradus in solarium ascendens ire possit libere inter Ecclesiam et Synagogam ad extremitatem partem solarii uersus partem australem. In quatuor uero cornibus solarii stabunt in pedibus ad cornua septentrionalia Gabriel et Raphael, et ad cornua partis australis stabunt in pedibus duo iuuenes pulsatores. Solarium uero in circuitu suo muniatur quodam ligno subtili altitudinis a solario duorum pedum per modum appodiationis, ut dictum solarium magis aptum appareat ad representationem fiendam, et ne illi qui super solario erunt a solario leuiter cadere possint. Istud solarium, scampnum, et sedes coperientur de tapetis. Fiat igitur edificium seu solarium de lignis fortissimis et bene ligatis ne propter pressuram populi astantis aliquomodo cadere ualeat.

Insuper inter sedes canonicorum seu fratrum et altare maius ad partem septentrionalem contra parietem seu pilare in loco eminenti construatur aliud solarium de lignis magnis, tamen paruum uidelicet in altitudine vij. uel viij. pedum. Solarium namquam desuper erit quadratum sex pedum, in qualibet quadratura et in circulo etiam muniatur quodam ligno subtili unius pedis altitudinis a solario. Et cooperietur solarium de tapetis, et super tapetum quasi in medio solarii ponetur paruum scabellum coopertum de aliquo panno pulcro serico cum cussino paruo serico ad apodiandam Mariam audiendo Missam. Et recte in medio solarii super tapetum ponetur cussinus maior de serico ad sedendum Mariam et scabellum predictum immediate ante Mariam.

Ordinabitur etiam de aliquo loco prope ecclesiam, sicut de quadam camera per terram sufficienti ¹ ad recipiendum

¹ MS. sufficienti.

omnes *personas* pro *representatione* ordinandas seu induendas, qui locus forte poterit esse *capitulum fratrum*, clausum tamen ante cum cortinis de aliqua domo prope ecclesiam < fol. 20^r > ad hoc sufficienti, in qua Maria nostra dulcissima cum societate sua parabitur et parata et ornata ut supra declaratum est expectabit processionem.

De Processione fienda et Ordine ipsius.

Episcopus namque seu archiepiscopus Missam celebraturus indutus pontificalibus cum baculo pastoralis, diacono et subdiacono precedentibus cum omni clero, sacerdotibus indutis pluuiialibus seu reliquiis de altari maiori, incipiet processionem cantando alta uoce: *Salve Regina*, et ibit processio recta uia uersus locum ubi Maria erit, semper cantando. Et cum tota processio transierit locum seu capitulum, Episcopo immediate transacto, aperientur cortine seu porta. Et primo exhibit unus de ordine angelorum cum uirga alba in manu sua dextra, quasi ad ostendendum et parandum uiam, et sequetur iste angelus immediate Episcopum quasi ad duos passus prope eum, ita tamen quod nulla persona se interponat inter Episcopum et angelum; angelus autem sequendo Episcopum proportionaliter cum uirga sua a dextris et a sinistris parabit uiam. Et post angelum sequentur alii octo angeli, unus post alterum gradiendo secundum ordinem suum, et Ierarchiam cherubim et cheraphim retrogradientibus quilibet portando in manu sua sinistra lilium supra declaratum. Post nouem angelos immediate sequetur Synagoga, capite dimisso, et portando uexillum suum et tabulas lapideas, ut supra declaratum est. Et post Synagogam sequetur Ecclesia formosa cum sua cruce calice in pectore et pomo aureo in manu dextra. Post

Ecclesiam immediate sequentur duo iuuenes pulsatores gradientes insimul et pulsantes instrumenta. Post pulsatores sequentur duo uirgines gradientes insimul, et illa que induta erit colore uiridi portabit in manu dextra unam candelam tercię partis libre uiridis coloris, et alia uirgo similem candelam celestini coloris.

Post duas uirgines immediate sequetur nostra dulcissima Maria portando in manu sua dextra similem candelam in pondere albissimam, tamen et in manu sua sinistra portabit quandam columbam albissimam ad pectus suum; et ad latus Marie dextrum gradietur Gabriel cum uirga sua rubea eleuata; et ad latus sinistrum Marie simili modo Raphael gradiens in equalitate cum Maria reuerenter, nec minus appropinquantes ad personam Marie sed eam semper respicientes.

Post Mariam, Gabrielem, et Raphaellem gradientur simul Ioachim et Anna respicientes continue Mariam et portantes panem et uinum, ut supra declaratum est.

Et post ipsos ueniet Michael archangelus armatus cum gladio fulgenti et erecto in manu dextra, et cum sinistra per catenam unius passus ducendo trahet Luciferum cachinantem et aliquando ululantem, et quasi inuitus incedentem.

Maria autem exeunte de capitulo seu loco ubi ipsa processiones expectabat, subito unus de angelis ponet se inter duos pulsatores eundo processionaliter et alta uoce inchoabit quandam cantilenam per modum rondelli instrumentis pulsantibus de Beatissima Virgine, et hec in uulgari ad excitandum populum ad deuotionem. Et omnes angeli cum Ecclesia, Gabrieli, et Raphaeli, et pulsatoribus respondebunt. Clerus uero qui ante cantabat: Salue Regina, quando audiet angelum canentem ¹ tacebit, et

¹ MS. canentum.

omnes tacebunt exceptis angelis qui continue dictum rondellum cantabunt, uno inchoante et aliis respondentibus processionaliter eundo usque ad solarium in medio ecclesie constructum.

Et post Michaellem et Luciferum gra<fol. 20v>dientur nobiles et persone autentice uulgares, et postea populus utriusque sexus. Ibit autem¹ processio per claustrum usque ad portam que ducit ad plateam que est ante ualuas magnas ecclesie occidentales. In qua quidem platea processio faciet quoddam circulum circumiundo plateam et reuertendo ad magnam portam ecclesie gradiendo et cantando ut supra usque ad solarium predictum. Et notandum est quod quelibet persona de clero eundo processionaliter portabit unam candelam accensam in manu, et si nobiles persone autentice et populus portare uoluerint candelas in processione illius noui hominis ex utero postea illuminantis uniuersum orbem, ab ipso lumine non dubito premiabitur. Cum autem Maria de capitulo cum societate sua exhibit, erunt ordinati certi homines iuuenes et robusti qui hastas lancearum cum fune in transuerso inuicem ligatas in manibus tenebunt in longitudine ab Episcopo usque ad Luciferum inclusiue, et hoc duplici ordine gradiendo processionaliter, ut uidelicet Maria cum sua societate adornata eundo inter hastas a pressura populi non molestetur et habeat uiam expeditam; ita tamen quod homines tenentes hastas in manibus in transuerso extra hastas uersus populum ab utraque parte gradientur sustinendo populum cum hastis ne aliquis inter duos² ordines hastarum intrare ualeat nisi Maria et societas sua, exceptis duobus tribus aut quatuor seruientibus aut clientibus

¹This word is repeated in the manuscript.

²MS. duas.

iusticie qui inter hastas esse poterunt ad sedandum pressuram populi ne Maria et societas sua a populo opprimi ualeant.

Intrante autem processione in ecclesiam, episcopus cum clero suo transiet iuxta solarium et ibit ad altare maius, ibique in cathedra sua expectabit cum clero representationem fiendam super solarium, et postea Presentationem Marie ad ipsum episcopum fiendam. Et Maria cum societate sua inter hastas coram solario constructo firmiter stabit inter solarium et magnam portam ecclesie occidentalem, angelis semper cantantibus tantum quod episcopus ad cathedram suam peruenire ualeat et totus populus in ecclesiam intrauerit. Et nota quod processio ualde mane circa solis ortum incipi debeat, quia misterium representationis prolixum est et deuotissimum, et dies tunc breues sunt.

De Representatione fienda et Laudibus Marie.

Representatio talis est: Gabriel et Raphael cum Maria Ioachim et Anna et duobus pulsatoribus pulsantibus et preeuntibus ad pedem graduum solarii properabunt, aliis angelis, Ecclesia, Synagoga, Michael, et Lucifero in ordine suo firmiter stantibus et expectantibus. Perserui- entes autem armorum seu clientes ascensus graduum solarii solícite custodiatur ne aliqui ascendere presumant nisi ad representationem fiendam ordinati. Tunc Gabriel primus in solarium ascendet et cum uirga sua uoluendo se ad omnem plagam nutu non uerbo omnibus silentium inponet cum uirga. Et subito Maria sola sine aduitorio aliquo per gradus in solarium hylari facie ascendet, et si non poterit portare candelam suam ascendendo, Raphael eam candelam portabit et Maria columbam suam coram

pectore suo ascendendo portabit, instrumentis pulsantibus. Et quando Maria erit super solarium erecta facie uersus altare maius, statim Raphael ascendet et una cum Gabriele Mariam ponent in sedem suam superius declaratam uersus septentrionalem partem. Et tunc Gabriel et Raphael insimul cum profunda reuerentia adorabunt Mariam et ibunt retro ipsam, Gabriel in cornu solarii uersus orientem pedibus stando Mariam semper respiciendo et uirga erecta, et sic Raphael in alio cornu solarii retro Mariam uirga erecta. Maria autem tenebit cum ambabus manibus columbam in gremio suo ipsam aliquando osculando et ponendo ad pectus suum. Et candela Marie ponetur per Raphaelem super unum candelabrum coram Maria; et sic ponentur due candelae duarum uirginum quando ascense erunt < fol. 21^r > in solario super duo candelabra in equalitate candelabri Marie. Tunc ascendent due uirgines insimul tenentes candelas suas et ponent se ad pedes Marie sedendo. Et postea duo pulsatores ascendent et ponent se in cornubus solarii uersus australem partem, quilibet in uno cornu solarii, respicientes Mariam et pulsantes. Statim post ascensionem pulsatorum ascendent Ioachim et Anna, et capite modicum inclinato quasi reuerendo Mariam, sedebunt super scampnum superius declaratum, Maria in medio uersa facie uersus partem australem, Ioachim ad sinistram Marie uersus orientem, et Anna uersus dextram Marie uersus occidentem sedendo. Et statim ascendent Synagoga primo et post eam Ecclesia, et sedebunt super scabellum suum prius declaratum sic: Synagoga ad partem orientalem et Ecclesia ad partem occidentalem, respicientes Mariam et tenentes in manibus Synagoga uexillum et tabulas et Ecclesia crucem et pomum, ut supra declaratum est, et sic remanebit uia expedita in solario inter duos gradus inter ascensum

solarii occidentalem et descensum ipsius orientalem inter Mariam, Ioachim, et Annam equaliter sedentes, Gabriele et Raphaelae retro in cornubus solarii partis septentrionalis stantibus et pulsantibus inter Synagogam et Ecclesiam, pulsatoribus retro in cornubus solarii partis australis stantibus et pulsantibus.

Nunc autem ueniendo ad laudes Marie primo silentio inposito per Gabrielem et Raphaellem cum uirgis suis, primus angelus qui tenebit uirgam albam in manu dextra et lilium suum in manu sinistra ascendet in solarium uirga erecta; et cum uenerit ante Mariam ponet uirgam suam super tapetum et profunde Mariam inclinabit et statim ponet se inter Synagogam et Ecclesiam, et pulsatores facie erecta uersus Mariam tenentibus instrumentis et omnibus de Ecclesia tenendo lilium erectum in manu sinistra et cum manu dextra uersus Mariam alta uoce quasi cantando incipiet dicere:

Que est illa que ascendit per desertum sicut uirgula fumi ex aromatibus mirre et thuris? Estne illa uirga que egredietur de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendit et requiescit super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientie et intellectus, spiritus scientie et concilii, spiritus pietatis et fortitudinis, et spiritus timoris Domini?

Quo dicto pulsabuntur instrumenta et dictus angelus ueniet coram Maria, et inclinando se coram ea accipiet uirgam suam et descendet de solarium per gradus partis orientalis et tenebit se inter gradus et hostium chori, ubi erunt iuuenes homines robusti tenentes hastas in transuerso duplici ordine, ut prius declaratum est, ad recipiendum et angelos et Mariam quando descendunt de solarium, et ibunt per chorum ad altare maius ad presentandum

Mariam Episcopo. Primo autem angelo descendente de solario, pulsantibus instrumentis, secundus angelus ascendet in solarium per gradus occidentales, et cum lilio suo in manu sinistra profunde Mariam inclinabit et ponet se in loco ubi fuerat angelus inter Ecclesiam, Synagogam, et pulsatores, et simili modo tenendo lilium erectum in manu sinistra, et dextram extendendo ad Mariam alta uoce dicet:

Ecce appropinquat gaudium nostrum

cum manu a dextris et a sinistris uertendo, et reducendo ad Mariam dicet:

Considerate et uidete speciosam uirgiuem, Deo placentem, claritate refulgentem, angelos letificantem, in honestate perseuerantem, et mundum decorantem. Dies immense leticie et magne exultationis omnibus creaturis, quia ecce archa Domini, uasculum diuine sapientie, et conseruatio naufragantis nature que hodie in templo presentatur Deo dedicatur et in perpetuum ad honorem omnipotentis Dei obligatur.

Quo dicto instrumenta pulsentur et angelus inclinet se coram Maria et descendat cum primo angelo, stetque in ordine suo expectando. Tercius autem angelus in loco ubi supra dicet:

Virgo ascendit in templum et angeli descendunt ad eam. Hec ancilla uocatur et domina erit; humilis dicitur et Deum humiliabit; uirginitatem uouet et Deum generabit. Tu es uirgo, exemplum uirginum, mulier decus mulierum, domina regula dominarum, benedicta tu quia per te uirgines decorabuntur, mulieres benedicentur, et omnes sancti per te premiabuntur.

Quartus angelus dicet:

Ecce uirginitas, ecce humilitas, ecce mansuetudo, ecce puritas,¹ ecce innocentia, ecce perfecta caritas, in qua habitabit immensa bonitas, et ecce illa que fiet sponsa, mater, et templum Dei.

Et notandum est quod omnes angeli in eodem loco dicent et cantabunt uersus suos seu carmina et in ascendendo in solarium stando cantando inclinando coram Maria, descendendo de solario et expectando inter gradus solarii orientales et hostium chori tenebunt illum ordinem qui superius declaratus est de duobus primis angelis.

Quintus angelus cantabit dicens:

O grande edificium in quo sustentabitur humana fragilitas, super quod edificabitur uniuersa fidelitas, a quo inchoatur perfecta uirginitas, et in quo terminabitur immensa bonitas; a te, per te, et in te laudabitur summa diuinitas.

Sextus angelus cantabit et dicet:

O admirabilis Domina in conspectu hominum, in conspectu angelorum, et in presentia Dei! Quis te digne laudabit, quis te digne inuocabit cum in mundo sis sine exemplo, et in natura sine macula, et in celo eris cum immensa gloria?

Septimus angelus cantabit et dicet:

Aue, Domina nostra, aue reparatio humane nature, aue mediatrix diuine iusticie et in qua misericordia Dei ostendetur, quia tu mater et uirgo eris, Deus et homo, fides et cor humanum. Certe mirabilis puelle

¹The words, ecce puritas, are repeated in the manuscript.

ascendentis ascensio, sed mirabilior sapientia puelle operantis, sed mirabilissima destorsio Dei descendentibus, que sanctis Patris erit gaudium *et* omnibus Deum diligentibus, quia cum ea apud Deum semper gaudebimus per infinita seculorum secula.

Octauus angelus dicet seu cantabit:

Aue, Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum *et* plus tecum quam in celo. In te habitabit assumens de te carnem; tecum erit *et* cum omnibus qui tecum sunt, qui te diligunt, qui te honorant; tecum creator erit. O creatura Dominus, O ancilla sponsus, O admirabilis sponsa, nos te benedicimus, nos te laudamus, nos te adoramus per infinita seculorum secula.

Nonus angelus cherabin cantabit dicens:

O inestimabilis amor! O immensa dilectio! O infinita caritas!

¹ seipsum cum manu propria ostendendo; deinde Mariam cum manu ostendendo dicet: ¹

Ecce illa cui dabitur precium humane redemptionis, donum infinite estimationis, et premium summe perfectionis. Hec est illa Virgo Mater Filii Dei humilis que a spiritu sancto obumbrabitur ancilla elec<fol. 22^r>tissima uocabitur, *et* cum Deo Patre in eternum premiabitur.

Pulsantibus autem instrumentis *et* .ix. angelis in ordine suo, secundum quem gradiebantur in profectione in terra expectantibus inter solarium *et* hostium chori, Anna mater Marie surget *et* stando pedibus in loco suo instrumentis

¹—¹ underlined in black.

tacentibus leuabit ambas manus suas ad celum cum pane in sinistra et uoce grossa mulieris uidue et prouecte dicet:

Audite filii Israel exultantes mecum quia mirabilia Dei narrabo: sterilis facta est mater (seipsam ostendendo cum manu),¹ et genuit exultationem in Israel. Ecce potero offerre munera Domino et non poterint me prohibere inimici mei. Dominus Deus exercituum factus est memor uerbi sui, et uisitauit populum suum uisitatione sua sancta.

Quo dicto et osculata Maria sedebit in loco suo, ut prius, et instrumenta pulsabuntur modicum. Tunc Ioachim surget in pedibus stando in loco suo et similiter leuabit manus ad celum cum uino in sinistra, et uertendo se a dextris et sinistris cum manibus annuendo grossa uoce dicet:

Gaudete omnes mulieres quia delebitur opprobrium uestrum, et nos omnes homines quia Deus homo ex ea nascetur (ostendendo Mariam cum manu; deinde ad angelos uertendo se).² Et uos omnes angeli quia sedes uestre reparabuntur.

Deinde uertet se circumquaque et dicet:

Et uos omnes creature, quia per eam decorabimini.

Et cum manibus ad celum eleuatis, genuflectando, facie ad partem australem sicut sederat, concludet dicens:

Gaudeamus ergo omnes et exulemus et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum collaudemus.

¹The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black in the manuscript.

²The marks of parenthesis are mine.

Et tunc surget *et* osculata Maria sedebit in loco suo sicut prius et pulsabuntur instrumenta modicum. Tunc surget Ecclesia de scabello suo, *et* stando in pedibus respiciendo Mariam cantabit alta uoce dicens:

Letentur celi *et* exultet terra, ecce appropinquat redemptio nostra, ecce appropinquat congregatio filiorum Dei.

¹ Et ostendendo seipsam cum manu dextra tenendo pomum aureum dicit:¹

Ecce noua mater ubertate plena non legis sed gracie, non timoris sed amoris, non seruitutis sed libertatis, quia ecce illa uirgo (demonstrando Mariam) ² que concipiet *et* pariet filium qui saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Gloria Patri *et* Filio *et* Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, *et* nunc *et* semper, *et* in secula seculorum.

³ Et omnes angeli respondebunt:³

Amen.

Et remanebit Ecclesia in loco suo sedendo super scabellum suum sicut prius. *Et* post modicam pulsationem surget Synagoga in pedibus stando in loco suo, facie inclinata ad partem sinistram quasi tristis uertet se circumquaque, *et* quasi flendo cantabit dicens:

Quis dabit fontem lacrimarum oculis meis ut plorem miserabilem desolationem meam. Ecce illa

¹—¹ underlined in black.

² The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black.

³—³ underlined in black.

(ostendendo Mariam) ¹ *per quam uiuificabitur illa ueritas: Cum uenerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio uestra.*

Et tunc subito uenient Gabriel *et* Raphael, *et* quasi cum indignatione expellentes Synagogam de solario per gradus occidentales, *et* tunc Synagoga descendendo proiciet uexillum *et* tabulas < fol. 22^v > a dextris *et* a sinistris in templo extra solarium, *et* sic erecta fugiet plorando *et* murmurando extra ecclesiam, nec amplius apparebit. Et Gabriel *et* Raphael non descendant de solario sedere uertentur in loco suo *et* pulsabuntur instrumenta modicum, *et* tantum quod populus quietetur a risu propter Synagogam expulsam. Pulsando uero instrumenta, Michael ascendet solarium *et* ducet secum Luciferum quasi inuitum incedentem *et* ululantem, *et* post inclinationem Michaelis ad Mariam ponet se ubi angeli cantabunt carmina sua *et* Lucifer erit iuxta Michaellem, sed cum transibit coram Maria finget se timorosum *et* trementem *et* dimittet se cadere in faciem suam, *et* Michael eum quasi ui trahet ad locum prius dictum sic: ubi angeli dixerint uersus suos, tunc Michael facie uersa ad Mariam in altum tenendo gladium fulgentem *et* in sinistra tenendo cathenam Luciferi genuflectentis alta uoce dicet:

Aue, altissima Domina, cui celi, terra, mare, abyssi, *et* omnes creature obediunt, precipe *et* ego obediam tibi,

² *et cum puncto gladii ostendendo Luciferum dicet:* ²

Ecce rebellator Dei, scandalum angelorum, *et* inimicus humane nature. Tu enim a Deo accepisti

¹ The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black.

²—² underlined in black.

potestatem conculcandi, repellendi, et cruciandi eum ex parte omnipotentis Dei. Tue damnationi supponitur, tue uoluntati traditur, et sub pedibus tuis uinculatur.

Et tunc Michael Luciferum sic ligatum et ululantem sub pedibus Marie ponet, *que ipsum cum pedibus uerberabit, ipsumque a se expellet; et statim per Michaellem, Gabrielem, et Raphaelem de solario per gradus occidentales proiciatur in terram, nec amplius in festo appareat, et pulsabuntur instrumenta.* Et Michael ponet se ubi erat Synagoga, respiciendo semper Mariam. Post modicum autem interuallum surget Ecclesia de loco suo et inclinabit se coram Maria et descendet de solario cum angelis stando in ordine suo, et post Ecclesiam descendent duo pulsatores pulsantes instrumenta sua, et immediate post ipsos descendent due uirgines portantes in manibus candelas suas. Et Maria cum candela sua in manu statim post eas in medio Gabrielis et Raphaelis modicum tamen ante ipsos sine interuallo descendet de solario in societate angelorum in ordine suo prius declarato. Et postea immediate descendent Ioachim et Anna, et ultimo Michael quasi regens possessionem.

Eundo per chorum ad altare maius ubi Episcopus expectat indutus casula pro missa celebranda cum dyacono suo subdyacono, unum a dextris et alium a sinistris erecti apodiantes se ad altare uersa facie ad Mariam uenientem. Cum autem Michael descenderit de solario cum Maria et societate sua inter duos ordines hastarum, erit parata ad gradiendum uersus altare, subito duo de angelis alta uoce incipient:

Veni creator spiritus.

Et omnes angeli respondebunt:

Mentes tuorum uisita,

totum uersum, et finito uersu, duo angeli iterum incipient:

Qui paraclitus, et cetera.

Et alii respondebunt sicut prius. Et eundo ad altare lento gradu complebitur totus hymnus. Quando uero Maria inueniet se coram altari, angeli coram altari diuident se a dextris et sinistris Marie, Maria remanente in gradu altaris coram Episcopo inter Ioachim et Annam, Gabriele et Raphaele in medio retro Mariam remanentibus cum uirgis suis quasi custodiendo Mariam, et due uirgines a dextris et sinistris. Ioachim et Anna erecti stabunt; Ecclesia autem ponet se ad dextrum cornu altaris, uersa facie ad Mariam uel ad populum. Et sic faciet Michael in cornu sinistro altaris. Hymno completo duo angeli cantatores incipient:

¹ Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur.¹

Et alii respondebunt:

² Et renouabis faciem terre.²

Tunc Episcopus alta uoce dicet:

Deus qui corda.

Et postquam Veni creator incipietur, instrumenta amplius non pulsabunt. Unum notandum est, < fol. 23^r > quod quando Maria cum societate sua peruenerit coram altari³ et angeli diuident se, ut dictum est, illi iuuenes robusti qui portabunt hastas duplici ordine coram altari facient unum magnum quadrangulum de hastis suis in quo

¹—¹ underlined in black.

²—² underlined in black.

³ ms. alteri.

quadrangulo *Maria et* societas sua sine pressura erunt, nec permittent *seruientes armorum* quod aliqua persona intret nisi sit de societate *Maria*, ut uidelicet misterium *Presentationis Marie* ab omnibus uideri possit sine impedimento.

Nunc autem ad *Presentationem Beate Marie* in templo sciendum est quod omnia supra figurata in signis dictis factis et representationibus satis lucide declarant ascensionem graduum *Marie Presentationemque eius*; et quante uirtutis sit apparet in laudibus ipsius et carminibus sepe replicatis et fundamentum catholicum et iocundum nostre redemptionis et reparationis. Nunc uero ad *Presentationem Marie* que *Presentatio* letantibus angelicis et *Matris Dei* deuotis exultantibus hodie in ecclesia Dei non immerito a fidelibus celebratur. Anna uero erecta cum pane eleuato in manu sinistra et cum dextra brachium sinistrum *Marie* tenendo alta uoce dicet:

Accipe, Domine, fructum nostrum per te ab eterno ordinatum, a te benedictum, per angelum tuum annunciatum, mirabiliter conceptum gloriose natum, per te gubernatum, et a te in habitaculum tuum electum.

Tunc Ioachim¹ erectus manu dextra cum uino eleuata et cum sinistra tenendo brachium dextrum *Marie* eleuatum cum candela alta uoce etiam dicet:

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia uisitauit nos in prole et preparauit redemptionem plebi sue. Accipe, Domine, uotum nostrum fructum sterilitatis nostre, quia consolatus es senectutem nostram, qui mandas salutos Iacob. Veni cito et descende in eam,

¹ MS. Iohacim.

ut prophete tui fideles inueniantur et genus humanum
a babilonica seruitute per eam redimatur.

Quo dicto Ioachim et Anna capitibus in terram inclinatis
modicum orabunt, Maria in pedibus remanente. Et
statim surgent et ducent Mariam tenentem candelam et
columbam coram Episcopo, ipsamque eidem presentabunt
genibus flexis. Tunc Episcopus alta uoce dicet in perso-
nam Dei Patris:

Veni amica mea, ueni columba mea, quia macula
non est in te. Veni de Lybano electa ab eterno, ut
te accipiam sponsam dilecto filio meo.

Et tunc Episcopus eam accipiet in ulnis suis, uertendo se
a dextris et sinistris et faciet ipsam osculari altare et
deponet eam in terram. Ioachim uero et Anna offerent
supra altare panem et uinum osculando altare dimittentes
Mariam coram altari cum duabus uirginibus, que etiam
osculabuntur altare, et descendent cum angelis. Tunc
Gabriel et Raphael in medio ipsorum ducent Mariam in
solarium preparatum inter altare et sedes chori ad partem
septentrionalem superius declaratum. Et due uirgines
etiam ascendent in solarium cum Maria, in quo solario
paruo nullus remanebit nisi Maria cum duabus uirginibus,
Gabriele et Raphaele retro Mariam in pedibus cum uirgis
suis erectis remanentibus quasi ad custodiam Marie.
Ante uero scabellum paruum Marie super quo apodiabit
se audi < fol. 23^v > endo Missam erunt tria candelabra
quibus ponentur candeles Marie et uirginum et super
scabellum erit quidam libellus paruulus pulcer, cuius folia
Maria reuoluet quasi dicendo horas suas, et quandoque
sedebit super cussinum maiorem, et uirgines prope eam
super tapetum. In Euangelio surget Maria et uirgines
et tenebunt candelas in manibus, et tenebit se Maria in

Missa mature *et* deuote, Gabriele *et* Raphiele eam instrumentibus. Missa namque incepta Maria columbam permittet euolare. Et notandum quod quando Maria erit super istud solarium paruum, Ioachim, Anna, Ecclesia, Michael, ix angeli, pulsatoribus pulsantibus, quilibet in gradu suo angeli primi Ecclesia pulsatoribus Ioachim *et* Anna *et* Michael retrogradientibus inclinatis capitibus coram Episcopo *et* altari *et* postea profunde coram Maria, recedent processionaliter instrumentis pulsantibus *et* ibunt ad locum ubi parauerant se *et* deponent uestimenta sua *et* ornamenta, que omnia ornamenta sollicite custodiantur pro representatione anni futuri.

Predictis autem recedentibus a facie Episcopi *et* Marie, Episcopus incipiet Confiteor *et* cantores chori incipient Gaudeamus, Officium Presentationis, Maria in solario remanente usque ad finem Misse, facie uersa ad partem australem, *et* uirgines *et* duo angeli quasi continue respicient Mariam. Et si uidebitur quod possit fieri sermo breuis de solempnitate in Missa *et* quod tempus patiat, fiat. Sed quia misteria proluxa fuerit *et* deuota, arbitrio dominorum relinquantur. Ita tamen quod aut in Missa aut post prandium tanta solempnitas Regine celi sermone seu predicatione nullo modo careat.

Missa autem finita, Maria cum angelis suis *et* uirginibus de solario descendet, *et* osculando altare candelam suam offeret *et* uirgines etiam. Et statim aderunt pulsatores qui recesserunt *et* ipsis precedentibus *et* pulsantibus Maria in medio Gabrielis *et* Raphaelis, uirginibus recedentibus, associata multitudine dominarum nobilium maxime puellarum *et* puerorum sexus utriusque, ad domum ubi prandere uelut portabitur per aliquum hominem procere stature seu equitando super palefridum; *et* angeli etiam super duos equos, Maria in medio faci-

endo modicum circuitum per ciuitatem si tempus fuerit serenum.

In prandio autem Maria in habitu suo in loco sublimiori et cathedra regali ponatur associata uirginibus quam plurimis in mensa, Gabriele et Raphaele usque ad finem prandii diligenter sollicite et cum profunda reuerentia seruientibus, et qui dulcissimam uirginem Mariam feruentius et ardentius seruire poterit et ipsius laudes dignissimas recensendo replicare et annunciare ualuerit, mihi manum ad interrogationem, exoro, porrigat quia ueraciter merito non frustrabitur. Et notandum quod carmina de laudibus Virginis suprascripta que per angelos et personas alias suprascriptas alta uoce cantabuntur seu proferentur deuotissima sunt ac certe lacrimabilia pre deuotione maxime fidelibus gramaticam intelligentibus; sed quia uulgaris populus gramaticam non intelligit, si uidebitur expediens et nostra Maria dulcissima in cordibus deuotorum suorum per gratiam inspirauerit, translatari poterunt sepetacta carmina in uulgari dictamine et uulgariter simili modo dictari poterunt. Istud relinquo fiendum uel non fiendum deuotis intemerate Virginis presentem representationem pie legentibus. Istam autem solempnitatem Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis in Templo nouiter choruscantem de partibus orientalibus ad partes occidentales, quomodo Beata Virgo uoluit ipsam solempnitatem in dictis partibus celebrari debere quomodo fuit celebrata in Ytalia, et postea in Curia Romana, per quem et quante uirtutis et deuotionis ipsa solempnitas existat in epistola de Presentatione Marie in Templo de nouitate eius ad partes occidentales legenti lucidius <fol. 24^r> apparebit, que quidem epistola ante principium Officii Presentationis poni debet; unde deuoto Marie legenti epistolam, officium, et presentem representationem

humiliter exoro ut in tanta deuotione noua Virginis pro anima mea misera apud ipsam Imperatricem celi empyrei et anchoram spei mee intercedere dignetur. Amen.

The setting of the elaborate action described in this text may be elucidated by the diagram on the page opposite, which outlines the ground-plan of a typical church, and shows the location of the platforms and the disposition of the personages.¹

A = Anna.

BB = choir-stalls (*sedes canonicorum*).

C = main platform (*quoddam edificium de lignis*).

D = smaller platform (*aliud solarium*).

E = Ecclesia.

G = Gabriel.

I = Ioachim.

M = Maria.

PP = Pulsatores.

R = Raphael.

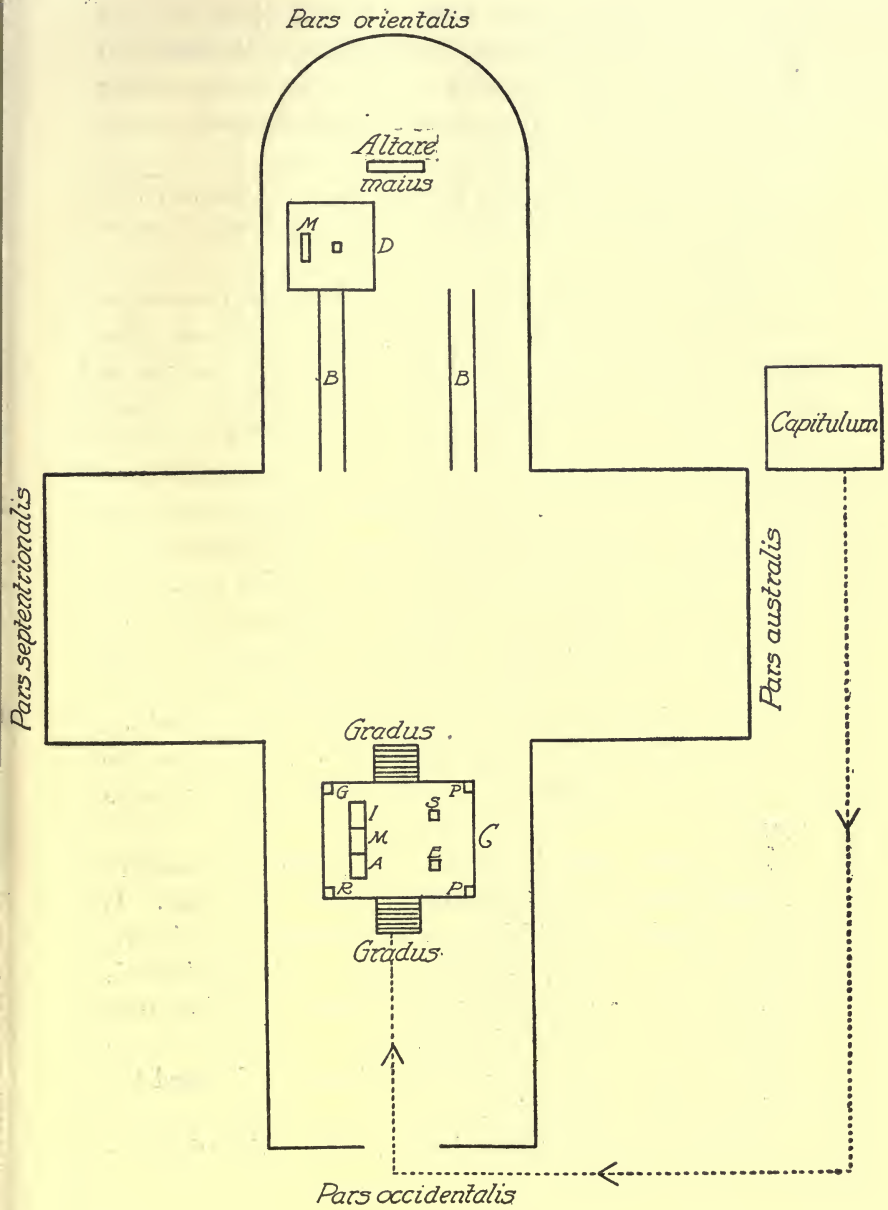
S = Synagoga.

The broken line indicates the path of the procession from the chapter-house into the nave of the church.

The significance of this diagram will appear in the course of a brief summary of the text now before us.

The document provides us, in the first place, with a list of the names and a description of the costumes of twenty-two personages, or actors, representing Mary, two

¹ It is understood, of course, that the drawing is merely schematic. The dimensions of the platform are obviously out of proportion to the dimensions of the church itself.



small maidens, Joseph, Anna, Gabriel, Raphael, nine angels, Ecclesia, Synagoga, two musicians, Michael, and Lucifer. The accurate details regarding costume leave us no doubt as to the appearance of these characters,—who are, to be sure, sufficiently conventional. Noteworthy, however, are the symbols of Ecclesia and the splendid dignity of Michael leading the unwilling Lucifer by an iron chain.

Still more exact are the data regarding the dimensions and arrangements of the two platforms, or stages. The larger of the two stages, erected in the nave of the church, is rectangular, measuring ten feet from north to south, and eight feet from east to west, and stands six feet high. This stage is approached on the east and west by steps three feet long, and is provided with a light railing, two feet high, extending round the top. Upon the stage a bench, extending from east to west, provides a seat for Mary in the middle and seats for Joseph and Anna on the child's left and right respectively. Opposite Joseph is placed a stool for Synagoga, and opposite Anna, one for Ecclesia. On the northeast corner Gabriel will stand, on the northwest, Raphael, and on the other two corners, the musicians. The platform and the seats are covered with carpets.

The smaller stage is erected against the north wall of the choir, between the choir-stalls and the main altar. It is seven or eight feet high and six feet square, and is provided with a railing one foot high. This platform is furnished with a seat for Mary, and with a cushion upon which she may kneel during Mass.

These two stages are the goal of the procession and the setting of the main action.

Although certain details in connection with the pro-

cession are not entirely clear, the general procedure is easily followed. After the vesting and costuming of the personages in the chapter-house beside the church, the procession moves in a stately course through the cloister to the west portal of the church, and enters the nave. The order of the personages in the procession is as follows: the clergy, the deacon and subdeacon, the bishop, the nine angels, Synagoga, Ecclesia, the two musicians, the two maidens, Mary, Gabriel (on Mary's right), Raphael (on Mary's left), Joseph and Anna, Michael, Lucifer, and a company of approved laymen. The procession advances with singing, protected on either side by a line of able bodied men carrying spears.

When the procession has entered the church, the bishop proceeds promptly down the nave, past the main stage, to his *cathedra* beside the altar, presumably on the south side of the choir. Then the chief personages of the action ascend the steps of the main stage and take their places as already indicated. With a gladsome countenance Mary mounts the steps unaccompanied, carrying her dove close to her bosom with one hand, and, if possible, her candle in the other hand. After all have arranged themselves on the stage in due order, and after the lights have been put in place before Mary, everything is ready for the *Laudes Mariae*.

The *laudes* are delivered with the greatest precision. Each of the nine angels in turn ascends the west steps of the stage, makes obeisance before Mary, utters a verse of praise, and descends by the east steps to the pavement between the stage and the door of the choir. Then Anna, Joseph, and Ecclesia offer their praise, one at a time. Synagoga, however, after a tearful lament is pushed down the west steps of the stage by Gabriel and Raphael, lets

fall her banner and the tables of the Old Law, and flees crying from the church. After the laughter of the people has subsided (*populus quietetur a risu*),¹ Michael ascends the platform leading the howling and unwilling Lucifer (*inuitum incedentem et ululantem*). After Michael has delivered his verse of praise, and has humbled Lucifer to the extent of making him Mary's footstool, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael unite in thrusting the "rebellator Dei" to the ground by way of the west steps.

The principal personages now group themselves in procession once more, and, during the singing of a hymn, pass from the main stage through the choir to the main altar. Here Joseph and Anna, with suitable words and action, deliver Mary into the arms of the bishop,² representing by this act the *Praesentatio Beatae Virginis Mariae in Templo*. Mary is presently set upon the pavement again and led by Gabriel and Raphael to the smaller stage, already mentioned, set against the north wall of the choir between the choir stalls and the high altar. Upon this stage Mary remains during Mass. At the beginning of the office she lets her dove fly away, and to each part of the Mass she gives reverent attention. At the end of the office Mary descends from the platform, kisses the altar, and offers her candle. With the carrying of Mary from the church, in the arms of a strong man or upon a palfrey, the dramatic office is concluded.

One would like to know more of the genesis and the literary antecedents of the dramatic text before us. Although in his *Epistola* Phillipe de Mézières speaks of

¹ The comedy attached to Synagoga and Lucifer deserves emphasis.

² According to the note, or "recommendatio" printed above, the bishop wears the vestments of a Jewish high priest (*habitu summorum pontificum Iudeorum*). See above, p. 201.

the assiduous observance of the Festum Praesentationes in the East, and especially in the Isle of Cyprus,¹ I have no ground for surmising that our dramatic text was a part of the office used in the East,² or in the "officium totum proprium" used in Cyprus.³ It seems most probable that Mézières himself added the dramatic procession at the time when he arranged a celebration of the feast "cum representatione figurata" at Venice, presumably about the year 1370.⁴ It is not impossible, to be sure, that the dramatic office as we have it should have been one of the changes or additions⁵ made at the time of the papal celebration at Avignon, on November 21, 1372.

Manifestly the text in hand is an important document

¹ See the passage: *Temporibus . . . musice notatum*, quoted above, p. 184.

² Had there been a dramatic office for the feast at Constantinople it might have been mentioned in *Georgius Codinus Curopalata de Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae et Aulae Constantinopolitanae*, Parisiis, 1648, cap. xv, § vi, p. 113, where the celebration of the Festum Praesentationis is recorded.

³ Concerning the *officia propria* of Cyprus I have no information at all.

⁴ In Mézières' *Epistola* printed above we read: . . . dictam solemnitatem iam pluribus annis elapsis in aliquibus partibus Ytalie, uidelicet in preclara ciuitate Venetiarum, aliquibus electis deuote Virginis ipsius ciuitatis adiuuantibus, solempniter celebrari fecit cum representatione figurata. Concerning Mézières' soujourn in Venice in 1370, see Jorga, pp. 402-404. I find nothing in regard to the play in *Vita del Glorioso San Giovanni apostolo ed evangelista con alcuni miracoli della Santissima Croce . . .*, Venezia, 1752, pp. i ff., or in *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello . . . illustrate da Flaminio Corner*, Padova, 1758, pp. 371-375. Each of these works mentions certain events connected with Mézières' soujourn in Venice in 1370.

⁵ See Mézières' *Epistola* printed above: . . . Bertrandus Glandatensis . . . aliqua propria manu correxit . . . pro tempore et loco cultum diuinum corrigere, modificare, tollerare, augmentare, et de nouo instituire. See above, pp. 193-194.

for the history of *mise en scène*. In few dramatic texts of the middle ages do we find so elaborate an array of rubrics, or stage-directions. Costume, setting, text, and action are described with a definiteness that should satisfy even a modern stage-manager. The details of the description demonstrate, moreover, that we are dealing with no mere dramatic office, but rather, with a true play. The story is completely presented in the form of action, and the characters concerned in the action are frankly, even elaborately, impersonated. The close attachment of the play to the Mass fixes it firmly within the domain of liturgical drama, and within that domain it stands unique. That this text should stand thus alone is explained, no doubt, by the fact that the Feast of the Presentation reached Western Europe at so late a date. The formative period of liturgical drama had passed before the time of Philippe de Mézières' eventful visit to the papal court at Avignon. It appears, then, that for the development and modification of this theme in the drama of the West we must look to the dramatic literature in the vernacular outside the church.

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VII.—THE PHILOLOGICAL LEGEND OF CYNEWULF

Romance seldom stalks frank and undisguised. It wears the sober cloak of religion in the pious fictions of the saints and assumes the honest name of history in the inventions of chroniclers. Yet nowhere does it veil its face more darkly than in the pages of seemingly serious-minded biographers. That curious volume, recorded by Isaac D'Israeli, the *Farfalloni degli Antichi Historici*, might easily find its counterpart in our English literary apocrypha. The legalized narrative of Alfred's splendid foundation of the University of Oxford; Chaucer's life at the University and at Woodstock and his base betrayal of his friends; Shakespeare's intrigue with William Herbert's mistress; Milton's dream-meeting with the fair Italians under the Cambridge tree—all these have been themes of the legend maker. Now he who harks back to the earliest days of Old English prose and poetry will find disguised romance lurking everywhere. The philologist has often dragged it forth and stripped it of its pretences; but he has just as often connived at

its rogueries. This connivance has been in the main unconscious, for the Anglist has been the dupe of his methods which have led him all unwitting into the very lap of legends. In his fallacies of false assumption, in his tame acquiescence in unfounded assertions that bear a certain stamp of authority and in his proneness to manipulate by argument data that he will be branded for doubting, the modern scholar is too often akin to the medieval schoolman. And so, in his last chapter, sly romance has its way with him.

The world-old attempt to establish by argument the authority of faith often leads in its train many errors. A lack of open-mindedness and an illiberal disregard of opposing opinion that culminates in a contemptuous assertiveness, a distortion of scant evidence too weak to bear the strain, an abuse of the syllogism in the perverted endeavor to adapt false premises to a conclusion that admits of large doubt—these have combined to litter with worthless debris the field of Old English literary history. The present article is devoted not to the upbuilding of a thesis, but to a determined effort to clear our territory of some of this waste material that merely cumpers the work of our hands.

The Old English poet, Cynewulf, is but a "nominis umbra," a featureless phantom, a "ghost that streams like a cloud, man-shaped." We know his name from his runic acrostics—but that is all. Yet many have been the attempts to assign him a local habitation and 'when time and place doth not adhere to make both.' Later we shall consider other efforts to give the shadow substance, but from one judge of all. In a recent essay,¹ Sarrazin asserts that the poet of the *Andreas*,—whom, with an easy

¹ Zur Chronologie und Verfasserfrage Angelsächsischer Dichtungen," *Englische Studien*, xxxviii (1907), 145-195.

leap from probability to positive identification, he declares to be Cynewulf,—refers, in his description of a very hard winter (1255f.), to the bitter Northumbrian season of 761—a year known in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as *se myccla winter*. Such an inference is quite of a piece with the amusing ascription by Chaucerian commentators of “the hote somer that made his [the shipman’s] hewe al broun”¹ to the year 1351, with the implication that the hardy mariner was sunburned as the permanent result of torrid weather thirty-five years before the supposed date of his pilgrimage. Truly, a “mickle winter,” and a “hote somer!”

Nor is this all. The use of the word *mōrland*, in the *Elene* (611), in its Anglian sense of “mountain” is strong evidence to Sarrazin that the writer, Cynewulf, lived either on the North Yorkshire moors or on the Pennine Moorlands. One wonders whether this sort of “non sequitur” would domicile in the same region the Anglian translator of the *Ecclesiastical History*, who renders Bede’s *in arduis asperisque montibus* (iv, 27) by *in hēaum mōrum ond in rēðum*.² The pinnacle of false logic is attained, when references to *beorgas* (*swā hēr mid ūs*) and *hlincas* in the doubtful *Phoenix* (21-25, 31-32) are used to locate comfortably the poet in Hexham cloister. How little *swā hēr mid ūs* implies, I shall show in a moment; but, even if we grant its force, it is perhaps needless to urge that men may lift up their eyes unto the hills in many parts of England; and that *hlincas* appears inconsiderately enough in South English charters.³ Now let me reduce this form of argument

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, “Prologue,” A. 394.

² See Miller’s edition, 364, 4, 11, 410, 9; compare Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxvii, 419.

³ See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, III, 223, 9.

to an absurdity by attaining through its means quite other conclusions. In a poem in which Cynewulf has preserved his name both by charade and acrostic, *Riddle 1*,¹ we are told of the home of *Wulf*: *fæst is þæt ēglond fenne biworpen*. It might be argued, with large show of reason, that in this personal passage the poet pictures his abode in the fenlands, since the line finds its exact equivalent in Bede's description of Ely: *Is Elig þæt land eall mid*

¹ See my article in *Modern Language Notes*, Dec., 1910. Let the scholars who balk at the "Cynewulf" interpretation of the *First Riddle* answer these questions. Is there any inherent improbability in the presence of the writer's name in a charade-acrostic at the head of a group of Old English riddles? Does not Aldhelm, often our riddler's guide, preface with a name-acrostic his enigmas? Does not Cynewulf show elsewhere his fondness for both charade and runic acrostic; and do not he and other writers sometimes combine these? Are there not good grounds for regarding *Riddle 90* as a "Cynewulf" charade and for recognizing a close parallel between *āþeccgan* (*Rid. 12*,¹) and *tribulantes* (*Rid. 90*⁴)? Do not name-charades usually begin with a synonym of the first syllable (see example cited from Rawlinson MS.)? Is it not therefore permissible to find in the opening word of our poem, *Lēodum*, a synonym of *cyn* (see *Juliana* charade), and to note the recurrence of *wulf* at the head of subsequent divisions? Do not *hi* and *hine* in the second line refer to *Lēodum* (*Cyn*) and *Wulf*, and, if so, shall we close our eyes to the obvious interpretation? Has it not been shown that runes in Icelandic are often represented by their name-words or by synonyms of these names? If in Icelandic, why not in Old English, where the reverse method is three times followed by the very writer in question? Is not the clue to the puzzle fully given in lines 2 and 7? Is not artistic design suggested by the appearance, within this poem of less than twenty lines, of perfectly fitting synonyms of all the "Cynewulf" rune names (see my article)? Is any other runic substitution possible? Are not these very rune-names those suggested by the runes in Cynewulf's other poems, which are scattered through the discourse in just such fashion as their equivalents here? Is not such a *rätselmärchen* as *Riddle 1* (see my edition, pp. xxi-xxii) as adequate a vehicle for the poet's name as the apocalyptic references of *Riddle 90* or the "Judgment" scenes of the religious poems?

*fenne ond mid wæter ymbseald.*¹ Then we might go farther and contend, after Sarrazin's precedent, that the several references in *Beowulf* to the fens assign to that poem a Mercian home. But observe the futility of all such arguments. In *Riddle* 41, 31-32, which is certainly of Northumbrian origin, as it comes from the author of the *Leiden Riddle*,² we encounter the clause, *þis fen swearte, þæt hēr yfle adelan stinceð*, in which *hēr* finds no warrant in Aldhelm. As a Northerner of fens, so might a Mercian or Southerner, with more reason, of mountains.³ I shall discuss later the unhappy attempt of another legend-maker to elevate our obscure poet to the episcopal seat at Lindisfarne.

Thus far we have had to do with arguments that cannot stand upright. I come now to a fallacious bit of reasoning more weighty both because it does not lack the support of evidence and because it has received universal acceptance. In an article of wide influence,⁴ Sievers has argued that because Cynewulf employs the unstressed *e* in two of the runic versions of his name (in the *Juliana* and the *Elene*) his work falls after 750, and is therefore posterior

¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, 19. Very like are the description of the marshy site of Ramsey (*Historia Ramesiensis*, Rolls Ser. 1886, pp. 7-8) and Asser's account of the swampy surroundings of Athelney (*De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, A. D. 888). Such "islands encompassed by fen" were certainly not found in Northern England.

² See my *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, 1910, p. 163.

³ This practice of selecting a word from an author's vocabulary and of basing upon that selection sweeping conclusions as to his origin is strikingly illustrated by Sievers' argument (*PBB.* x, 473) that the word, *mersc*, *Exodus*, 333 (which he asserts to be a nonce-usage) assigns to the writer of this biblical epic a home near Romney Marsh in Kent. Reference to Grein's *Sprachschatz*, II, 234 (see also Mürkens, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, 87 f.) shows that the word appears in the "Northern" poetical Psalter, (106^{ss}, *on sealtne mersc*), composed doubtless hundreds of miles from Romney.

⁴ *Anglia*, XIII, 1-21.

to such poems as the *Leiden Riddle*, *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song*, all of which prefer the unstressed *i*. This tenet has become a pillar of faith to our schoolmen. But to it there are two very strong objections: it is not supported even by the evidence that Sievers offers; and it fails utterly to consider the circumstances under which Cynewulf used the unstressed *e* in his name-passages. No one can deny that unstressed *i* dominates until about 740, and that after 740 unstressed *e* is predominant. Such a belief is confirmed not only by the *Charters*, but by the Moore ms. of *Bede's History* and by the early *Glosses*. But that at any period of the eighth century either prevailed to such utter exclusion of the other, that an acrostic-writer was precluded from choosing the letter better suited to his purposes, the evidence seems to deny. The unstressed *e* appears twice in a Charter of 692, the unstressed *e* appears once in a Charter of 700-715, the unstressed *e* is dominant in Charters of 740 and 742 (note the form *Cyneberht*).¹ On the other hand, as Sievers admits, the unstressed *i* prevails in a document of 767 (No. 11). Moreover the conclusion that the traditional *i* form was practically obsolete in all parts of England by the end of the eighth century is flatly contradicted by the *Liber Vitae* (or the list of benefactors to the Durham Church in the Cotton ms. Domitian A. 7), in which *i* forms are admittedly dominant. Everything then hinges upon the date of this manuscript of the North. The handwriting, so think the Museum men and Sweet,² assigns it to the beginning of the ninth century or the end of the preceding one; and the careful examination of the names

¹ See Sweet, *Old English Texts*, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 17.

² *O.E.T.*, p. 151.

by Sir E. M. Thompson adequately sustains this verdict.¹ Now in this document of 800 A. D. or thereabouts, among the one hundred instances of names with the stem *Cyni* (not one with *Cyne*) the name *Cyniwulf* appears no less than twenty-one times.² We must therefore conclude that the spellings, *Cyniwulf* and *Cynewulf* which appears in a Charter of 778 (No. 3), existed side by side for a century (since, as we have seen, unstressed *e* is found in other words even earlier than 700).³

It is quite unsafe to argue that Cynewulf's reason for not employing the *i*-form in his name-passages was because it was obsolete in his day.⁴ Indeed it may have been the dominant form in his own writings as in the

¹ *Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum, Part II* (Latin), pp. 81 f; Brandl, *Paul's Grundriss* II, 1002. In the *Liber Vitae* close together are Cyniuulf and Alduulf, who are mentioned side by side by Simeon of Durham under 778; here is Brorda who died in 799; here, too, are Osberet, to whom Alcuin wrote in 793, and Torectmund, who is mentioned in Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne in 801. Many of Thompson's identifications are open to question; but he is certainly justified in saying: "The evidence that, at the earliest, it could not have been written until quite the end of the eighth century is sufficiently strong both in the list of kings and 'duces' and in the list of abbots." The investigations of Rudolf Müller among these names (*Palæstræ*, ix) do not affect Thompson's conclusion, as his "Untersuchungen" have no historical significance.

² Miss Bentinck-Smith (*Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.* I, 50) seems, however, to magnify our evidence unduly in saying: "In Northumbria the medial *i* became *e*, roughly speaking, about 800; in Mercia the transition was practically accomplished by 750. This fact lends color to the hypothesis of Wülker that Cynewulf was a Mercian."

³ Notice the varying forms of names on Old English coins from the same moneters (Keary, *English Coins*, II, *Anglo-Saxon Series*, London, 1887, lxxxii-lxxxiii): *Degemond*, *Dagemond*, *Daiamond*; *Ansiger*, *Ansicer*, *Ansier*; *Winiger*, *Winier*; *Æðelred*, *Æilred*.

⁴ Compare Erlemann's refutation of such arguments, *Herrig's Archiv*, cxI, 1903, 63.

short Northumbrian poems that survive in their original dialect. But, in any case, it is certain that the unstressed *i* does not suit the scheme of the *Elene* acrostic, and would render impossible the charades of the *Juliana* and of *Riddle* 90. Cynewulf found it difficult enough to adapt *E* (*eoh*, "horse") to the poetical context, if we may judge from his preference for the *Cynwulf* form of his name in the *Christ*, the *Fates*¹ and, may I add, the *First Riddle*. To introduce *I* (*īs*, "ice") into his acrostics would have taxed his ingenuity too far. Certainly the form *ewu* is demanded in the charades, to the enforced exclusion of the letter *i*. In the light of the evidence, the only sound inference must be that an eighth-century Cynewulf with at least three forms to his hand would deliberately select the two that best suited his purposes; and any sweeping deductions as to his date drawn from the absence of the unstressed *i* from the name passages are unwarranted. In this so-called *e-i* canon, we can find little reason for placing Cynewulf's work posterior to the poems in Northumbrian dialect. Moreover, to claim that Cynewulf lived and wrote after 750, because the exigencies of his acrostics compelled him to use a form which was certainly current by 740, leads us to a conclusion not perhaps false but surely unsustainable by the premises.

Brown² has already pointed out that the data presented in Sievers' article do not justify the conclusion drawn by Cook³ and Strunk⁴ that the *Cynwulf* poems (*Fates* and *Christ*) follow those with *Cynewulf* forms (*Juliana* and *Elene*), and belong to the close of the eighth or to the

¹ On this point note the eminently sensible remarks of Carleton Brown, *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 221-222.

² *L. c.*

³ *Christ*, p. lxx.

⁴ *Juliana*, p. xv.

first decade of the ninth century. The two cryptograms among the *Riddles* contradict this inference. Not only do we meet *Cynwulf* in *Riddle* 1 and *Cynewulf* in *Riddle* 90; but the *First Riddle* serves as an introduction to poems that contain certain forms supposedly older than those in the religious compositions of our author.¹ Sievers himself regards *Cynwulf* as "good Anglo-Saxon for the eighth century."² But such evidence as Sievers furnished leads to the implication—which has grown in the writings of others into a positive statement of fact—that the form *Cynwulf* is a criterion of dialect. Cook³ declares that "*Cyn* is at least fifty years later [than *Cyne*] apparently and except in one word, *Cynric*, is not found in Saxon territory," and Brandl asserts⁴ that "*Cynwulf* ist speziell die Englische und jüngere form." "Specifically Anglian?" Sievers has remarked its presence in Kent⁵ as well as in Northumbria and Mercia. Bishop Stubbs has shown⁶ that the early charter containing the name *Cynulfus* belongs to the year 758⁷ and to Cynewulf of Wessex; *Cynulf* witnesses a Wessex grant by Winchester cathedral during Æthelstan's reign;⁸ and the two forms *Cyneulf* and *Cunulf* appear on coins of Ælfred and Æthelstan.⁹

Present opinion, which in the case of Anglo-Saxon subjects seldom stops and questions but accepts as fact bald assertions, seems content to assign Cynewulf a

¹ See *infra*.

² *Anglia* XIII, 13.

³ *Christ*, p. lxviii.

⁴ *Paul's Grundriss* 2, II, 1041.

⁵ Note *Cynwulf*, near *Cynewulf*, in a Kentish document relating to the adjudication of an estate at Dover and Folkstone and Liminge in 844 (*Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 445, II, 22).

⁶ *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, II, 911.

⁷ *Birch, C.S.*, No. 327, *Kemble, C.D.*, No. 193.

⁸ *Birch, C.S.*, No. 648 (II, 326).

⁹ Grueber, *English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series*, II, 65, 100.

Northumbrian home. "The dialect in which Cynewulf wrote is now universally conceded to be Northumbrian or at least Anglian" is Brown's statement,¹ and Jansen, in his summary of Cynewulfian research,² regards it as indubitable that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian. Now let us free ourselves of the weight of authority and approach the matter with perfect openness of mind, not because such a course will necessarily lead us to new conclusions, but because it will dispose effectually of the false premises that hamper every student of the Cynewulf question. I hope thus to show beyond a doubt that evidence has been misused and all logical reasoning perverted by the chief advocate of the claims of the North upon these poems that survive only in a West-Saxon transmission. The phonological arguments in favor of a Northern origin are nowhere arranged more compactly than by Trautmann,³ who regards "den Satz, 'Cynewulf war ein Nordhumbre,' für einen der best bewiesenen die es gibt;" therefore we can conveniently consider in his pages this so-called "best of proof."

Aided by the dissertations of Leiding⁴ and Bauer,⁵ Trautmann cites "ten peculiarities of the language of the poems that point in part to other non-Saxon regions and in their entirety to Northumbria." Wülker⁶ has naturally demurred at the strange logic of this conclusion;

¹ *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 222.

² *Bonner Beiträge*, (BB), xxiv, 123.

³ *Kynewulf*, *Bonner Beiträge* (BB), i, 71-73.

⁴ *Die Sprache der Cynewulfischen Dichtungen*, Christ, Juliana und Elene, Göttingen, 1887.

⁵ *Ueber die Sprache und Mundart der Altenglischen Dichtungen*, Andreas, Gußlac, Phoenix, Kreuz und Hellenfahrt, Marburg, 1890.

⁶ *Anglia*, Bb. ix, 163, note.

Binz¹ has claimed Nos. 2-6 as Mercian quite as well as Northumbrian, No. 7 as Kentish, No. 8 as West-Saxon; and Klaeber² remarks:—"We have been looking carefully through Trautmann's list of the Cynewulfian dialectal peculiarities, but have failed to detect any unmistakable signs of non-Mercian locality." In other words, all of Trautmann's critics admit that the forms that he cites are Anglian and attest a Mercian, if not a Northumbrian origin. Now let it be stated emphatically—for the matter is important—that there is not the least warrant for such conclusions. Among these ten traits cited by Trautmann as Northumbrian peculiarities and admitted by all others to be Anglian, there is not one that does not frequently appear in Saxon and Kentish documents, not one that cannot be explained as a natural vagary of a Southern scribe rather than as a survival of a Northern author. Let me repeat with all force a principle of criticism that I have set forth elsewhere in different language.³ If in a West-Saxon transmission of a text forms are encountered that may be paralleled from other Wessex mss.—particularly those of works of certain West-Saxon origin—the burden of proof rests heavily upon him who would trace them to distant dialects—so heavily indeed that he is almost certainly foredoomed to failure. I make no contention that Cynewulf was Southern, but I do claim that the peculiarities cited do not prove that he was not; indeed I shall now proceed to show that they have no probative value at all, as they

¹ *Englische Studien*, xxvi, 392.

² *Journal of Germanic Philology*, iv, 97-103.

³ *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. lviii.

may well emanate from Saxon and Kentish scribes.¹ Now let us combat these so-called "proofs," which Professor Trautmann² challenges any comer to question.³

(1) "Interchange of *ea*, *ēa* and *eo*, *ēo*: *feala*, *El.* 362 for *feola*; *dēogol*, *And.* 621 for *dēagol*." This interchange is frequent in West-Saxon.⁴ Note that *feola*, *feala* both appear in the WS. *Rule of St. Benet* (*PBB.* iv, 345, vi, 55; Logeman's edition, p. xlvii); that in the *Chronicle*, *feala* (A°. 530) is found near *feologild* (A°. 830) and that in A°. 871, where all mss. have a common WS. source, A and C, read *fela*, B and E., *feala*, D, *fela*,

¹ Mürkens employs (*Bonner Beiträge*, II, 87 f.) many of these illustrations to establish the Northern origin of the *Exodus* epic, with the same flagrant exclusion of strong alternative probabilities. Mürkens' argument that all forms which appear rarely in a text must have been in the original version lays a large premium upon the isolated and sporadic, and glorifies scribal vagaries; indeed, if pushed to an extreme, it would assign an Anglian origin to nearly all the works of Wessex.

² *Anglia*, *Bb*, xi, 328-329.

³ I shall purposely avoid the citations of examples from prose-texts with so-called "Anglian coloring" like the "Life of Guthlac," the "Epistle of Alexander," the *Læcebōc* and *Lācunga*, though the evidence that certain works of this class had their origin elsewhere than on Saxon ground is hardly convincing. Bülbring, *Anglia*, *Bb*, xi, 100-101, and Boll, *BB*, xv, 92 f, have shown beyond reasonable doubt that the *Harleian Gloss* 3376 (WW. 192 f.), which contains many words and forms usually regarded as Anglian, was written not indeed at Winchester, but in Saxon territory, probably on the borders of Kent.

⁴ Deutschbein, *PBB*, xxvi, 232, is certainly at fault in declaring that *feola* for *fela* is not known in strong WS., as it is found occasionally even in Alfred (Bülbring, § 234; twice in the *Cura Pastoralis*, Cosijn, § 19). Sievers, *Gr.*³, 106, note 2, remarks that "a collateral form, *feala*, beside *fela* (*feola*), occurring also in prose seems to have formed its vowel on the analogy of *fēawa*, 'few.'"

feola; and that both forms are frequent in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (iii, 21, xvii, 114, xviii, 3, 299; xxv, 4, 528, etc). Much more to our purpose we meet in several poems, undoubtedly Southern, *feala*, *Genesis B*, 271, 322, *Menology*, 163 and *Edgar*, B. 18, and *feola*, *Metres*, 13¹⁶ (*Sprachschatz*, I, 279). I may add that *feala* is not found in the *Exeter Book*, but many times in the *Vercelli*. Cosijn's lists (§97, 98) show many examples of *dēgol*, *dēogol*, *dīogol* in Alfred (so Sedgefield's "Glossary" in the *Boethius* 1, 64; 27, 16; 127, 1); and Bosworth-Toller, *Supplement*, pp. 151-152, notes other Southern instances.¹ This first argument proves nothing.

(2) "*ē* (Goth. *ē*, W. G. *ā*) for WS. *ǣ*: *ongēton*, *And.* 534." Ten Brink (*Beowulf*, *Untersuchungen*, p. 240), Bülbring (§ 315), and even Trautmann's scholar, Mürkens (l. c.), regard this phenomenon as a Kenticism. It appears sporadically in WS. The *Ben. Rule* (Logeman, p. xlv.) and the scribe of MS. Junius. 24 (see *Anglia* x, 134) both show this tendency to substitute *ē* for *ǣ* after palatals. Note also *forgēton*, *Deut.* 32, 11 and *begēton*, *Chronicle*, A. 897 (Plummer, p. 89). This second argument proves nothing.²

¹ See for the origin of the two forms, *diēgol* and *dēagol*, Sievers, *Gr.*³ 128, 3.

² Leiding, p. 40, § 17, and Bauer, p. 49, § 17, point also to *pēgon* (*Jul.* 687, *And.* 25), *gēfon* (*Christ* 1354), *gefrēge* (*And.* 668, 963, 1121); but let us mark the presence of such "Anglian" forms as *āgēfan*, in the WS. *Menology* (81) and *bēron*, *wēgon* in the WS. *Maldon* (67, 98), if we may trust Hearne, and *pēgon* in the *Judith* (19), which poem, as I show elsewhere, is probably WS. too, though the form may be a reminiscence of the early poetry. And it is surely noteworthy that the form, *gesegen*, which is always hailed as an Anglian survival in the poems, appears as

(3) "The lack of breaking before *l* + consonant: *ald*, *El.* 252; *galgan*, *Jul.* 310." Of all Trautmann's weak arguments this is the weakest, and yet, as I shall show in another place, it is used by other scholars who should know better to sustain the theory of an Anglian origin of the *Judith*. Such absence of breaking is extremely common in the EWS. prose: *a* for *ea* is rather the rule than the exception in the Winchester ms. (A) of the *Chronicle* up to 891, *ald*, *aldormon*, *wald*, *haldan*, *salde* (Kupferschmidt, *Eng. Stud.* xiii, 169; Cosijn, § 3, pp. 8-9); it is frequent in early Wessex and Kent *Charters*, *denewaldes* (*O. E. T.* No. 20, 5), *alda* (20, 17), *gehaldan* (41, 10), *ald* (41, 61), *halfne* (43, 4), etc.; it appears many times in the *Cura Pastoralis* (Cosijn, § 3, pp. 9-11), in the *Boethius* (Sedgefield's "Glossary") and in the glosses of ms. Harl. 3376 (Boll, *BB.* xv, 94 f). It is especially frequent in Southern poems: *Genesis* B, 246, *ealwalda*, 292 *allwalda*, 665 *alwaldan*; 298, 300, 301, 577, 730, 745, 780, 798, 815, 850, *waldend*, 436, 820 *aldre*, 639, *aldor*; *Metres*, 22⁵⁴ *ald*, 26⁷, 29⁶, *aldor*, 20¹²⁹ 198, 201 *waldan*, 24³⁴, 35, *walde*, 8²⁹, 11⁵⁹, *cald(e)*; *Menology* 86, *galgan*. How can any one, in the light of

early as 870 or thereabouts in so Southern a document as the *Codex Aureus Inscriptio* (*O.E.T.*, 175), emanating from the very duke, Ælfred, who is so closely identified with Surrey by the grant of his lands at Horsley, Clapham and Chertsey (*Charters*, No. 45, *O.E.T.*, 451). It is true that *gesāwon*, *gesewen* are the invariable forms in the *Metres*, as in the WS. prose of their period; but it is equally true that both *gefēgan* ("exultant") and *gesegenne*, ("conspicui") are found in the *Bede Glosses* of 900 (*O.E.T.*, 181), which Sweet and Bülbring (§ 21) assign to Kent. Though, in the literary prose, *pēgon*, *sēgon*, *gefēgon* are without doubt exclusively Anglian, our examples seem to suggest that they were current in the South at an earlier period.

the evidence, regard this unbroken *a* as an indication of Northumbrian or even Anglian origin? It is significant that the really Northern lack of breaking before *r* + consonant is not found in the Cynewulfian poems. This third argument proves nothing.

(4) “*æ* (*e*) as *i*-umlaut of the unbroken *a*: *ælda*, *Jul.* 727; *eldum*, *And.* 1059; *wælmum*, *And.* 452; *welm*, *And.* 495.” There is surely nothing distinctively Northumbrian or even Anglian in such forms, since they are often found in the South. We meet them not only in Kentish poems like *Cotton Psalm*, 65, *ældran*, 142, *ælde*, and in poems colored by Kentish scribes like the *Metres*, 8³⁶, 12¹⁷, 13⁶⁰, 20¹⁰⁰, 29³⁹, *elde*, 25⁴⁶, *welm*, 20²⁵⁹, 23⁴, 29⁸⁰, *æwelm*; but in the Saxon patois (*elde*, *welm*, *Boll*, *BB*, xv, 94) and occasionally in the prose of both Alfred (see in Cosijn’s lists, § 14, pp. 31-32, the examples in *Orosius* and *Cura Pastoralis* of *gelp*, *welm*, *bældo*, *beldo*) and Ælfric (*Hom.* 72, 1, *cwelm*; 382, 13, *welm*). Note also the West-Saxon *Genesis* B, 324, *heaðowelm*. That we may have to do merely with scribal variations is suggested by the striking circumstance that the second hand in the *Beowulf* ms. writes *eldo*, *wælm* and *cærwælm*, instead of the *yldo* and *cærwylm* of the first (cf. Davidson, *M. L. N.* v, 43-45). The appearance of *el* (*æl*) forms in Southern writings weakens, though it does not, of course, forbid Ten Brink’s inference (*Beowulf*, *Untersuchungen*, p. 241) that the second scribe is here more faithful to an Anglian original than the first. This fourth argument proves nothing.

(5) “*e* as *i*-umlaut of *ea* and *eo* before *r*: *ermðum*, *El.* 768; *gerwan*, *And.* 1636; *ferhðe*, *And.* 1037; for WS. *ie* (*y*).” What does this prove? The *e* form belongs to the South as well as to the North: it is frequent in the

Kentish Glosses (Williams *BB*, xix, 113); it appears no less than twenty-four times in the Saxon patois of ms. Harl. 3376 (Boll, *BB*, xv, 94; *Bülbring*, § 179) and, though rare in the *Orosius* and *Cura Pastoralis* (Cosijn, § 14, pp. 32-34), is common in the *Boethius* (see Sedgefield's "Glossary" for examples of *ermð*, *hwerfan*, *cerran*, etc.).¹ *Ferhð*, *ermða* and *gegerede*, all occur in the *Metres* (9³⁷, 22⁵², 16⁸, 25⁶), which no one regards as Northern. This fifth argument proves nothing.

(6) "ē as i-umlaut of ēa: *hēnðum*, *And.* 117; *nēd*, *Jul.* 464; *heretēman*, *El.* 10." The implied argument is worthless as this ē is everywhere present in the South: not only in the *Kentish Glosses* (Williams, *BB*, xix, 114) and in the so-called "Saxon patois" (Boll, *BB*, xv, 94; *Bülbring*, § 183-184), but frequently in the strong WS. of Alfred (Cosijn, § 97, pp. 111-112) and sometimes even in Ælfrie (*Lives of Saints*, I, 11, *gehēred*; xiii, 33 *gehēran*; xvi, 11, xxv, 152, 543, 550, *gelēfað*; xxv, 387, MS. A, *āflȳmde*, C, D, *āflēmde*, etc.) All the forms cited by Trautmann as Northern appear in the *Metres*: *nēde* (4¹², 6¹⁴, 9⁴⁴, 25⁶⁴); *hēnða* (12²⁰); *heretēma* (1³¹). We meet them occasionally in other Southern poems: *hēnða* in *Dōmesdæg.*, 89; *nēde* in the *Vercelli* ms. of *Body and Soul*, 66, where the *Exeter* reads *nȳde*; and *geflēman* in *Lār* 67. This sixth argument proves nothing.²

¹ Brandl is therefore unjustified (*Grundriss*² II, 1060) in regarding as Anglian *Mercna* for *Myrcna*, *Chronicle*, A. 655, and *gehuwerfde*, A. 601.

² The danger that lies in conclusions reached without due weighing of evidence is strikingly illustrated by Brandl's inference (*Grundriss*², II, 1077-1078) that the *Battle of Brunanburh* is Anglian, because in the Parker MS. (A) appear *flēman*, *nēde*, *gelpan*, *giung*, *gesleht*, *hlehhan*, where B.C.D. read *flȳman*, *nȳde*, *gylpan*, *geong*, *geslyht*,

(7) “*ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* (Goth. *ai*): *stēnan*, *El.* 151; *wēge*, *Jul.* 487; for WS. *æ*.” Leiding (p. 40), Binz (*Eng. Stud.* xxvi, 392) and Klaeber (*Journ. Germ. Phil.* iv, 102-103) rightly regard this as a Kenticism, and point out that the Northern form is *æ*. It must be added that *stēnan* in the *Elene* passage is more than doubtful (Holthausen reads *sēcan*), and that *-wāge*, and *-wēge* alternate in WS. transmissions (cf. O. S. *wāgi*, *wēgi*). This seventh argument proves nothing.

(8) “The so-called palatal umlaut: *geseh*, *El.* 842; *fex*, *And.* 1429; for WS. *ea*.” Napier (*Anglia*, x, 136) notes that the appearance of many such forms in the *Life of Chad* has no significance, as these are frequent in later WS. (see *PBB*, ix, 211); and Mürkens, though of the Bonn school, admits that this *e* for *ea* in the *Exodus* is a peculiarity of the WS. scribe. It is useless to multiply examples of so well-known a phenomenon (see Sievers, § 108, 2, a. b; Bülbring, § 313). This eighth argument proves nothing.¹

(9) “The non-working of the *i*-umlaut with *ea*, *ēa*, and *eo*, *ēo*: *oðēawed*, [*Phoen.* 322]; *strēonan*, *And.* 331.” The *Metres* offer examples of *oðēwed* and *oðēowde* (29⁸⁴, 28⁷⁴), the *Kentish Glosses* furnish *ēwan* and *ēawan*

hlihhan. As all these supposed “Anglian” forms are freely found in Kentish and Saxon works (for *flēman*, *nēde*, *gelpan*, see *supra*; for *giung* compare *Metres* 26⁶⁷, ⁶⁶; and for *gesleht*, *hlehhan*, note Bülbring, § 179, Cosijn, § 14, p. 31), it is obvious that these are mere scribal variations from a West-Saxon norm. Other passages of the *Brunanburh* (notably ll. 12-13) show that the A. text of this poem is farther from the original than the versions of B.C.D.

¹Ignorance of the workings of “palatal umlaut” in Anglo-Saxon has led to unwarranted inferences in regard to the origin of the *Judith*.

(see Sievers *Gr.*³ § 408, note 10), and Cosijn's lists (§ 100), beside many instances of *ēowan*, one *geēawde* (*C. P.* 194¹⁸). It is interesting to note that in the Southern poem, *Body and Soul*, 75, the Exeter ms. reads *ēawdest* and the Vercelli, *ēowdest*. A similar exchange of *ætēawde*, and *ætēowde* is found in the LWS. MS. (D) of the *Martyrology* (Herzfeld, p. xiii)—an exchange, which, in my opinion, owes nothing to Mercian influence, from traces of which this particular ms. is remarkably free. Alfred has unumlauted *iū* as *īo*, *ēo* in *stīoran*, *geðēodan*, *trēowð* near *stīeran*, *geðiedan* *trīewð*; and the Saxon patois presents *gestrēonan* (Bülbring, § 189). This ninth argument proves nothing.

(10) "The lapse of *n* in the inflection: *gewinna*, *Jul.* 555." Trautmann later reverts to this absence of *n* as a distinctly Northumbrian phenomenon (*Anglia*, Bb. xi, 325-326) under the signally false impression (due doubtless to a trick of the memory) that the *Juliana* form is an infinitive, instead of an accusative. This mistaken argument, strangely enough, seems to have impressed Binz; but Klæber has completely demolished the contention by pointing to Sweet's numerous illustrations of the dropping of *n* in the Hatton ms. of the *Cura Pastoralis* ("Introduction," pp. xxxii f.). This tenth argument, like all the others, proves absolutely nothing.

In the light of our searching examination, Trautmann's ten arguments for a Northumbrian origin of the Cynewulfian poems are seen to rest upon a persistent exclusion of the alternative possibilities that immediately suggest themselves to everyone with any knowledge of the elementary laws of Old English phonology. They may most effectively be reduced to an absurdity by deducing from them a Northern origin for the *Metres*—poems easily

traceable by the Bonn school¹ to the greatest of West Saxons, Alfred himself. Trautmann further weakens his case, if that be possible, by the contention that "the rune *eoh* proves Northumbrian origin, inasmuch as it serves to indicate the *e* in the name *Cynewulf* and hence must have been pronounced *eh* by the poet." To this there is a twofold answer: first that a survey of the various runic alphabets² reveals in numerous futhorks, both South English and Continental, the presence of *eoh* (*eh*) as the name of the *E* rune; and secondly that symbol and thing represent this letter in the West-Saxon runic poem.³ Upon another contention Trautmann and his school⁴ lay repeated stress. To him, "the form *ēwu* in the *Juliana* runic passage for WS. *ēowan* is both in stem and ending genuine Northumbrian." This confident assertion has been challenged by Binz,⁵ who points out that "the word is strong in WS. passages and the length of *e* is by no means fixed" and by Klæber,⁶ who cites "the forms *ewo*, Ine's *Laws*, 55 (ms. E); *ewa* (acc. pl.), *O. E. Martyrol* (Herzfeld), 36, 17; *ewede*, *ib.* 170, 26."⁷ Not only do these examples run directly counter to the Bonn claims, but the very section in Sievers' *Grammar* (§ 396) cited by Trautmann to sustain the Northern origin of the stem, show that *ē* for *ēo* in pret. of verbs in *w* (*oncnēwon*, *blēwan*) appears in the *Cura Pastoralis*, the *Orosius* and the *Mercian Psalter*.

¹ See Krämer, *BB*, VIII, 37.

² Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, pp. 99-160, 829-832.

³ *Eh* is sanctioned in West-Saxon transmissions (cf. *Rid.* 23^u).

⁴ See Jansen, *BB*, XXIV, 123.

⁵ *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 392.

⁶ *Jour. Germ. Philology*, IV, 102-103.

⁷ See Bosworth-Toller, pp. 257, 261.

Bülbring also furnishes (§ 257) WS. examples of short stems without *w* umlaut, *strewede*, *cleweða*, etc. Even if we admit that the substitution of the ending *-u* for *-an* is possible only in Northumbria and Northern Mercia (it is common in *Rushworth*¹), there seems to be no sufficient reason for predicating such a phenomenon here. Not only are we prevented by the many strong forms of our word from putting it in the same category as *eorðu*, *foldu*, *galgu*; but we must note that in Cynewulf's charade, *Riddle* 90, *ewu* is the equivalent of "agnus," and therefore singular. So also, I am inclined to think, is *ewu* in our *Juliana* passage. How then shall we explain the plurals, *ācle* and *bīdað*? To a student of runic usage these give no trouble. Runic letters, when grouped for spelling purposes, may carry a plural signification as in *Rid.* 25, where the several runes of *Higora* are regarded as units; or else they may be viewed collectively as constituting a single idea (*Rid.* 20, 75; *Husband's Message*). The latter method is the one employed by Cynewulf here. In the case of the runes, *C*, *Y* and *N*, there is no possibility of confusion of method, as they are placed after their verb, nor yet in the case of the appositives, *L*, *F*, which are runic symbols, not letters. Very different, indeed, is the passage, *þonne synnum fāh | E W ond U aclē bīdað*, etc. Here *fāh* seems to suggest that Cynewulf was at first dominated by the singular number of the word, *ewu*; but that later the plurality of the runes proved too strong either for the poet or for his transcriber and produced the forms, *ācle* and *bīdað*.¹ Cynewulf thus describes the sin-stained soul

¹The pronoun *him* in the next line (*Juliana*, 707) may well refer either to the plural runes or to the singular *ewu*, which is common gender (cf. *Rid.* 90², *ewu* = *agnus*).

trembling before the judgment seat.¹ Trautmann's conclusion of a Northumbrian origin rests in this case upon the unestablished premise that *ewu* is plural, and hence is unsound. Now that the discussion has been freed of a dozen illegitimate inferences, let us turn to arguments of some weight and worth.

The evidence for an Anglian home of our poet—as opposed to a distinctively Northumbrian one—is of quite another sort and deserves much more careful attention. Sievers claims² that “all poems which use exclusively the longer forms (in the 2d. and 3d. per. sing. ind. of long syllable verbs of the strong and of the first weak conj. and in the past ptc. of weak verbs of the first class ending in dentals) are of Anglian origin, and conversely the presence of one-syllable forms points with certainty to origin in the South (Saxon or Kentish).”

This canon has been universally accepted and employed as a dialect test by scholars, and, at first sight, seems to have all things in its favor. Indeed the second part of Sievers' conclusion invites no protest, for the presence of syncopated forms is certainly strong evidence of Southern origin, as these are practically unknown to the Anglian dialects.³ But the first part of this contention

¹ See Grein, *Sprachschatz*, I, 266-267 for references to many similar passages. The lines in *Christ and Satan* (109 f), *io mōste * * gebidan/hwæt mē drihten god dēman wille*, strongly oppose Trautmann's charge of *dēman* to *dēma* in *Juliana*, 707, *hwæt him æfter dædum dēman wille*.

² *PBB*, x, 464-5.

³ Yet even here we must move with caution. The very line that Sievers employs (*PBB*, x, 474) to attest a Southern origin for *Hymn II* (Gr.-W., *Bibl.* II, 212), *ond (ā) his willan wyrð* (ll. 6a, 11a) is found *ond þæs willan wyrð* in the *Salomon and Saturn* (l. 500) which elsewhere admits only unsyncopated forms and

—that the exclusive use of the longer forms attests an Anglian source—fails to take account of the great difference in time between the Cynewulfian poems and the Wessex productions of the later ninth and tenth centuries with which he contrasts them. Such evidence as we have speaks very strongly in favor of the view that the longer forms which in Alfredian and in LWS. texts appear by the side of the shorter were dominant in Southern writings of the earliest period.¹

Glosses, *Charters* and *Laws* all tell the same story. The eight century *Glosses* can hardly be called into court as final witnesses upon this question until their home is more definitely established than at present. But Chadwick, whose discussion of origin² leads him to a positive conclusion, holds that the archetype of the *Glosses* is East Saxon; that *Epinal* lies near to the Wessex border; that *Erfurt* is pure Kentish; and that *Corpus* is Mercian. Dieter³ insists upon the Kentish peculiarities of *Epinal*. In the third edition of his *Grammar*, Sievers regards the Glossaries as "Kentish with at least an admixture of Mercian forms;" and Bülbring (§ 19). speaks of them as "South Mercian with a Kentish and

which contains such supposedly Anglian words as *gēna*, *ūsic*, *þæcele*, *strynd*. On the other hand there is no warrant for denying a Southern origin to poems full of verbal syncope like the *Menology* and the *Maldon*, as do Imelmann and Crow in their respective editions.

¹This objection to this dialect test occurred to Ten Brink, (*Beowulf*, p. 213), and to Trautmann (*Kynewulf*, p. 70, Note); but, because it opposed the latter's argument, he relegated it to a footnote without pressing it to a conclusion inevitably fatal to Sievers' reasoning.

²*Cambridge Philological Society*, 1899, pp. 250-253.

³*Anglia*, IX, 620.

West-Saxon admixture." Brandl¹ deems them "partly Kentish, partly Kentish-Mercian."² Now it is extremely significant that in these *Glosses* of strongly Southern complexion appear dozens of examples of the longer forms of the 2d and 3d sing. pres. ind. and of the past etc. and not a single instance of syncope.³ Early Southern *Charters* furnish similar evidence. We meet in the Kentish *Charters* of 805 (*O. E. Texts*, No. 34, l. 17), *hafað*; of 805-831 (No. 37, l. 10) *doeð*, (No. 37, ll. 16, 21) *limpeð*, of 835 (No. 41, l. 39) *sæleð*, (No. 41, l. 58) *hafað*, (No. 41, l. 64) *bebēadeð*, (No. 41, l. 69) *forgifeð*; in the Wessex *Charter* of 847 (No. 20, l. 13) *hāteþ*, (l. 17) *utscioteð*. It is not until 858 that we meet *limpð* in Kent (No. 28, l. 25) and not until 871-889 (No. 45, l. 46) *gelīð* beside (ll. 46-47) *forcymeð* and *weorðeð* in Surrey. In the late *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester ms.) of the Old Kentish *Laws* of Æthelberht (d. 616), in which all authorities note "many survivals of very ancient forms pointing back to a prototype at least as early as the middle of the eighth century,"⁴ we meet more than forty unsyncopated (and very few syncopated) forms of the verb. The longer forms may reasonably be credited to the older version, which perhaps antedates the originals of our poems. What reason have we therefore to impute to very early

¹ *Grundriss*², II, 1054.

² If the doctors thus disagree in their diagnosis of original texts, how dare they speak with positiveness of the embryos of forms in the very late transmissions of poems of this same period?

³ Dieter, *Sprache und Mundart der ält. Engl. Denkmäler*, §§ 48, 50, cited by Ten Brink and Trautmann.

⁴ So Brandl, *Grundriss*,² II, 1051. See Sievers, *PBB*, XII, 174 and Görnemann, *Zur Sprache des Textus Roffensis*, Berlin, 1901.

poetry that employs exclusively the longer verbal forms an Anglian origin?

Much stress has been laid upon the evidence of end-rimes in two Cynewulfian passages. The transmitted West-Saxon forms in the *Christ*, 591 f. are *hēnþu*, *mærþu*; *lēoht*, *niht*; and in the *Elene*, 1237 f. are *riht*, *geþeaht*, *miht*, *þeaht*; *āmæt*, *begeat*. "Substitute for these the Anglian forms," we are told by Sievers,¹ "and we have pure rimes: *hēnðu*, *mērðu*; *lēht*, *neht*; *reht*, *geþæht*, *mæht*, *þæht*; *āmæt*, *begæt*."² The argument is a strong one, much the strongest that we have thus far considered, since the theory of an Anglian origin adequately accounts for the desired sounds; still "the devil's advocate" who is "proving all things" is bound to register a double objection. That the Old English poets were often no sticklers for exact rimes is proved by many such combinations as *dēað*, *bið* (*Christ*, 596); *hēah*, *fāh* (*Seafarer* 98); *glengeð*, *bringeð* (*Lār*, 13); *hlēorum*, *tēarum* (*Dōmesdæg* 128); *þing*, *leng* (*Judith*, 153). And moreover, the substitution of possible Southern forms produces excellent rimes in nearly every case.

As I have already proved in considering Trautmann's sixth argument for Northumbria, *hēnþu* is very common in the South, even in strong WS.;³ *reht* is found in early charters of Kent and Surrey,⁴ and as a Kenticism in the Cotton ms. of *Boethius* (p. 135, l. 40); *meht* appears

¹ *PBB*, ix, 236.

² Holthausen even goes to the length of introducing these forms into his text of the *Elene* passage.

³ *hēnþe* and *hænþe* appear as variants in the *Boethius*, (Sedgefield's edition, p. 24, 5) and *hænþum* in the *Cotton Psalm* (82). See examples cited *supra*.

⁴ O. E. T. No. 34, l. 15; No. 45, ll. 17, 42, 50.

in the *Metres* (4^{7,32}), in the *Kentish Glosses*, and occasionally in the *Cura Pastoralis*;¹ and the working of the so-called palatal-umlaut in early Kentish and in the *Orosius* ² might perhaps be cited to explain *geþeht* and *þeht*, although *mid geþeahte* meets us in a Kentish charter of 832 ³ and although the phenomenon is late for our texts. The form *begæt* demanded by the rime is known to early Kentish charters.⁴ But all this is special pleading, and only slightly lessens the weight of probability in favor of Sievers' view, particularly as *liht*, which we should expect in the South and which would furnish a perfect rime for *wiht*, does not occur on Southern ground, where the form is invariably *lēoht* (*līoht*).⁵ The rimes certainly seem to point to an Anglian original of our poems, but in no way to a distinctively Northumbrian home.

The evidence of rimes is supplemented and strengthened by the testimony of vocabulary, although the force of arguments derived from the presence or absence of words has been greatly exaggerated. Students have fallen into the mistake of overlooking the large interval of time between our poetical texts and West-Saxon prose, and consequently, of claiming as Anglian many words that were once common to all the Old English dialects. For

¹ See Sweet, *C. P.* "Introduction," p. xxii. He remarks: "The late *miht* hardly ever occurs in the *Pastoral*, but the form *niht* is well-established."

² See Chadwick, pp. 182-184; Bülbring, § 313.

³ *O.E.T.*, No. 40, l. 2.

⁴ *O. E. T.* No. 41, l. 4, No. 42, l. 2.

⁵ See Brown, *Die Sprache der Rushworth Glossen*, pp. 24, 34, 78; Bülbring, *Anglia*, Bb ix, 71; x, 2-3, 6-7. Bülbring argues convincingly against his own earlier view that *liht* had come into the Anglian dialects from the WS.

instance, the preposition *in* (for *on*) in the poetical texts is often hailed as an indication of Anglian dialect, whereas *in* was, of course, once existent in WS. as well.¹ The older form in all dialects, *in* survives in so Southern a poem as the *Menology* as a legacy from the earlier poetry to the later. The forms, *nemne* and *nymþe* (for WS. *buton*) are rightly cited as distinctively Anglian forms in the prose period² but are we safe in inferring such limitation in the eighth century, when we meet *nymne* in a Kentish charter of 805,³ and three times in so Southern a document as the grant of Æthelberht to the church of Sherborne in Dorset in 864?⁴ A strong argument lies in the appearance in the poetry of *gēn* (for WS. *giet*,) which seems to be pure Anglian;⁵ but here again can we speak with confidence of very early usage? I attach little importance to the evidence of such words as *semninga*, *lēoran*, *grorn-*, *rēc*, of which examples are not lacking in either WS. prose or verse. Indeed the poetical vocabulary often recognizes no such dialectal limitations; for instance, the undoubtedly West-Saxon *Genesis B.* employs such "Anglian" words as *begrornian* (243), *rēcas* (325) and, more striking still *gīen* (413). Two other supposed criteria of the Anglian origin of

¹ This is attested by many instances in the early *Chronicle* (see Brandl, *Grundriss*,² II, 1060) and by isolated examples in Alfred's works (see Jordan, *Eigenthümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes*, p. 17). The history of the two forms, *in* and *on* is traced by Miller, "Introduction" to Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, p. xxvi, and by Deutschbein, *PBB*, xxvi, 172.

² See Mather, *M.L.N.*, ix, 154; Jordan, *Id.*, pp. 46-48.

³ *O.E.T.* No. 34.

⁴ Birch, *C.S.*, No. 510. I find in this charter no forms that are not either WS. or Kentish.

⁵ See Hart, *M.L.N.*, vii, 122, Deutschbein, *PBB*, xxvi, 173.

Cynewulf, *wlōh* and *lȳtesne*¹ are found in the early eighth century in the *Epinal Gloss*, a work of strong Southern coloring. Are we justified in laying much emphasis on this kind of testimony?

Nine-tenths of the arguments presented in favor of an Anglian home for our poet are thus seen to be accidental encumbrances, and may well be dismissed from all future discussions of the subject. A rime here, a form there, inclines the balance of probabilities away from the South; but nothing in the language speaks for a distinctively Northumbrian source.

The literary grounds for associating Cynewulf with the North seem far stronger than the linguistic evidence. The tradition of a school of vernacular poetry in Northumbria is supported by the striking circumstance that all of our earliest versions of Old English poems are in that dialect. Nor is it without significance that the *Dream of the Rood*, certainly Northumbrian, as the Ruthwell Cross shows, has Cynewulfian traits; and that the *Riddles*, doubly bound to Cynewulf, have Northumbrian associations, which I shall presently consider. But we must not fail to recall certain literary conditions that are frequently overlooked in this connection. The social and literary relations of the different divisions of eighth and ninth-century England are far closer than is commonly supposed. The *Liber Vitae* contains the names of many Mercian benefactors of the Northumbrian church;² in the *Charters* Mercian kings grant lands in Kent to Kentish monasteries.³ The West-Saxon Aldhelm writes

¹ See Jordan, *Id.*, 12, 57, 62.

² Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Latin)*, II, 81; Brandl, *Grundriss*,² II, 1002.

³ Sweet, *O.E.T.*, p. 422.

his treatise on verse-making for a king of Northumbria, Aldfrith (Acircius); Bede and Boniface have intimate correspondents in both the North and South; and the literary connections of Alfred seem to have been largely Mercian. The enigmas of Aldhelm find speedily a translator in the North;¹ and the enigmas of Tatwine, Archbishop of Canterbury, are immediately supplemented by Hwætberht (Eusebius) the Northumbrian abbot. The poem *Guthlac A*—which was probably written by a Mercian, who knew Crowland well—and the prose *Life of Guthlac* are both known to the author of *Guthlac B*, who, from his lack of first-hand knowledge of tradition, may have written anywhere. The manner in which Bede gathered materials for his great history makes it plain that “there was a literary intercommunion over the whole of England, and this was due to the corporate brotherhood of monasteries.”² Everywhere manuscripts were freely interchanged. With such ready give-and-take of books it is very unwise to assume that likeness in style between two literary productions argues likeness of locality, and that there can be no worthy poetical output without the inspiration of some neighboring school of literature. To argue with Wülker³ that “Cynewulf could not have written in Northumbria, because that kingdom offered unfavorable conditions for the production of poetry;” or with Brown⁴ that “political conditions in Mercia were not auspicious for the cultivation of literature” is to ignore entirely the barter of manuscripts. It no more follows that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian,

¹ See *Riddles of Exeter Book*, Nos. 36, 41.

² See Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, p. 230.

³ *Anglia*, xvii, 106-107.

⁴ *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 223.

because he was well versed in certain poetic conventions and traditions that we meet in Northumbrian poems or that the author of the *Andreas* (very probably Cynewulf) was a near neighbor of the author of the *Beowulf*, from whom he lifted so freely, than that the different redactors of the Anglo-Saxon Annals were, all of them, near neighbors. It is needless to press the point further.

New evidence, or rather old evidence revived, is presented by Cynewulf's relation to the *Riddles*. Early scholars of Leo's and Dietrich's following, who read the name of our poet in the *First Riddle* and hence ascribed to him all these enigmas, found in the Northumbrian version of *Riddle 36* (*Leiden Riddle*) final proof of his Northern home. Like these scholars, who were fortunate in escaping much of the confusion of the present, I believe that *Riddle 1* is a "Cynwulf" cryptogram;¹ like them I believe that it is a prelude to enigmas from this poet's hand; but unlike them, I do not think that the literal translations of Aldhelm (*Rid.* 36, 41) are coined in the same mint as the other problems.² It is quite out of the question that the servilely imitative and sometimes inaccurate rendering of Aldhelm's *Creatura* (*Rid.* 41) should have emanated from a poet of Cynewulf's generous culture and sound 'Latinity. Among the Anglian usages that have been noted elsewhere in the *Riddles*³ there are really none that I can now pronounce with confidence "distinctively Northumbrian."⁴ As in

¹ See my article, "Cynewulfian Runes of the First Riddle," *M. L. N.*, Dec., 1910.

² In the "Introduction" to my edition of the *Riddles*, pp. lxxvii-lxxix, I have indicated many points of difference between *Rid.* 36 and 41, and the other poems of the collection.

³ See my "Introduction," p. lxxix, note.

⁴ It is true that *geonge* (22²) which also appears, *And.* 1311

so many Middle English poems, certain peculiarities of vocabulary may be explained by the poet's familiarity with the speech of other regions than his own and by his constant concession to the requirements of his verse. I must insist that the language of Old English poetry was not only mixed, but traditional. The student of phonology is ever prone to forget that this poetical medium differed widely not only from any spoken dialect, but even from the literary prose of any quarter of England. Moreover, in the case of the *Riddles*, we can never be sure that any particular enigma containing this or that form¹ is by the chief author of the collection, though, as I have striven to prove in my "Introduction,"² the *Riddles* are, in the main, homogeneous. So, though certain forms attest an Anglian origin, these poems lend, linguistically, no large support to the hypothesis of a distinctively Northumbrian home for Cynewulf.³

(*geongan*), and *ehtuwe* are found in tenth-century prose only in Northumbrian *Gospels*; but we have too little evidence for our earlier period to limit safely these forms to one dialect. The so-called Northern *eðða* (44¹⁶) and *þæh* (72⁸) are known to *Rushworth*¹, which Brown and Bülbring class as Mercian, and *bæg* (5³) is common in the *Charters* and early *Glosses* (*O.E.T.*, p. 615).

¹ Certain Southern forms have the support of runes (see p. lviii).

² Pp. lxi-lxxv.

³ Little importance can be attached to the argument of Imelmann (*Die Altenglische Odoaker-Dichtung*, 1907, pp. 14, 17) that the *gedēdon* demanded by the metre (MS. *gedydon*) in the name-poem, *Rid.* 1⁴ is exclusively Northumbrian (see also Sievers, *PBB.* x, 498), since we meet the form, *dēdon* both in the West-Saxon *Cura Pastoralis* (where Sievers' *Grammar*², 429, note 1, explains it as a Kenticism) and in the Mercian *Martyrology*. The form, *dǣdon* is so common in the older poetry (*Genesis A* and *Paris Psalter*) that it seems better to regard its appearance in the late *Genesis B* 722, *þæt hīe tō mete dǣdon*, as a survival than as an Old Saxon form. Sweet is doubtless right ("Introduc-

One literary argument remains—the argument of Stopford Brooke¹ that the atmosphere of Cynewulf's poems is Northern, that his pictures of icy seas and storm-beaten cliffs can belong only to Northumbria. This contention rests largely upon the belief that our poet was the author of the "Storm" *Riddles* and of the *Andreas*. This belief I share, for the cryptogram in *Riddle* 1 argues strongly for his authorship of the first, and the close likeness of thought and phrase between the sea-passages in these compositions² pleads for his authorship of the second. This argument from "atmosphere" seems to me far more potent than the evidence of sundry linguistic forms current in every dialect. It is significant that the Southern author of the *Metres* writing of the sea, merely reproduces the phrases of the older poetry.³ Cynewulf is evidently well acquainted with Northern waters and with the rigors of a Northern climate;⁴ but the inference that he must therefore have been a Northumbrian is not convincing, as the poet may have readily learned to know these aspects of nature, while wandering far from his home.⁵ The *Beowulf*, which many regard as Mercian, displays the same acquaintance with stormy

tion" to *Cura Pastoralis*, p. xxvii) in regarding *dēdon* as the oldest form of the word in all English dialects (cf. O.S. *dādun*, O.H.G., *tātun*).

¹ *Early English Literature*, p. 372.

² See the various parallels indicated in my "Notes" to *Riddles* 3, 4.

³ *Metres* 27³ *īscalde sē* (cf. *Seafarer*, 14, *īsealdne sē*); 6⁴ *hīo on staðu bēateð* (see my note to *Rid.* 3⁶, *strēamas stapu bēatað*).

⁴ It is interesting to mark in this connection the "Northern coloring" of the fourteenth-century alliterative poems of the West Midland district (see Osgood, *Pearl*, 1906, p. xx).

⁵ Note my discussion (*supra*) of Cynewulf's knowledge of "islands in the fens." Does it follow that he lived in East Anglia?

and wintry seas. Yet Brooke's argument, unlike many that we have considered, is a legitimate one and deserves more consideration than it has received.¹

I have already intimated² that "belief in the poet's wide range of literary activity and of linguistic and metrical expression and a consequent reconstruction of the Cynewulf canon are the inevitable conclusions resulting from an acceptance of my interpretation of the 'Cynwulf' name-poem." What then is this canon? Based, as Trautmann claims,³ upon the usage in the signed religious poems of Cynewulf, it offers three tests of authorship. Any genuine work by this poet must satisfy the following conditions:—it must reveal a regular use of the short stem-syllable in the *h*-less forms of *feorh* and *mearh*; it must limit itself to the dissyllabic use of long-stemmed words in *el*, *ol*, *er*, *or*, *en*, *um*; it must not permit the expansion of contracted forms. The rigid application of these tests forces us to some surprising results. Gauged by the first, the *Juliana* is un-Cynewulfian, as the only two determinate examples of *feore(s)* are both long (191^b, 508^b).⁴ Gauged by the second, the *Elene* stands quite apart from *Juliana* and *Christ II* in offering at least six instances of monosyllabic use.⁵ Yet in the main these tests are fairly

¹Contemptuous disregard of "literary arguments" often reacts violently upon champions of a dozen linguistic inconsistencies. On purely aesthetic grounds Brooke and Wülker maintained against the whole philological camp the Cynewulfian authorship of many of the *Riddles*, both groups of which are now seen to bear the poet's endorsement.

²*M. L. N.*, xxv, 241.

³*BB*, I, 27-29, 120-122.

⁴Trautmann, of course, alters these verses to fit his canon.

⁵Richter, *Chronologische Studien zur Angelsächsischen Literatur*, Halle, 1910, pp. 41-42.

met not only by the signed poems, but by *Andreas*, *Phoenix* and *Guthlac B*. Now the *Riddles* conform to none of the criteria: they consistently prefer the long stem-syllable of *feore(s)*; they admit many monosyllables like *tācn*, *wāpn*, although they prefer dissyllables (10: 22); and finally offer no less than 26 examples of expansion. Either then we must abandon the *Riddles* or admit that the tests are inadequate. To the second alternative we are driven by Cynewulf's double signature to these problems (*Rid.* 1, 90). If we recognize the signatures, we have no other choice than frankly to concede that, at some period of his literary work, Cynewulf employed certain linguistic and metrical usages not current in his religious poems. That this period was his younger time seems to be attested by the greater antiquity of the *Riddles* forms; but I shall not press this point now. In every case, the acceptance of even the finer riddles (for instance, those of the Storm) as Cynewulfian shatters the old thumb-rule tests; and, by so doing, it gives us a better perspective, a broader outlook. As we have seen, the peculiar power of the sea-passages in *Rid.* 3-4 constitutes a forceful argument for like authorship of the very similar verses in the *Andreas*; and the freshness of spirit displayed in the enigmas removes a current objection to the inclusion of the *Phoenix* among the works of our poet, on the score of its brightness and sunshine and joy of life.¹ It is indeed the irony of philological history that, after refusing to Cynewulf compositions that satisfy all the tests of the canon, we should now be compelled, on the strong testimonial evidence of Cynewulf himself, to yield to

¹ Fulton, *M. L. N.*, xi, 162, Schlotterose, *BB.* xxv, 92.

him poems (like the *Riddles*), that run directly counter to every criterion.

Other tests and touchstones of authorship have been freely suggested—tests that we need not hesitate to reject with emphasis, whatever be our ultimate conclusions. And let me say once more that, in this article, I am not protesting against conclusions, but against the methods by which these are attained. It is argued by Fulton that the *Phoenix* is not by Cynewulf, because “he does not permit himself quite so radical a variation as to use *fōtas* (*Ph.* 311) for *fēt* (*Jul.* 472, *El.* 1066).” What then shall we say to the use of both *fōtas* and *fēt* in the *Metrical Psalter*;¹ and to the appearance of *fōte* and *fēt* (dat) in two riddles certainly from the same hand?² It is argued by Trautmann,³ in all seriousness, that the *Phoenix* is not by Cynewulf, because we meet in 100 lines (182-282) a far more frequent use of *þonne* than in the signed poems, no less than twenty examples. Why not contend that the *Juliana* is not by Cynewulf, because in that short poem we encounter *fifty-four* examples of the adverbial *þā*; or that the last 100 lines of Gascoigne’s *Steel Glas* are an interpolation because “when” occurs forty times there, and comparatively seldom elsewhere in the author’s works? It is again contended by Trautmann,⁴ that *Christ III* cannot come from Cynewulf, because while we meet in the *Juliana* no *sechstakter*, in the *Ascension* (*Christ II*) two, in the *Andreas* fifteen, in the *Elene*

¹ See Grein, *Sprachschatz*, I, 335.

² See *Rid.* 33^a, on *ānum fēt*; *Rid.* 32^u on *fōte*; 32^e *fēt* (nom.) and *folme*.

³ *BB.*, I, 118.

⁴ *Anglia*, XVIII, 387; see Schmitz, *Id.*, XXXIII, 216.

thirty, we find not less than fifty in *Christ III*.¹ If there is any value in such reasoning, we are driven to the conclusion that *Elene* with thirty such verses and *Juliana* with none are by different hands. But such arguments are all alike worthless.² Scholarship is something more than futile juggling with forms.

Attempts to assign Cynewulf a definite date are so closely bound up with the theory of a Northumbrian home that it is hard to consider these apart. "He ceased to write certainly before the destruction of Lindisfarne by the Danes in 793, else he would have mentioned this."³ This is hardly a safe conclusion, even if we grant for the moment the unestablished premise of Northern origin, inasmuch as the Northumbrian Æthelwulf, who dedicates his Latin hexameters concerning the abbots of his monastery in this very diocese of Lindisfarne⁴ to Ecgbert, Bishop of that see (803-821), writes only a few years after the coming of the Danes and says not a word of that calamity. Here are two obvious gaps in the logic. And I think that those who have hitherto endeavored to date Cynewulf by means of the *Guthlac* have failed even more signally. Even if we accept his authorship of *Guthlac B* (and there is always some very

¹ *Christ III*, which Cook ascribes to Cynewulf, is assigned by Trautmann (*BB.* I, 122) and Richter (*Chronologische Studien*, p. 94) to an earlier period, and by Brandl (*Grundriss*², II, 1049) to a decidedly later time. Binz (*Anglia*, *Bb*, xxii, 80, March, 1911) puts it close to *Genesis B*. The uncertainties of Old English literary history suggest "the wavering vistas of a dream."

² Trautmann confidently informs us (*BB.*, I, 116-117) that all un-Cynewulfian verses in the *Andreas* are obviously false transmissions; and then takes up the pruning-knife. So the work goes on.

³ See Brooke, *E. E. Lit.*, p. 375.

⁴ Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 582-604.

debatable premise to be accepted), how can we argue with Sarrazin¹ that this poem was certainly written within twenty or thirty years of *Guthlac A* (about 750?)? The sequel is admittedly so different in style that all scholars assign it to another poet and it may have been written any time within a hundred years of its predecessor. Any connection between Alcuin and Cynewulf has been abundantly disproved. Then the forms of his name acrostics, *Cynwulf* and *Cynewulf* do not help us at all as a *terminus ad quem*—very little indeed as a *terminus a quo* (*supra*). On what grounds then has Cynewulf been generally assigned to the last half of the eighth century?

At the head of the story stand the same three inadequate tests that have done yeoman-service in the question of authorship. *Genesis A* and the *Beowulf*² are regarded as older than the Cynewulfian poems (which in the light of the large liftings of the *Andreas* from the *Beowulf* no one will deny), because they offer many instances of long-stemmed *mēares*, *fēores*, of monosyllabic *wundr*, *tācn*, etc., and of expanded forms of contractions. Here again, the mechanical application of these tests to the chronological sequence of Old English poems leads to many contradictions. Now and then a production flatly rebels against the rules, and has to be coaxed or whipped into the traces. The *Psalter*, which many regard as late, offers at least five examples of long-stemmed *fēore* (51⁸, 54²², 101²⁵, 60³, 132⁴) and only four certainly short

¹ *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 156.

² The priority of the religious epic over the secular one has received strong support from Sarrazin in the article cited, from Richter, *Chronologische Studien*, 1910, and from Klaeber, *Englische Studien*, xli, 321 f.

(68¹⁰, 71¹⁷, 88²⁵, 26).¹ The *Metres*, which are certainly late, contain eight instances of monosyllabic *fīfl*, *tungl*, *māðm*, *wæstm*; ² and ten cases of expanded verbal forms (*flēndu*, *smēað*, *dēð*(2), *dōð*, *sīe*(5)). The earlier usages occur sporadically even in the tenth century. We meet in *Genesis B*. three examples of expansion (*būan*, 239^b; *bū(e)n*, 735^b; *fōn*, 697^b); and in the *Maldon* one example of long-stemmed *mēare* (239b). These many contrarieties show that individual and perhaps dialectal differences greatly weaken the value of our criteria; but we are hardly justified in entirely discarding them. As we have seen, the *Riddles* show a leaning to the earlier forms (particularly to many expansions like dissyllabic *frēan*, never found in younger poems), while Cynewulf's religious compositions consistently prefer the later usages. As he tells us in the *Elene* (1237b) that much of this spiritual output came from him, when old and ready for death, the inference of early scholars that the enigmas belong to the period of his prime, or even of his youth, finds in these forms some warrant that must not however be hailed as positive proof. A comparison of Cynewulf's use of these criteria with that in *Guthlac A* would confirm rather than contradict the general conclusion that the *Riddles* were written before and the religious poems after the date of that work, approximately 750; but the argument is inconclusive, since it disregards the personal equation of both poets.³

¹ Richter is surely guilty of a "suppressio veri," when he conceals (p. 58) the existence of unquestionably long stems in the *Psalter*, because they conflict with his theory of a late origin of the work. The results of such investigations should be carefully checked.

² See Richter, pp. 68-70. There is nothing to support Trautmann's assertion that the South was more tenacious of old forms than the North.

³ The small value of such arguments is amply indicated by a

Sarrazin's process of marking the *terminus ad quem* of the Cynewulfian poems has little probative value, but it is so highly illustrative of the illogical methods now in vogue that we must pause to consider it. Assuming that Cynewulf wrote in a Northumbrian dialect that has many points of contact with the Mercian, the dialect of Yorkshire in short—a fairly large assumption inasmuch as it has no valid evidence to sustain it—Sarrazin compares his speech, as far as the metre reveals it, with that of the Glosses in the *Vespasian Psalter* (MS. Vespasian A. 1),¹ which, with equal arbitrariness, he assigns to Northern Mercia of 835.² Even if we were disposed to accept this series of unsustained assertions, we should

comparison of the *Epinal Gloss* of about 730 with the far younger *Corpus*. In the use of words in *el*, *ol*, *en*, or we should argue *a priori* that the earlier *Gloss* would show a large preponderance of monosyllabic forms and the later of dissyllabic. But such is certainly not the case. I mark in *Epinal*, *hæsil* (twice), *segil*, *sigil* (twice), *palester*, *regen*, *hrisil*, *rōðr*, *lebil* near *Corpus* *hæsl* (twice), *segl*, *sigl* (twice), *plastr*, *regn*, *hrisl*, *rōðr*, *lebl*. On the other hand *Epinal* reads *spaldr*, *scalfr*, *sefr*, *tetr*, *gæpl*, *ofr*, and *Corpus*, *spaldur*, *scalfur*, *cefer*, *teter*, *gæpel*, *ofer*. Evidently the secondary vowel was well developed by the time of *Epinal* (see Sarrazin, *Eng. Stud.*, xxxviii, 174).

¹ Sweet, *O.E.T.*, pp. 183 f.

² Waring, it is true, in the "Introduction" to *Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels* (*Surtees Society*, Pt. iv, 1865), p. cix, assigned these glosses to "the country immediately south of the Humber," but, for a time, scholars wrongly thought that they were Kentish (Sweet, *Transactions of Philological Society*, 1875-6, p. 555), and later opinion seems to assign them to "the Southeastern borderlands of Mercia." (Brandl, *Grundriss*,² II, 1054). Sir E. M. Thompson (*Catalogue of Ancient MSS.* II, 10) points out that "the interlinear gloss throughout is in a minute pointed minuscule hand of the latter half of the ninth century." Any comparison between Cynewulf and these glosses could therefore only prove at best, that he wrote before 850.

naturally question the advantage of a comparison between poetic language with its love of older forms and the pitifully plain diction of a glossator. The inference that Cynewulf is older than the *Vespasian Psalter* and *Hymns*, because many Cynewulfian words are not found in these Glosses, well exemplifies the common philological fallacy of fitting an absurd premise to a correct conclusion; inasmuch as many of the words cited as old appear in poems far younger than the *Vespasian Glosses*, the *Judith*, the *Metres*, the *Maldon*. The conclusion that Cynewulf's poems are early because they employ only the endless forms of the acc. sing. of long syllable feminines of the *i*-declension, *cwēn*, *wyrd*, *miht*, is totally unwarranted, since a search through the whole *corpus* of the poetry, early and late, reveals only one or two examples of the longer forms of accusative borrowed from the *o*-declension.¹ The uninflected forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. neut. of *mycel*, *yfel*, *monig*, prove nothing for high age, as these are common at every period.² What importance can be attached to Cynewulf's use of *ūsic* and *ēowic*, since the shorter accusative forms, *ūs* and *eōw*, are not "exceptional" but common in his poems³ and since *ūsic* and *ēowic* are frequent at a much later period than the *Psalter* not only in the Northumbrian *Gospels* (see B-T, p. 1143), but in Southern texts of Anglian coloring?⁴ With such evidence as this—evidence

¹ Moreover, Von der Warth has pointed out (*Metrisch-Sprachliches*, Halle, 1908, pp. 7-11) that Cynewulf himself admits such accusatives as *fulwihhte* (*El.* 172) and *wiste* (*And.* 312).

² Cf. Sarrazin himself, *PBB*, ix, 366; Sievers, *Grammar*,³ § 296, note.

³ *Sprachschatz*, i, 263; ii, 633; *BB*, i, 83.

⁴ Cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, 386, 13; *Epistola Alexandri* (*Anglia* iv, 139), 550, 554, 606, *ūsic*.

severally and collectively worthless—Sarrazin reaches the fairly safe conclusion that Cynewulf's poems are prior to the *Psalter*. But how is that end attained by an array of false arguments based upon a false method of comparison?

Sarrazin makes some amends for the unsoundness of his positive arguments by his complete refutation¹ of the impossible contentions of Barnouw based upon the use of the article and of the weak adjective without the article.² Sarrazin's conclusive counter arguments may be classified as follows: first, that the use of articles is not so much a matter of date as of individuality; secondly, that, in our Anglo-Saxon poems, which exist only in late transmissions, many article-forms are due doubtless to the scribe; thirdly, that many seemingly weak forms of adjectives may be explained by the weakening of old inflections in the LWS. versions, so that it is impossible to say, in any given case, whether an old (weakened) strong form or an originally weak one is present; fourthly, that the natural avoidance of suffix-rimes explains such forms as *heardan clommum*, *hēan hūses*, *ēcean lifes*, *ēcean dryhtnes*; fifthly, that the weak adj. without the article is naturally used in popular epics (*Beowulf*) and in those religious poems that are close to popular models like the *Andreas* and the *Exodus*; and finally that the weak adj. without weak article is no infallible sign of great antiquity since this phenomenon is frequently found in so late a text as MS. C (C. C. C. No. 322) of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, and since

¹ *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 145. Compare my protest against Barnouw's invalid claims, *Riddles*, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

² Barnouw, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, Leiden, 1902.

the proportion of weak adjectives without the article to those with it (5:5) is larger in the very late *Maldon* (991) than in Cynewulf's religious poems. We are therefore fully justified not only in refusing to accept Barnouw's chronology of Anglo-Saxon poems that is based entirely upon these criteria, but in declining to regard the phenomena as in any way valid or helpful indications of dates. Not only do such tests not prove that Cynewulf wrote between 850 and 880, but they do not even furnish us with any tangible evidence from which we may draw reasonable conclusions.

As a criterion of date, the technique of Cynewulf's verse has been cited by Trautmann,¹ who roundly declares; "Ausdruck und versbau weisen mit aller bestimmtheit auf das 8 jahrhundert." Cynewulf was an artist, trained in all the best traditions of his country's poetry; but so too was the author of the *Judith*, writing probably in the tenth century. Nothing can be more uncertain, as an indication of date, than technical skill or technical weakness, since it belongs to the poet rather than to the period.² Let me illustrate this uncertainty in Old English verse. Few Anglo-Saxon poems are older than the translation of Aldhelm's *De Creatura* (*Rid.* 41) since, as we have seen, it comes from the same hand as the early Northumbrian *Leiden Riddle*, and yet the technique is far inferior to that of many late compositions. "Pauper poeta nescit antra Musarum." Tested by artificial standards, the *Metres*, with their many metrical

¹ *BB*, I, 92.

² Trautmann, *BB*, I, 120, would make *dehnverse* evidence for an early period. Cynewulf uses 15:100, the *Metres* 8 or 9. This is merely a personal preference. Note that, in the case of *schwellverse*, the poets of the *Rood* and of *Judith*, two hundred years apart, use about the same number.

imperfections, would be adjudged younger than the later *Brunanburh*, which followed more poetic models.¹ Finally the many examples of alliteration upon unimportant words and the rimes of *s* and *sc* have caused many scholars to assign a tenth-century date to the metrical division of the *Paris Psalter*,² which, if we follow certain other criteria (*supra*), may be two centuries earlier. Hence this canon of technical skill cannot limit Cynewulf to any half-century. A poet is not an automaton, as these mechanical appraisers of verse would have us think.

Even if we accept the two assumptions that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, and that he wrote in the latter part of the eighth century, the time-honored identification with Bishop Cynewulf who ruled the see of Lindisfarne from 740 to 780, is not very plausible, since the name, "Cynewulf" was very widely extended, occurring no less than twenty-one times in the *Liber Vitae* alone, and since nothing that we learn of this prelate from either Trautmann³ or Brown⁴ points to any connection with literature. But now that it has been shown that Trautmann's evidence supporting the Northumbrian origin of the poet is no evi-

¹ Brandl, *Grundriss*,² II, 1077, regards the author of the *Brunanburh* as unsure in his metre, because he puts the alliteration upon a simple preposition (67b, *beforan þyssum*), and gives a verb precedence over a substantive (68b, *þæs þe ūs secgeað bēc*). The critic is certainly unaware that *beforan* is equally important in *Andreas*, 571, 619, and that the second phrase is constantly recurring in the older poetry (*Genesis*, 227, 1723, *Hymns*, 7²⁰; cf. *Gen.* 969, *Guthlac*, 850), from which Æthelstan's singer drew.

² Miss Bartlett's dissertation, pp. 41-49; Brandl, p. 1094; Richter, *Chronologische Studien*, p. 97.

³ *BB*, I, 88-115.

⁴ *Englische Studien*, XXXVIII, 225-233.

dence at all and moreover, since it seems impossible to limit rigidly the period of his activity, this identification falls outside of the sphere of likely conjecture. There are not the slightest grounds for connecting with the Lindisfarne bishop our poetic churchman (for churchman his works prove him to be)¹ of the eighth or early ninth century, who may have lived anywhere north of the Thames. It is possible that the poet and bishop were one—a bare possibility with the chances tremendously against it. Neither more nor less probable is Professor Cook's identification of our shadowy poet with the still more shadowy ecclesiastic *Cynulf*, who appended in 803 his signature to a decree at the Council of Clovesho.² Yes, our poet may have been he, or indeed any other of the scores of priestly Cynewulfs during three or four generations. Attempts to give this phantom substance are painfully futile. Strange indeed that scholars have not taken warning from the failure of the abortive efforts of earlier legend-makers to identify Ælfric, the homilist, either with Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury in 996, or with Ælfric, Archbishop of York, in 1023!

With many things in Dr. Carleton Brown's article³ I am not in accord. The Northern home of Cynewulf and the Lindisfarne identification seem to me as shadowy as ever. Against his interpretation of the acrostic runes, I must enter my protest elsewhere. But it is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous service that he has rendered scholarship in calling forceful attention to the imper-

¹ His *Riddles* do not tell against his priesthood, since all the enigmas of this period came from churchmen, Aldhelm, Boniface, Tatwine, Eusebius.

² *Christ*, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

³ *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 196-233.

sonality of the *Elene* acrostic. Its close likeness to the name-passages in the other Cynewulfian poems strongly attests its objectivity. And with the barring of these biographical allusions, Cynewulf of the wild and wandering youth, who bore rich treasures from the mead-hall and paced the wide-ways on his proud steed, rides out of the story and vanishes in the moonshine of the last riddle, which a deliciously unconscious irony once invoked to establish the poet's claims as a roving minstrel—claims as insubstantial as the Moon's stolen beams in this poem. But when we "choose another light" for Cynewulf, let us beware of "common day." To convert the trembling "water-encompassed land" of those cosmic verses of the *Christ* (805-806) into the solid earth of Lindisfarne Island¹ and to lift our shadowy dreamer of spiritual visions into the fierce rays that beat upon an eighth century episcopal throne is merely to substitute for airy irresponsible romance, pedantic philological legend.

The aims of this paper have been wholly destructive. It has not sought to assign yet another home and time to Cynewulf; nor indeed has it striven to overthrow the contention of the Anglian origin of the poet: but it has served its purpose if it has succeeded in showing that many of the conclusions of philologists are not legitimate inferences from their premises, and that the present structure of Old English literary history is largely based upon this fallacious reasoning. Let us look at things as they are and abandon these fictions, which we have blindly accepted from the hands of authority: that Cynewulf wrote after 750, because he was forced by the exigencies of an enigma to employ a form current in 740 and before;

¹ Trautmann, *BB*, I, 94.

that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, because his verse offers a dozen phenomena everywhere appearing in works of the South; that the Anglian origin of this poetry is established by the absence of a verbal syncope, which is also absent from the Southern writings of this early period, and by the presence of certain words, many of which are also present in Wessex and Kent; that the range of Cynewulf's authorship may be definitely determined by means of criteria, which fail absolutely when applied to poems bearing his signature; that the age of his poetry may be safely estimated by a comparison of his language with that of interlinear glosses; and, finally, that our poet may be confidently identified with Bishop Cynewulf of Lindisfarne, because he lived perhaps at the same period, and bore the same widely extended name. It is the duty of every independent thinker to cast off this dead weight of fallacy which has hampered us so long. "His burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back and began to tumble, and so continued to do * * * and then was he glad and lightsome."

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

VIII.—THE ROMANCE LYRIC FROM THE STAND- POINT OF ANTECEDENT LATIN DOCUMENTS

The relation of Latin lyric poetry to the lyric poetry of the Romance peoples remains one of the interesting problems of medieval literature. It has already challenged the industry of generations of investigators with no definite result.¹ And it may be doubted whether conclusions which are self-convincing will be reached in the immediate future. The chief hindrance to a satisfactory solution is presented, of course, by the incompleteness of relevant material. The examples of Latin lyrics which may be considered as expressive of natural emotion are few in number before the end of the eleventh century, and the poems of William IX are the first in Romance. There may be found here and there, to be sure, scattered hints of the existence of non-artistic poetry, whether in Latin or the vernacular, but the information so furnished by Latin writers is uncertain as well as meager. Widely different interpretations may be put on it. Contradictory theories find inconclusive support in it, further confusing an already perplexing problem. In view of all this doubt, and the difficulties with which the subject is still beset, it may not be unprofitable to go over the ground once more, and arrange the documents

¹ Cf. H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.*, pp. 8, 10; E. Wechssler, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, v (1897-1898), pp. 393-396; C. M. de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ayuda* (Halle, 1904) II, pp. 836-940; C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranz. Lit.*, pp. 188-196; Fr. Novati, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, pp. 417-441.

which allude to non-literary poetry, Latin or Romance, in their chronological order from the first century to the eleventh. While nothing new may be discovered from such a classification it will be useful to have at hand, grouped together, the texts from which the opposing factions draw their partisan arguments.¹

Now when the Latin authors of this long period mention non-literary or popular poetry do they use any peculiar nomenclature? Apparently not. The terms in which they refer to it are the words which are also applied to the literary lyric, unless an exception may be made for the word *carmen*, which rarely designates non-artistic compositions. The same terms are also employed for church hymns and songs. It is the qualification of the word, or the context, which decides its meaning. Accordingly here, as in classical poetry, we find *canticum* (a), *cantilena* (æ) and *cantio* (ones), following the order of their frequency.² Now *canticum* and *cantio* enjoy the privileges of Latin citizenship. *Cantilena* is only partly accredited. It does not mean a lyric poem with the best writers of the Augustan Age. Terence had

¹The review will be limited to texts coming from Latin, or Romance territory, because the documents which are of Germanic origin have been thoroughly exploited, and at the present moment are being analyzed by Philip S. Allen, in a series of monographs on Medieval Lyrics and the Medieval Mimic in *Modern Philology*. Allen does not confine himself to German authors, of course, but his interest draws him more to the German side. On the other hand, Romance lyric is the special object of J. B. Beck's studies on medieval music and poetry (*Die Melodien der Troubadours*, *La Musique des Troubadours*, etc.), from which we may expect considerable additions to our knowledge of medieval poetic art and perhaps a satisfactory explanation of its sources.

²See the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, under these heads.

conceded its etymological rights, though he uses it but once, and then as a proverb.¹ But when we come down to Cicero, Seneca and their contemporaries *cantilena* signifies a frivolous remark only, or even a bit of gossip. With the second century, however, it returns to its root sense and is found as "song" in various passages of Aulus Gellius, side by side with its less dignified attribution of a memory aiding jingle.²

In the third century there seems to be no mention of *cantilena*, but in the fourth it recurs many times and with many authors, ecclesiastical and secular, and always in its literal acceptance.³

The fourth century does even more. It tells us of the existence of semi-popular, or popular, songs which celebrate an historical event. It tells us how they were sung, and perhaps composed, and these embryo epics of the people it calls *cantilenae*. The campaigns which Aurelian fought many years before he was made emperor (or about 240) are narrated by Flavius Vopiscus, who flourished in the first quarter of the fourth century (-300-

¹ *Cantilenam eandem canis. Phormio* III, 2.

² . . . neque ridenda sit notissima illa veterum poetarum de Caenide et Caeneo cantilena. *Noctes Atticae* IX, 4, 6. From the context this "cantilena" must be a song of the semi-mythical, popular, unclean type. The alliteration of its title—but not its probable subject—reminds one of the lines: Ne l'out Basilies ne sis frere Basanz (*Roland*, 291), and E si i furent e Gerins e Geriers (do., 107).—A song must also be meant in "et sicut in voluptatibus cultus atque victus, ita in cantilenarum quoque mollitiis anteiiretis." *O. c.* XIX, 9, 4. But in "quasi quaedam cantilena rhetorica, facilius adhaerere memoriae tuae potuit" (*o. c.* X, 19), we are dealing with mnemonic verse.

³ See Ausonius of Bordeaux, Jerome's *Vulgate*, Ambrose of Milan, and, later, St. Augustine (in his commentaries on the *Psalms*), and Martianus Capella.

327-). And he adds to his account of the wars, that boys composed songs and dances in honor of Aurelian's personal prowess against the Sarmatians, and afterwards against the Franks.¹ In another work, his *Saturninus*, Vopiscus gives to *cantilena* a wider meaning, which includes perhaps all songs of the people. As where speaking of Egyptians he says: "atque adeo vani liberi novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes."²

In the same century, but perhaps fifty years after Vopiscus, another wellknown author, Ammianus Marcellinus (-390-), uses the term *cantilena* for non-literary songs. In a passage which regrets the relaxation of discipline among the soldiers under Julian, and their increasing love of luxury, Ammianus specifies as particularly reprehensible their fondness for effeminate melodies: "Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinæ castrensis, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur pro júbilo molliores."³ On the other hand, Ammianus' contemporaries apply *cantilenæ* to literary compositions in verse, as witness Aurelius Symmachus († 402), educated in Gaul but a consul in Africa, who sends a poem to a friend with the request: "elaboratam . . . accipe cantilenam." The lines of the poem are hexameters. Some of them rime at the cesura and end (the leonine

¹. . . adeo ut etiam ballistia pueri et saltatiunculas in Aurelianum tales componerent, quibus diebus festis militariter saltitarent:

Mille, mille, mille, [mille, mille] decollavimus, etc., *Aurelianus*, c. 6.

Unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena:

Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus,

Mille, [mille, mille, mille, mille] Persas quaerimus. *O. c. c. 7.*

Cf. J. G. Kempf, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplement Band xxvi (1901), pp. 357-360, 387-390.

² c. 7.

³ L. xxii, 4, 6.

rime), but whether intentionally or through accident does not appear.¹

From these instances we may learn that no light is thrown on the nature of a poem by the designation *cantilena*. It may be literary or it may be non-literary, popular or semi-popular. The significance to be attributed depends on the context in each case. Any lyric written or sung is called *cantilena*. But while no result of any moment has been reached by this summary, the meaning which is given to *cantilena* in Flavius Vopiscus, that of a song accompanying dance movements, suggests another query which involves the theory of the origin of poetry itself. It is not at all my intention to enter upon the discussion of this theory, nor to consider with any amount of detail any particular argument for it or against it. But while we are reviewing the Latin literature of classical and post-classical times with reference to its allusions to possible popular poetry, it may be well to scrutinize the places where such allusions are made, with dance movements especially in mind. Perhaps they may be found to contain material which will add something to our understanding of the general subject. For in the debate on what might be possible prototypes of Romance lyrics, we know how great a stress is laid on the connection between singing and dancing, disclosed either by Latin documents which were written before the twelfth century, or by vestiges of popular customs which survived in the artistic poetry of the vernacular.

It will be recalled that the earliest writers of classical antiquity, Homer and Hesiod, describe dance movements to musical accompaniment, and in one of the first books

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Auc. Antiq. vi, p. 1, l. 16.

of the Old Testament the women under Miriam's leadership chorused their joy at the destruction of Pharoah's host.¹ These movements seem to be like the leaping and dancing of women in a circle, which Virgil and Horace call *coreæ*, and which persist today in children's rounds. Our knowledge of them in ancient times is somewhat increased by the comments of Apuleius (-150-), who speaks of choruses composed of both sexes and lead by a precentor.² And in the fourth century choruses are mentioned by Hilary of Poitiers († 366), who applies to the songs which accompanied their movements the word *cantica*.³ A few years later Saint Jerome translates the Hebrew of *I Samuel* XVIII, noticed above, into the terms which many repetitions down through the Middle Ages have made familiar to all: "mulieres . . . cantantes, chorosque ducentes . . . Et praecinebant mulieres ludentes, atque dicentes. . ."

As survivals of heathen practice, in Roman territory at least, it was natural that women's choruses and their songs should soon encounter ecclesiastical censure. By the fourth century the clergy had taken alarm at their prevalence, and were warning their congregations against engaging in them. Arnobius Afer (-300-), of Numidia, in a treatise directed at pagan beliefs and practices, subjects such songs and dances to the most vigorous

¹ *Exodus* xv, 20, 21. Similar forms of public rejoicing are noted in *I Samuel* XVIII, 6, 7, and *Judith* xv, 12, 13, xvi, 1, 2. The account in the Septuagint version of *Judith* supplies the largest amount of detail.

² *Liber de Mundo*, c. 29, 35.

³ . . . hisque cum choris canticisque saltatum. Commentary on *Matthew* XII, 22; in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* IX, 992.

condemnation.¹ Hilary of Poitiers, in the passage already quoted, couples dances and dance songs with idol worship, and Saint Jerome, in telling how he was tempted in the desert, says that choruses of girls formed part of his temptation.² In a subsequent letter of friendly counsel to a young widow, Saint Jerome denounces these choruses of the Devil as most pestiferous.³ This was the rooted opinion also of Jerome's younger contemporary, Saint Augustine († 429), who neglects no opportunity to stigmatize the "choraula" and the "chorus meretricum,"⁴ while Nicetas, who was bishop of Aquileja in the second quarter of the fifth century († about 450), counts among the works of the adversary the worship of idols, magic, sooth-saying, theatres, uncleanness, drunkenness, choruses and lies.⁵ Yet, in spite of this very determined opposition, there are writers of the fifth century, including Claudian, Dracontius of Africa († about 450), and the cultured Sidonius Apollinaris († about

¹ Idecirco animas misit, ut res sancti atque augustissimi nominis symphonicas agerent et fistulatorias hic artes, ut inflandis bucculas distenderent tibiis, cantionibus ut praeirent obscenis numerositer, et scabillorum concrepationibus sonoris, quibus animarum alia lasciviens multitudo incompósitos corporum dissolveretur in motus, saltitaret, et cantaret, orbes saltatarios verteret. . . *Adversus Gentes* II, c. 42; in Migne, o. c. v, 881, 882.

² . . choris inter eram puellarum. *Epistola* XXII (dated about 384); in Migne, o. c. XXII, 398.

³ Fidicinas et psaltrias, et istiusmodi chorum diaboli, quasi mortifera sirenarum carmina proturba ex aedibus tuis. *Epist.* LIV (about 394); in Migne, o. c. XXII, 556.

⁴ *De Civitate Dei* VI, 7 (also IV, 22, cited by E. Faral in *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge*, p. 13, n. 1); *Contre Julianum* 4, 3, 18; *Commentary on Psalm xcvi*, 10; *Sermo* IX (Migne, o. c. XXXVIII, 77, 79, 85), etc.

⁵ *Explanatio Symboli*, edited by C. P. Caspari in his *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota* I, pp. 342, 343 (Christiania, 1883).

488), bishop of Clermont-Férrand, whose attitude towards choruses is, at least, tolerant. Prosper of Aquitania († about 463) and Faustus (-464-484-), bishop of Riez (Basses-Alpes), make free use of the word chorus in their exegesis of Scripture, without any qualification whatsoever.

In the midst of so rich and varied testimony regarding the universality of chorus dancing and singing, it is interesting to find one witness whose family relations have forced his utterance. It is a bishop, Ruric of Limoges († about 507), who strikes the personal note, not as a pastor, but as the father of a prodigal son, Constantine. Constantine is away from his father's house, leading a life of dissipation. In a letter of earnest admonition his father urges him to forsake his evil companions and return: "Quamlibet Baccho, symphoniis et diversis musicis nec non etiam et puellarum choris te deditum esse cognoverim . . . parentibus quoque operam dare quam cantibus."¹ The situation indicated by Ruric's correspondence is not the ordinary one of rustic dancing and singing. It must refer to the choruses of harlots and the songs of the brothel. But the passage is valuable because of its locality and date, and also because it explains the spirit of hostility which the church showed to choruses and chorus songs from the beginnings of its organized convocations. While many of the dances and melodies were no doubt clean, their association with heathen performances on the one hand and with coarse actions on the other involved the whole conception of dance movements and music.

For this reason ecclesiastical councils condemn the

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auc. Antiq.* VIII, p. 332, ll. 9-12.

practice in its entirety. The council held at Agde (Hérault), in 506, or just before Ruric's death, formulated a canon which commanded its priests and deacons to withdraw from marriage feasts and gatherings, "ubi amatoria cantantur et turpia, aut obscaeni motus corporum choris et saltibus efferentur. . ." ¹ Of course there remains the possibility that the dances on such occasions were performed by professionals, or by the same class which young Constantine frequented. But it is only a possibility, since not many years after the council of Agde a *præceptum* of Childebert I, who was king of Paris from 511 to 558, warns against idol worship and other evil practices: "noctes pervigiles cum ebrietate, scurrilitate vel cantecis, etiam in ipsis sacris diebus pascha, natali Domini et reliquis festivitibus vel adveniente die domineco bansatrices per villas ambulare." ²

Other canons which may also date from the sixth century specify the places and circumstances where dancing and singing could not be tolerated. A canon of the council of Arles (524), cited by Burchard of Worms († 1026), prohibits dances and "carmina" (incantations? charms?) at funerals. ³ Burchard also cites from a council held at Braga in Portugal in 561 or 572 a canon which forbids dancing before churches. ⁴ This

¹ Mansi, *Sacro. Concilia*. VIII, 331: canon XXXIX.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, pp. 2, 3.

³ Nullus ibi praesumat diabolica carmina cantare, non joca et saltationes facere, quae pagani diabolo docente adinvenerunt. Migne, o. c. CXL, 838. This canon is not given by the editor of the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* (Concilia I), and therefore may not be one ordered at Arles.

⁴ Si quis balationes ante ecclesias sanctorum fecerit. . . Migne, o. c. CXL, 839.

particular practice surely belonged to the people, and was not at all professional. It will give rise to many admonitions in later canons, which will not only censure the dances but also the songs that accompanied them. An instance in point is where the council of Toledo, sitting in 589, forbids such disturbances of public worship, disturbances which were most in evidence on church holidays.¹ And about this time, we may suppose, was held the council of Carthage cited by Burchard, whose canon condemns songs near churches, without any mention of dancing.²

There can be no doubt about the performers in Spain, at least. It is the "vulgus" that danced and sang near the churches on festival days, and not wantons. And because the language of the other councils is practically the same, we may be justified in concluding that the spaces before the churches were used by the parish as a dance floor, not only in Spain, but in France and elsewhere. And we know this practice has survived all dynasties, even the Bourbon, down even to the present day.

It is not ecclesiastical canons, however, whether voted

¹ Exterminanda omnino est irreligiosa consuetudo, quam vulgus per sanctorum solennitates agere consuevit; ut populi, qui debent officia divina attendere, saltationibus et turpibus invigilent canticis; non solum sibi nocentes, sed et religiosorum officiis perstrepentes. Mansi, o. c. ix, 999 (canon 23).—Professor C. C. Marden tells me that boys still dance on high days before the chancel of the Toledo Cathedral, in spite of the clergy's disapproval (the so-called "seises"). Cf. *Los Seises de la Catedral de Sevilla*, por Don Simon de la Rosa y Lopez (Seville, 1904), p. 340, n., which Professor H. R. Lang has called to my attention.

² Canticum turpe atque luxuriosum circa ecclesias atque in atriis ecclesiae agere omnino contradicimus, quod ubique vitandum est. Migne, l. c., 691.

in France or elsewhere, which afford the most interesting information about song and dance in the sixth century. It is rather an author of reputation, a poet of elegant Latinity, a product of Italian culture, but who wrote, like Ruric of Limoges, on what will be storied ground in the annals of medieval literature, the territory south of the Loire, the future province of Poitou. Venantius Fortunatus had come to France towards 570, enjoyed there the friendship of the historian, Gregory of Tours, and won the confidence of Radegunda of Thuringia. This unfortunate princess, released from an unwelcome union with Chlothar I, had gone to Poitiers and founded the abbey of St. Croix, about 567. Twenty years later she passed away in odor of sanctity. Venantius outlived her and consecrated his pen to the narration of her good works. At one place in his biography, to illustrate the ex-queen's complete detachment from the world and her distrust of its echoes even, he relates this anecdote: "Quadam vice obumbrante jam noctis crepusculo inter coraulas [*var.* corollas] et citharas dum circa monasterium a saecularibus multo fremitu cantaretur et sancta [Radegunda] duabus testibus perorasset diutius, dicit quaedam monacha sermone joculari: Domina, recognovi unam de meis canticis a saltantibus praedicari. Cui respondit: Grande est, si te delectat conjunctam religioni audire odorem sæculi. Adhuc soror pronuntiat: Vere, domina, duas et tres hic modo meas canticas audiui quas tenui [*var.* duo et tria cantica audiui quae retinui]. Sancta respondit: Teste Deo me nihil audisse modo saeculare de cantico."¹

The passage, as we have said, is a most interesting one,

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Auc. Antiq.* iv,² pp. 47, 48.

but it is also confusing. The word *canticum*, or *cantica*, is used for the sacred hymn and the melody sung by the dancers indifferently, without qualification. We are also told there were several hymns as there were several corresponding dance melodies ("duas et tres"). Now if we try to determine the original song in each particular case, whether it was the hymn or the dance melody, in absence of all guidance from the context we are forced back on three hypotheses.¹ We may assume either that the dancers had heard at services held in the abbey the melodies to which they timed their movements, or that both the church hymns and the dance music derived from the same tunes, old and known to all classes of people, or that Radegunda's novice consciously chose a profane song as a vehicle for the expression of her spiritual desires. The last hypothesis seems unacceptable from its nature, yet the words which Venantius puts into the nun's mouth apparently support it nevertheless.

The problem posed by the story of Radegunda is by no means an isolated one, though it comes forward here for the first time. Centuries later, in the heart of the Middle Ages, as Jean Beck has discovered, the musical notation

¹ Again it is evident that nothing can be learned from the term *canticum*. The councils of Toledo and Carthage, cited above, had qualified "canticum" with the adjective "turpe." Previous to their canons, about the year 500, the poet Tuccianus used the word without a qualifier, but in the secular sense entirely:

Cantica gignit amor et amorem cantica gignunt:

Cantandum est ut ametur et ut cantetur amandum.

E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* IV, p. 360.

We are obliged to conclude, therefore, that *canticum*, when not specifically designated, possesses the general meaning of its etymology. It was any kind of a song secular or religious in the sixth century, as it had been in the first.

of the hymn, *Agmina militiae*, etc., of the erotic Provençal poem, *L'autrier cuidai aver druda*, and of a song without words is one and the same. In explanation of this identity Beck offers three possible solutions: that the clergy had worked over a secular lyric, sung by the people on days of public rejoicing, into a religious hymn; that the hymn melody was invented first and was appropriated by the Provençal poet; that the song without words is older than either of the others and gave them their model, as it did a French poem which is but partly preserved in a single manuscript. Each of these three solutions Beck argues at length. He closely examines the metrical structure of the different texts involved, and after a detailed comparison he concludes that the song without words, an instrumental composition entirely, preceded all the others and may be considered their rhythmical source.¹ Now for the "cantica" of the Poitevin nun and her music-loving compatriots we have neither texts nor scores. But if we may be allowed to apply Beck's conclusion to a quite similar situation, we might assume that an old melody of Provence, old even in the sixth century, had inspired the educated, lettered musician and the untutored poets of the people.²

¹ *Die Melodien*, pp. 65-69.

² In his recent work (*La Musique des Troubadours*, Paris, 1910), Beck inclines more decidedly towards the opinion that the source of Troubadour music (and therefore of Romance lyric poetry) is to be found in the music of the church (see *La Musique des Troubadours*, pp. 19-24). In the case of Venantius particularly he has discovered that the music of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, commonly ascribed to him, was worked over for the score of the Provençal poem, *O Maria, Deu maire*, of the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth (cf. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale*, col. 19). The idea that Latin church poetry, especially the sequence,

The Council of Toledo inveighs against song and dance in the vicinity of churches by people who should be attending the church office. Venantius' story shows how these songs distract the attention of holy nuns from their pious meditations. But the vogue they enjoyed was not satisfied in creating diversions outside the sacred edifice merely. They went so far as to invade it. At least we are led to make this inference from the decree of a church council sitting at this very time (573 to 603) at Auxerre, not far from the scene of Venantius' activity. The mention of such irreverence by so important a convocation goes far to prove its general prevalence. The ninth canon of the council of Auxerre says: "Non licet in ecclesia choris saecularium vel puellarum cantica exercere nec convivia in ecclesia praeparare, quia scriptum est: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.*"¹ It is true that Johann Kelle interprets this canon very differently.² He maintains that the "chorus" and "cantica" prohibited by the canon are the singing of Psalms and the liturgy by women, stationed within the chancel or near it. Dance songs are not at all in mind. But this interpretation neglects the context, which forbids banquets in the churches, and also the quotation from Scripture which summarizes the spirit of the canon. That women should lead in singing the liturgy might be contrary to ecclesiastical regulations, but it could not be judged irreligious.

might be the model for the Troubadour lyric was advanced by Wilhelm Meyer in his *Fragmenta Burana* (cf. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I, pp. 51-55) ten years or more ago.

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 180.

² In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 47, 48, and recently in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse CLXI (1909), no. 2.

And while the churches in the larger communities would hardly harbor popular celebrations within their walls, it is wholly probable that the rural population at this time possessed no other meeting-place, and had gradually yielded to the temptation to transfer the festivals which they were accustomed to celebrate before the church in pleasant weather to the church itself, whenever personal comfort or the success of the entertainment were enhanced by it. This inference might be drawn from the canon of Toledo or Venantius' anecdote. It could also be supported by the decree of the council of Carthage, which has already been quoted, and by an important ordinance framed on French soil by a council held at Châlons between 639 and 654.¹ It will be confirmed, at the beginning of the eleventh century, by the account which Bernard of Angers will give of the vigils held in the church of Saint Fides of Conques.²

¹Valde omnibus nuscetur esse decretum, ne per dedicationes basilicarum aut festivitates martyrum ad ipsa solemnia confluentes obscina et turpea cantica, dum orare debent aut clericus psallentes audire, cum choris foemineis, turpia quidem, decantare videantur [or chorus foemineus turpia quidem et obscoena cantica decantare videntur, dum aut orare debent aut clericos psallentes audire]. Unde convenit, ut sacerdotes loci illos a septa basilicarum vel porticus ipsarum basilicarum, etiam et ab ipsis atriis vetare debiant et arcere. . . *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 212 (canon 19).

²See page 310. Other documents of the sixth century that speak of singing and dancing in Romance territory include a canon of Ferrandus of Carthage († about 550): "Ut nullus Christianus ballare vel cantare in nuptiis audeat" (*Migne, o. c. LXVII*, 959), and canon 40 of the council of Auxerre (573-603): "Non licet presbytero inter epulas cantare nec saltare" (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia I, p. 183). A passage in a sermon ascribed to Cæsar of Arles (†542): "Quam multi rustici et quam multæ mulieres rusticanae cantica diabolica, amatoria et turpia memoriter retinent et ore decantant" (*Migne, o. c. XXXIX*, 2325, cited by Gröber,

After this comparative richness of allusion to popular songs and dances in the sixth century, the dearth of mention, which the records of the seventh betray, comes somewhat in the nature of a surprise. Indeed the only sign of their existence on French soil, besides the canon of the council of Châlons which we have already cited, is given by St. Ouen (†683), bishop of Rouen. Among his works is a life of St. Eloi, who was bishop of Noyon (Oise) from 639 to 659. St. Eloi had preached a sermon, so St. Ouen says, in which he warned all true Christians to refrain from pagan practices on saints' days. And among these reprehensible customs are "vallationes vel saltationes (*add.* "aut caraulas") aut cantica diabolica," which he afterwards terms "cantica gentilium."¹ Outside of France, in the Romance country of Spain, Isidore of Seville (†636) had already composed his glossary (*Originum*). There he defines *choreae* as "ludicrum cantilenae, vel saltationes classium,"² which means,

Grundriss II, p. 444), and another sometimes ascribed to Saint Augustine, sometimes to Cæsar of Arles: "Ne forte detrahendo, male loquendo, et in sanctis festivitibus choros ducendo, cantica turpia et luxuriosa proferendo de lingua sua. . . Iste enim infelices et miseri homines, qui balationes et saltationes ante ipsas basilicas sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt, etsi christiani ad ecclesiam venerint, pagani de ecclesia revertuntur; quia ista consuetudo balandi de Paganorum observatione remansit" (Migne, *l. c.*, 2239), throw additional light on the prevalence of popular singing and dancing. Cf. also Migne, *l. c.*, 2165: "et cantica luxuriosa vel turpia proferentes libenter audierit," and 2241: "surgit velut phreneticus et insanus balare diabolico more, saltare, verba turpia et amatoria vel luxuriosa cantare." Though the authorship of these sermons remains doubtful, the customs they denounce seem to antedate the seventh century at least.

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Scrip. Rerum Mer.* iv, p. 706, l. i; cf. p. 707, ll. 25, 26. St. Eloi was born near Limoges.

² *Orig.*, vi, 19, 6.

if we paraphrase rightly, that he considered the song the oral expression of the dance.

For several decades the eighth century resembles the seventh in the meagerness of information it offers regarding these amusements of the people. A glossary of the years intervening between 690 and 750 again defines *chorea* as "sonus in ludorum a coro dictum."¹ in apparent imitation of Isidore. Towards 743 a general council, held at Rome, makes especial reference to the January Calends, and forbids priests to be present at feasts during their festivities, "et per vicos et per plateas cantationes et choros ducere."² About the same time Abbot Pirminius († 753), of uncertain residence but possibly an Alsatian, is said to have warned all believers against dancing, singing and games, on all occasions and in every locality.³

The last quarter of the eighth century sees popular song and dance once more in evidence. And the statements which the writers of the day make regarding them add considerably to our knowledge of the actual condition of things. From these authors we learn that the dance, particularly the dancing of women, is still accompanied by song. We are also told of secular songs which are not connected with dancing. For the first time professional purveyors of dances, songs and games come forward, the *histriones*, the *mimi*, the *joculatores*. The per-

¹ *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* v, p. 185 (Leipzig, 1894). The glossary is preserved in a MS. of the VIII-IX century. Isidore's definition is also given in it.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 15, 16 (canon 9).

³ Nullus Christianorum neque ad ecclesiam, neque in domibus, neque in trivio, nec in ullo loco balationes, cantationes, saltationes, jocus et lusa diabolica facere non praesumat. Migne, *o. c.* LXXXIX, 1041, D.

formances of these mountebanks and jugglers must have been peculiarly welcome, for in 789 Charlemagne was forced to issue a capitulary, which forbids the clergy to receive the *joculatores* into their houses.¹ And Alcuin even, who died in 804, was moved to voice his regret at the attention paid them by his colleagues, who evidently preferred secular music at their meals to the reading of Scripture.² Of a more general bearing is the canon of the council held at Fréjus (Var) in 796 or 797. It commands the clergy not to take delight in hunting, nor "in canticis secularibus . . . in liris et tibiis et his similibus lusibus."³ To all these admonitions another capitulary of Charlemagne, promulgated just at the beginning of the new century, in 802, adds the authority of the imperial government.⁴

But it is under the immediate successors of Charlemagne that warnings and injunctions against dancing and singing abound. A new council, convened at Rome in 826, extends the prohibition of the former one of 743 from the January Calends to all holy days. And it is women who are particularly aimed at now.⁵ In France,

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, p. 64; cf. II, p. 179, l. 24.

² Verba Dei legantur in sacerdotali convivio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolarum IV, p. 183, ll. 21, 22. The allusion here is to heroic poetry of German origin. See below, page 299, n. 1.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 191, ll. 19, 20. Note that dances are not mentioned in connection with the songs.

⁴ . . . non inanis lusibus vel conviviis secularibus vel canticis vel luxuriosis usum habeant. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Capitularia I, p. 96, l. 7.

⁵ Sunt quidam, et maximae mulieres, qui festis ac sacris diebus atque sanctorum nataliciis non pro eorum, quibus debent . . . , sed ballando, verba turpia decantando, choros tenendo ac ducendo, similitudinem paganorum peragendo advenire procurant. *Mon.*

the council of Paris of 829 condemns the participation of Christians in singing low songs.¹ Other assemblies of French clergy, at Châlons and Tours in 813 and Paris in 826, deprecate the welcome extended to *scurrae* and *histriones*, but have no direct condemnation for song and dance.²

With the records of the next generation, the second third of the ninth century, we draw near to the fatherland of Romance lyric poetry, the valleys of the Loire and Seine. Secular songs and dances on Sunday are condemned at crossroads, in squares and houses by a capitulary of the year 858 given by Hérard, archbishop of Tours. They would be a relic of paganism.³ And about the same time, in the nearby diocese of Meaux, Bishop Hildegarius (855-873) is supposed to have been composing the biography of a predecessor, Bishop Faro. Among the documents which entered into his narrative was a text

Germ. Hist., Concilia II, p. 581 (canon 35). Similar decrees had already been voted on German territory by the councils of Salzburg (800) and Mayence (813). See *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, o. c. II, p. 211, no. 34, p. 272, no. 48.

¹ . . de . . obscenis turpibusque canticis omnibus Christianis intellegendum et observandum est. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, o. c. II, p. 670, ll. 16, 17.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 276, no. 9, p. 287, no. 7, p. 636, no. 38. Cf. *Capitularia* I, p. 334, no. 8.

³ Ne in illo sancto die vanis fabulis aut locutionibus sive cantationibus vel saltationibus, stando in biviis et plateis, ut solent, inserviant; illas vero ballationes et saltationes canticaque turpia ac luxuriosa et illa lusa diabolica non faciat, nec in plateis nec in domibus neque in ullo loco, quia haec de paganorum consuetudine remanserunt. Cited by Gröber (*Grundriss* I, p. 261) from Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I, p. 957 (958). Migne extends this prohibition to other holy days: "Et in eisdem sanctis diebus, nec in plateis, nec in domibus, cantica turpia vel luxuriosa, saltationes, vel lusa faciant diabolica" (o. c. CXXI, 772, no. 114).

that told of Chlothar's victory over the Saxons and the popular rejoicing which it occasioned, the so-called song of St. Faro: "Ex qua victoria carmen publicum juxta rusticitatem per omnium paene volitabat ora ita canentium, feminaeque choros inde plaudendo componebant."¹

Other information regarding French popular poetry, which may be found in ninth century documents, includes a capitulary of a diocesan convention said to have been held at Rheims in 852, under Archbishop Hincmar (+882), which orders priests to refrain from unseemly conduct and singing on anniversaries.² In the Loire valley again, a capitulary of Walter, who was bishop of

¹ P. Rajna, *Le Origini dell' Epopea Francese*, pp. 117-199. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes* LI, p. 49 ff. Whatever the origin of this "carmen," Gallo-Roman or Burgundian, or whoever may be the author of the *Vita S. Faronis*, the evidence drawn from the biography is wholly pertinent. It shows that at the time it was written, probably the ninth century, women accompanied their dances with song. It is to be noticed that this particular song does not bear the usual title of *canticum*, but the more dignified one of *carmen*, dignified yet unusual, as applied to vernacular poetry. It will be recalled that Alcuin had used the same term in designating the songs sung at the monks' meals by a zither player. Comparing these two appearances of the word, practically contemporaneous with each other, with Eginhard's celebrated phrase in reference to Charlemagne's activity in preserving German poetry: "Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit," may we not assume that in the song of St. Faro we see a nobler grade of popular minstrelsy than *canticum* would indicate? At all events the circumstances disclosed by the account in St. Faro's life recall those dance songs with which the Roman boys celebrated Aurelian's exploits. (See page 283).

² Ut nullus presbyterorum ad anniversariam diem . . . nec plausus et risus inconditos et fabulas inanes ibi referre aut cantare praesumat. . . Migne, o. c. cxxv, 776—quoted by Gröber, *Grundriss* II, p. 447, n. 1.

Orleans from 869 to about 892, also attempts to regulate clerical manners on the same occasions.¹ The ninth century glossaries that are usually assigned to France or Germany define *chorus* as "coevorum cantus et saltatio," *choros* as "saltationes," *chorea* (ms. from a German monastery) as "saltatio cum cantilena classium concinnentium," and *choreis* as "ballationibus."² Nor should a poem in octosyllabic monorime quatrains, which was prompted by the destruction of the monastery of Mont Glonne (St. Florent-le-Vieil), near Angers, in 848-850, and where the nightingale is invoked to utter songs, be omitted from this enumeration,³ nor perhaps also the capitulary of Benedict Levita, whose collection of forgeries dates from about 850 and was possibly compiled under Hincmar, in the diocese of Rheims.⁴

¹ Si quando autem in cujuslibet anniversario ad prandium presbyteri invitantur, cum omni pudicitia et sobrietate a procaci loquacitate et rusticis cantilenis caveant. Nec saltatrices in modum filiae Herodiadis coram se turpes facere ludos permittant. Mansi, o. c. xv, 507, cited by Gröber, *l. c.*, n. 2. Notice that the "cantilenae" are not connected with dance movements. They are simply rustic songs. Also the Salome dances are not accompanied by singing but by coarse gestures. They appear to be danced by professionals.

² *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* v, pp. 351, 445, and pp. 352, 633. Cf. Isidore of Seville on page 295.

³ E. Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* II. The third strophe reads:

Gravis det organum tuba;
Alte resultet fistula;
Omnis canat armonia;
Det philomela cantica.—p. 147.

⁴ Benedict Levita, or the monk who assumed this name, pretended to be a resident of Mayence, but is supposed to have lived in the east of France. Whatever his sources, real or spurious, he must have written pertinently to his environment. So his capitulary

Shortly after the ninth century had drawn to a close, in the diocese of Trier, a district bordering on French territory, Regino, who had been abbot of Prüm from 892 to 899, and who was now abbot of Trier (†915), was putting together a body of canons and decrees relating to the duties and conduct of the clergy. In this treatise, entitled *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, among many rules and directions, are found some of the injunctions concerning the participation of priests in popular festivities which we have already cited, together with others, not hitherto noticed, but which date from the ninth century or before, and whose nationality is uncertain. Among the latter is a canon which prescribes to the bishop: "Si plebem admoneat ut in atrio ecclesiae nequaquam cantent, aut choros mulierum ducant, sed ecclesiam ingredientes verbum Dei cum silentio audiant."¹ Another orders that on Rogation Days: "Nequaquam mulierculae choreas [choros?] ducant, sed omnes in commune *Kyrie eleison* decantent."¹ And in the decade in which Regino was making his compilation, the council of Troyes (909) in Champagne was embodying in a canon directed against

on the observance of Sunday and saints' days is to the point in our discussion, and in its tenor confirms the ideas presented by the capitulary of his contemporary, Hérard of Tours. It says: "Quando populus ad ecclesias venerit tam per dies dominicos quam et per sollemnitates sanctorum, aliud non ibi agat nisi quod ad Dei pertinet servitium. Illas vero balationes et saltationes canticaque turpia ac luxuriosa, et illa lusa diabolica non faciat nec in plateis nec in domibus neque in ullo loco; quia haec de paganorum consuetudine remanserunt." *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum II*² (1837, folio), p. 83 (no. 196). See page 298, note 3. The same canon?

¹ Migne, *o. c.* CXXXII, 190, 243. The second is assigned by Burchard of Worms, in his *Decretorum libri xx*, to some Orleans council. See Migne, *o. c.* CXL, 886 (canon 7).

the observance of Pagan practices a denunciation of wanton songs: "turpia necnon cantica," borrowed from a former council held at distant Ancyra.¹

With the injunctions of the council of Troyes the records of popular song and dance on French soil cease for a whole century. When they begin again the situation has greatly altered, for Romance poetry has been consigned at last to manuscripts. Because of this long silence and the changes which intervene, a summary of what has already been learned may not be inopportune. As to the terms by which the early medievalists designate the songs there is no particular deviation from the usage of the classical writers. We still meet *carmen*, *cantilena* and *canticum*, while *cantio* seems to have been expanded to *cantatio*. *Carmen*, apart from its application to poetry formed on classical models, is practically limited to incantation, or heroic song. It meant "incantation" in the canon of the council of Arles which we quoted from Burchard of Worms. It means "incantation" in another canon of Burchard's, where the cowherd or hunter "dicat diabolica carmina super panem, aut super herbas . . .",² and it means "incantation" in the phrase "carmina diabolica, quae nocturnis horis vulgus facere solet," which appears in the so-called *Sermo Synodalis*, attributed to Pope Leo IV

¹ Migne, o. c. cxxxii, 715 C.—It is also possible that Benoît de Sainte-More has reliable authority for the lines in his *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (about 1172), when he adds to an account of the cowardice of Ebles of Poitou during a Norman invasion of 911 (furnished him by a known Latin chronicler) the statement that the French sang satirical ditties at Ebles' expense:

Vers en firent e estraboz

U out assez de vilains moz.—ll. 5911, 5912.

² Migne, o. c. cxi, 836; *Decretorum libri xxi*, Book x, canon 18.

(847-about 855).¹ On the other hand, we have seen that Alcuin, Eginhard and the author of the *Vita S. Faronis* gave it a nobler signification in their "carmina gentili-um," "antiquissima carmina," and "carmen publicum."

Cantilena, when not a name for a church hymn, is infrequent. Indeed we do not find it in our references from Isidore's gloss for *choreae* to the "rusticis cantilenis" of Walter of Orleans. But there can be no doubt as to Walter's meaning, without support as it is at this period. The people of his diocese sang songs in the vernacular, songs which he, at least, considered both inartistic and unworthy of the priestly calling.

Cantatio appears three times, though not before the eighth century. It is used by the council of Rome of about 743, by Pirminius and by Hérard of Tours. In these cases it indicates a song which accompanies a dance.²

But the ordinary word to designate the popular lyric is still *canticum*. *Canticum* means, now the oral expression of the dance, as in Hilary of Poitiers, Venantius Fortunatus, and the council of Châlons, now a song independent of dance movements, whether a church hymn (Venantius), any secular song (Council of Fréjus), or an out-and-out coarse screed (Council of Paris of 829).³

¹ Migne, *o. c.* cxv, 681.—But in the anonymous life of St. Ouen, sometimes ascribed to Frithegod of Canterbury (Xc.), *carmen* means an erotic song: "In quorum domo, non ut assolet in quorundam secularium conviviis, mimorum, atque hystrionum carmina foeda . . ." *Acta Sanctorum* xxxviii, August. iv, 810 F.

² The same relation may be inferred for the "cantionibus" of Arnobius Afer's treatise. See page 286 note 1.

³ Compare the "canticum turpe atque luxuriosum" of the Mayence council of 813 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Concilia II, p. 272, ll. 9, 10). Examples of this sort of lyric in later verse occur to us at once, especially a certain notorious poem of William IX.

From all of which the conclusion follows that *canticum* may stand for a song by which dance movements are timed, or any lyric which does not aspire to the dignity of literature, unless it definitely means a church hymn. The occasions on which these lyrics of the crowd were sung are clearly specified, and the places where they were performed are generally mentioned. The canons forbid them in the neighborhood of churches at all times. They should not be tolerated anywhere on feast days and Sundays. The clergy should not countenance them on any day, even though it might be a family anniversary. From all these admonitions it is evident that these songs, whether so qualified or not, were coarse as a rule. In a number of instances, especially when they are connected with dancing, they are regarded as survivals of heathen customs.

But it is not safe to assume that the church authorities always associated the popular lyric with Paganism and superstition. For the old heathen festivals are rarely mentioned. The life of St. Eloi of Noyon (seventh century) speaks of May,¹ and the council of Rome, of 743, specifies the January Calends.² Yet with the exception of occasional allusions annual holidays do not come into

¹ Nullus diem Jovis absque sanctis festivitibus nec in Madio nec ullo tempore in otio observet. *O. c.*, p. 706. See note 1, page 295.

² Ut nullus Kalendas Januarias et bromas ritu paganorum colere praesumat. . . *O. c.*, p. 15. The Roman observance of the January Calends by singing and dancing is confirmed by a letter written to Pope Zacharias by Boniface of Mayence in 742: "Sicut adfirmant: se vidisse annis singulis in Romana urbe et juxta aeclesiam sancti Petri in die vel nocte, quando Kalende Januarii intrant, paganorum consuetudine chorus ducere per plateas et adclamationes ritu gentilium et (in-)cantationes sacrilegas celebrare. . ." *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. III, p. 301. ll. 11-14. Quoted by Gröber, *Zur Volkskunde aus Concilbeschlüssen und Capitularien*, paragraph 9.

question. The commands are rather to keep Sundays and saints' days inviolate at all times. So if we may safely conclude that the poetry of the people was erotic in the main, we are not warranted by documentary evidence in supposing that it was called out by any special festival, or that it flourished at one season of the year more than at another.

Admitting then that the songs and dances of the people were not confined to any particular occasion or to any one time of the year, but played a leading part in the merry-making of all church holidays and of every family festival, the absence of any reference to them from the documents of almost the entire tenth century cannot be other than most surprising. For it was during the tenth century that the vernacular was making steady gains on the literary language. At its end the King of France could no longer understand Latin, and assemblies of the church even were addressed in the mother tongue. How French and Provençal unfolded and developed we do not know. The process was veiled in silence. Already before the year 900 the French hymn on Saint Eulalia offers indubitable proof of the esteem in which the modern idiom was held by certain individuals of the educated class. And three generations later the wholly Romance poems of *Saint Léger* and the *Passion* assert the claims of the popular speech to a place in medieval literature. But for the long period which intervenes between these manifestations of the capacity of French and Provençal there are neither texts nor allusions. Yet it is a period which should have been most prolific of mention in the records. We may surmise that the poetry of the cross-roads and market-place, at least, had deepened in the meanwhile and

broadened, that it had been subjected to the refining influence of singers trained in the schools of the monks or rhymsters of native taste and talent. Still we can only surmise. At one of the most important epochs in the development of modern literature we are left to conjecture alone. Neither canons nor chronicles give us any light. The popular lyric is neither praised nor blamed.¹

¹It is also noticeable that little help comes from abroad at this time. Towards the middle of the century some ordinances of the English kings forbid heathen songs at funerals and on holy days. They also forbid tree and fountain worship and the practice of incantations. See canon 1 of Edgar, of 960 (against "prophana cantica"), in Mansi, *o. c.* XVIII, p. 515, no. 18; XIX, p. 69, no. 54. In Germany, about the year 973, Widukind was writing an account of the battle of Heresburg, fought a half-century earlier, where "tanta caede Francos muletati sunt, ut a mimis declamaretur" (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Scriptorum III, p. 428, ll. 17, 18).—More significant, because it comes from Romance, though not French, territory, and because it supplies interesting details, is what we gather from sermons of Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in North Italy, from 924 to 961. In sermon III he alludes to Pagan rites at the January and March calends. In sermon IX he says that God should be praised: "non aereis cymbalis, non canticulis platearum," and people should rejoice not "in epithalamiis et cantilenis, ut mimi; non in saltationibus et circo, ut histriones vel idolorum cultores." For what is worse for old men and youths "quam stupra virginum et libidines meretricum turpi gestu et blanda voce cantare. . . ?" In sermon XIII, on the festival of Saint John the Baptist, he bewails that in many places "quaedam meretriculae ecclesias et divina officia derelinquant, et passim per plateas et compita, fontes etiam et rura pernoctantes, choros statuunt, canticula componant. . ." Migne, *o. c.* CXXXIV, 835, 844, 850.—The St. Martial's version of the Latin poem *Jam dulcis amica, venito*, which dates from the last half of the tenth century and which may have been composed in France, contains a strophe where "cantica" appears instead of the "carmina" of the Viennese version:

Ibi sonant dulces harmoniae (*Vien.* symphoniae),
 Infantur et altius tibiae,

The reasons which may be adduced for this neglect and silence are also conjectural. It might be urged that the weakening of ecclesiastical authority, coincident with the decline of the power of the king and the rise of feudalism, worked against the convening of church councils, from which a large part of our information has come. It could be argued that the decay of Latin literature, following on its great renaissance under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, is responsible for the paucity of composition in Latin of any sort. And Latin alone could obtain the right of preservation by manuscript. Or we might assume that the grouping of peoples into different nationalities, which was one of the results of the dismemberment of the Carolingian empire, would arouse a spirit of patriotism that would prompt the new chiefs to foster the use of the vernacular in their immediate circle, and perhaps encourage the poets who were dependent upon them to cultivate the rude poesy of their fellow-countrymen. Such a state of affairs, possible in the greater duchies at least, would explain why decrees and capitularies no longer contained censures of popular songs.¹

Ibi puer et docta puella
Cantant tibi cantica pulchra
(*Vien. Pangunt tibi carmina bella*).

Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica* XI, no. 91.

Cf. É. du Méril, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen âge*, pp. 196, 197.

¹ Could we determine the language used by the "Francigenis poetis," who accompanied Charles the Bald into Italy (see Johannes' *Coena Cypriani* (876 or 877), published by É. du Méril in his *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au moyen âge* (p. 200), we might approach a solution of this interesting question. For they may have composed in French or Provençal. Some verses by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie (Somme) from 844 to 851,

Now all of these causes may have contributed, each its quota, to the attitude of silence which the Latin writers of the tenth century maintain towards folk poetry on French and Provençal soil. The most probable cause, however, still remains to be stated. The raids of the Normans, Saracens and Huns into France and Provence during the first half of this century left their populations very little opportunity for literary pursuits. Their very physical existence was too often imperiled. Art, in all its various relations to life, fled before the invader, nor did it return until the foreign foe was driven back and internal peace was assured by the alliance of the native princes. We learn from the records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—and again from the fifteenth and sixteenth—that literature in the vernacular developed only under the same inspiration that revived literature in the classical tongues. The disturbed condition of the valleys of the Loire and Seine at this period of their history did not encourage composition in Latin. The growth of the duchies of France, Aquitania and Normandy, and the treaties they made with each other, allowed the clerks to respond again to the claims of authorship. The vernacular poets would imitate their example. But of their activity we have no certain knowledge. When the accents

afterwards resident at St. Riquier, near Abbeville († 865), suggest literary compositions in the vernacular. Radbert hopes that the praises of Abbot Adalhart of Corbie († 826) may be variously voiced by the clerks:

Rustica concelebret Romana Latinaque lingua,
Saxo quibus pariter plangens pro carmine dicat.

E. Dümmler, *Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini* III, p. 45.

Some fifty years later, not far from Corbie, *Sainte Eulalie* was written.

of the rustic muse become once more audible, commerce has stationed its marts along the central highways, the great pilgrimages of Santiago, Rome and Jerusalem are flowing with full tide, Gerbert has taught at Rheims, Fulbert is teaching at Chartres, William the Great of Aquitania is fostering the love of letters, and Hugh Capet has founded the kingdom of France.

Still in whatever way the absence of information about popular poetry in the tenth century may be explained, by the conditions we have mentioned or otherwise, there is no doubt that during these hundred years it gained in thought and form. The difference between the language and strophe of *Sainte Eulalie*, at the end of the ninth century, and *Saint Léger* and the *Passion*, at the end of the tenth, is considerable. But still more striking is the progress evinced by *Boèce* over *Saint Léger* and the *Passion*, its predecessors by a generation only. The author of *Boèce* must have patterned his verse and rhythm on vernacular models already existing, since the Latin poetry of his day does not supply them. Such an advance in style and conception shows interest on the part of the educated clerks, and probably the local rulers also. They had begun to consider the literary possibilities of the mother tongue. The clerks had wrought on it and had reached in the decasyllabic *laisse*, at least, one excellent fixed form of versification. Consequently we may safely consider the *Boèce* as representing the vernacular poetry of its day, a survivor of many fellows, though perhaps the most meritorious. We might also assume that William the Great of Aquitania, in whose lands *Boèce* was written, found among the numerous rewards which he bestowed on Latin poets some prizes with which to gratify their humbler Provençal colleagues.

Because of this development of Provençal verse the church must have become indulgent to the songs of the people. And the account of its dealings with them, which Bernard of Angers has transmitted to us, would confirm this opinion. Bernard, who had been a pupil of Fulbert at Chartres, and was now head of the cathedral school at Angers, had heard of the wonderful cures made by the relics of Saint Fides, in their final resting-place at Conques (Aveyron). His devout curiosity prompted him to verify the reports with his own eyes. Between 1010 and 1020 he went on three distinct pilgrimages to the shrine, and after the third he set himself to chronicle his experience. At Saint Fides', as elsewhere, the pilgrims watched the night through in church or chapel. To while away the time, and to edify as well, the clergy would lead in chanting psalms and singing hymns. This service could be shared by the educated palmers and presumably by the unlettered of unusual piety. But these two classes must have constituted a small minority of the congregation. The larger number could neither read nor understand the Latin office, and the hours of vigil grew long for them. So they tried to shorten them as best they could. "*Horum vero ignari,*" to quote Bernard, "*tam cantilenis rusticis quam aliis nugis longe noctis solantur fastidium.*"¹

The monks were scandalized by this irreverence and assembled to devise a way of checking it. They had not gone far in their deliberations when their abbot, intervening, told them of similar efforts which had been made before. One of his predecessors, he said, had had the fortitude to exclude the ignorant crowd and its songs

¹On p. 120 of edition cited below.

from the vigils entirely (before 980).¹ For a while this measure availed. The vigils were kept orderly and with decency. But one night, when a greater concourse than usual had gathered before the church and had been denied admission, the fastenings of the doors unloosened of themselves, the multitude entered, and the monks, who had been sleeping in ignorance of the miracle, found the aisles so thronged when they were called to matins, that they could reach their stalls only with the greatest difficulty. Thus it was manifest that all pure utterances of the pious heart, even those which are wholly secular, are acceptable to God, who judges not the words but the intention.² And the good abbot concluded that the people should sing the songs they knew, not at all because the unpolished lyric was itself a pleasing offering, but because back of it was the earnest soul which worshipped in spirit and in truth.³

The popular lyric then, the "cantilenae rusticae," of the turn of the tenth-eleventh centuries, knew the decent "cantilena" ("innocens"), however inartistic ("incompositas cantationes") or trivial ("inepta cantica") its

¹. . cum seniores hujus loci . . ineptum hunc tumultum, feralesque rusticanorum vociferationes atque incompositas cantationes compe-scere nequivissent . . . *Liber Miraculorum Sanctae Fidis* II, c. 12. (In the edition, by A. Bouillet, of the "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," the story of the vigils and songs is given on pp. 120-122).

². . . satis pro simplicitate illorum innocens cantilena, licet rustica, utcumque tolerari potest. . . non tamen ea cantilena Deus gaudere credendus sit, etc. *L. c.*, p. 121.

³Sic quoque idem permittit et his quae sapiunt cantare . . Tamen ne putet aliquis hisce assertionibus me velle id concludere ut Deus pure simpliciterque haec eadem velit, cum sint rustica et inepta cantica, etc. *L. c.*, p. 122.

compositions may have been. And this is exactly the situation which could have been imagined. Side by side with the "canticum turpe" stood the harmless song of merry-making. The councils of the church would denounce the one without disclosing the existence of the other. And this inference may be true without impugning the object of the capitulary of Walter of Orleans, cited above,¹ where the clergy are warned against the "rustic songs" of anniversary banquets. For on such occasions it is quite probable that the coarse "cantilenae" out-balanced the innocent.

It is also clear from Bernard's description that the rustic songs of his day were not confined to melodies which accompanied the dance. We have already assumed as much from the statements made by the writers of the Carolingian period. Bernard's narrative proves it beyond a doubt. There could not have been dance movements in a crowded church. From all the evidence we have found, it would seem that dance songs were as a rule coarse in expression. Undoubtedly songs not connected with dancing were often objectionable. But Bernard did not consider those he had heard at Saint Fides' low in tone. He calls them rough, inartistic, inane. His opinion probably represents the opinion of the Latinists of his day. As we know, it continued to be the general opinion of the educated men of the Middle Ages. For them Latin composition alone could claim both form and content. And at the dawn of the eleventh century it is more than likely that this judgment was just, however much it may have erred later on. As yet Provençal verse could have hardly attained that elegance of style which has

¹ Page 300, note 1.

remained its predominant characteristic. Under William the Great it was surely forming itself. But the process was by no means complete. Two more generations of a Latinity which steadily grew better, and two more generations of court life in France and Aquitania, with constantly increasing refinement, were needed. When they had done their work William IX of Poitou could rightly pride himself on his art.¹

Unfortunately for our knowledge of the subject, Bernard's testimony regarding the existence and nature of vernacular lyric poetry is not seconded by any of his contemporaries. His tolerance stands alone. For during the very decade when Bernard was going on his pilgrimages, at Worms, in Germany, Bishop Burchard was revising the body of decretals and canon law. And among the ordinances he selected which should regulate the attitude of the clergy towards the songs of the people, there is none which is not unfriendly to them. Burchard may have had the best of reasons for his choice. The councils of the church had constantly assailed folk poesy, and Burchard was only a codifier. Besides, while he was perhaps still engaged in his compilation, there was being danced at Kölbigk, in the center of Germany, the fatal round which was to live on in fame, and which alone of all the dances of the earlier Middle Ages has echoed to us the rhythm by which its beat was timed:

¹ Ben voill que sapchon li pluzor
 Un verset de bona color
 Qu'eu ai trait de mon obrador,
 Qu'eu port d'aicel mestier la flor.

—Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale*, I, 1-4.

Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat sibi Merswinden formosam.
Quid stamus? cur non imus?¹

Had Burchard knowledge of this great transgression, the utter condemnation of popular poetry brought down to him by the unbroken current of ecclesiastical tradition would certainly be passed on indorsed with his most unqualified approval.

F. M. WARREN.

¹ Cf. E. Schroeder, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* xvii (1897), pp. 94-164.

IX.—THE “CORONES TWO” OF THE *SECOND
NUN’S TALE*

In the legend of St. Cecilia, not only as the Second Nun tells it, but also as it appears in the *Legenda aurea* and in Simeon Metaphrastes, an angel gives to Cecilia and Valerian (as everybody knows) two crowns :

Valerian goth hoom, and fint Cecilie
With-inne his chambre with an angel stonde ;
This angel hadde of roses and of lillie
Corones two, the which he bar in honde ;
And first to Cecile, as I understonde,
He yaf that oon, and after gan he take
That other to Valerian, hir make.

‘ With body clene and with unwemmed thought
Kepeth, ay wel thise corones ’ quod he ;
‘ Fro Paradys to yow have I hem broght,
Ne never-mo ne shal they roten be,
Ne lese her sote savour, trusteth me ;
Ne never wight shal seen hem with his yë,
But he be chaast and hate vileinyë.¹

These crowns are described again when Valerian’s brother Tiburce, converted in answer to Valerian’s prayer, appears upon the scene, and smells the fragrance of the roses and the lilies :

And whan that he the savour undernom
Which that the roses and the lilies caste,
With-inne his herte he gan to wondre faste,

And seyde, ‘ I wondre, this tyme of the yeer,
Whennes that sote savour cometh so
Of rose and lilies that I smelle heer.
For though I hadde hem in myne hondes two,
The savour mighte in me no deeper go.
The sote smel that in myn herte I finde
Hath chaunged me al in another kinde.’

¹ G. 218–231.

Valerian seyde, 'Two corones han we,
 Snow-whyte and rose-reed, that shynen clere,
 Which that thyne yën han no might to see;
 And as thou smellest hem thurgh my preyere,
 So shaltow seen hem, leve brother dere,
 If it so be thou wolt, withouten slouthē,
 Bileve ariht and knowen verray trouthe.' ¹

One feels that the roses and lilies are intended to be definitely symbolic, and that the symbolism must have some organic relation to the story. But what the ulterior significance of the flowers is does not plainly appear. Even the explanation which Chaucer, following the *Legenda aurea*, actually offers, does not seem wholly to explain:

And of the miracle of thise corones tweye
 Seint Ambrose in his preface list to seye;
 Solempnely this noble doctour dere
 Commendeth it, and seith in this manere:

The palm of martirdom for to receyve,
 Seint Cecile, fulfild of goddes yifte,
 The world and eek hir chambre gan she weyve;
 Witnes Tyburces and Valerians shrifte,
 To whiche god of his bountee wolde shifte
 Corones two of floures wel smellinge,
 And made his angel hem the corones bringe:

The mayde hath broght thise men to blisse above;
 The world hath wist what it is worth, certeyn,
 Devocioun of chastitee to love.²

One still asks: Why are *roses and lilies* chosen as the components of the crowns?

Professor Skeat³ refers us to Mrs. Jameson: "White and red roses expressed love and innocence, or love and wisdom, as in the garland with which the angels crown St. Cecilia."⁴

¹ G. 243-259.

² G. 270-83.

³ *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 402, under l. 27.

⁴ *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Introduc., § V, "Of the significance of colors."

"Red," Professor Skeat goes on, "was the symbol of love, divine fervour, etc.; white, of light, purity, innocence, virginity." But Mrs. Jameson seems to be quite unaware of the existence of the *lilies* in the crowns,¹ and her symbolism, as well as that of Professor Skeat, is wholly beside the point. As a matter of fact, the real symbolism is perfectly demonstrable: it must have been patent to every mediæval reader of the story; and it focuses in itself the essential significance of the legend.

In the ritual of the Roman Church the saints are grouped under the four orders of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins. The Litany itself, of course, affords a conspicuous instance of this grouping.² But the same distinction pervades the entire ritual. In the Order for Administering the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, the act of anointing is accompanied "per invocationem omnium Sanctorum, Angelorum, Archangelorum, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, Virginum."³ In the Order for the Baptism of an Adult, one of the prayers begins: "Deus coeli, Deus terrae, Deus Angelorum, Deus Archangelorum, Deus Patriarcharum, Deus Prophetarum, Deus Apostolorum, Deus Martyrum, Deus Confessorum, Deus Virginum."⁴ In the Laurentian Litany of the Virgin,

¹ See also her discussion of the legend of St. Cecilia in her second volume.

² *Rituale Romanum*, Tit. v, cap. 3. The names of the apostles are followed by the words: "Omnes sancti Apostoli et Evangelistae, orate pro nobis;" the names of Saints Stephen, Laurence, Vincent, Fabian and Sebastian, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, Gervase and Protasus by the words: "Omnes sancti Martyres, orate pro nobis;" the names of Saints Silvester, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Martin and Nicholas, by the words: "Omnes sancti Pontifices et Confessores, orate pro nobis;" the names of Saints Mary Magdalen, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Katharine, and Anastasia, by the words: "Omnes Sanctae Virgines et Viduae, orate pro nobis."

³ *Rituale Romanum*, Tit. v, cap. 2, 7.

⁴ *Id.*, Tit. II, cap. 4, 25.

Mary is invoked as "*Regina Apostolorum, Regina Martyrum, Regina Confessorum, Regina Virginum*"—as in the Litany of the Sacred Name of Jesus, Jesus is called upon as "*magister Apostolorum, fortitudo Martyrum, lumen Confessorum, puritas Virginum.*" The distinction, especially in the case of Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins, is obviously one with which both Chaucer and his contemporary readers would be thoroughly familiar.¹

Now among the *Sermones aurei*² of Jacobus de Voragine is a series "*De praeicipuis Sanctorum festis,*" or, as it is elsewhere phrased, "*De Sanctis per anni totius circulum concurrentibus.*" Among these are three sermons "*De Sancta Caecilia, Virgine et Martyre.*" The first paragraph of the second of these is as follows :

¹ I have cited examples as fully as I have because the Missal, the Breviary, and the Ritual are often, even to scholars, more or less a *terra incognita*.

² Ed. Clutius, 1760. References to the orders just named are of course numerous in the *Sermones*. In the third sermon on St. Ambrose, among the members of the mystical body of Christ, the eyes, hands, ears and nostrils are assigned to the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins respectively: "*Nam oculi sunt Apostoli, totum mundum illuminantes; manus sunt Martyres in bello Dei fortiter laborantes; aures sunt Confessores Dei praeceptis obedientes: nares sunt Virgines, puritatis odorem spirantes*" (II, 153). In the second sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin, the twelve stars of the crown are the nine orders of angels, and the three orders of saints, "*scilicet Martyres, Confessores, et Virgines, qui omnes ipsam coronant, quia eam venerantur et laudant*" (II, 251). Each order praises a special virtue of the B. V.—"*Martyres tantam in tribulationibus constantiam. Confessores tantam sobrietatem et temperantiam. Virgines tantam puritatem et munditiam*" (II, 251). Compare the third sermon on All Saints (II, 338), and the sermon De Nomine S. Mariae (*Serm. aurei de laudibus Deiparae Virginis*, p. 88). Certain qualities are ascribed to the different orders: "*Zelus Apostolorum, constantia Martyrum, sobrietas Confessorum, et puritas Virginum, sive castitas*" (*De Laudibus Deiparae*, p. 19; cf. p. 117). Compare in general *De Laudibus Deiparae*, pp. 12, 16, 48, etc. The same distinctions underlie the Solemnity of All Hallows, in the *Golden Legend*.

Mulier diligens, corona est viro suo. S. Cæcilia fuit diligens, quia diligenter Deo servivit; et fuit corona sibi, et viro suo. Sibi quia coronam martyrii acquisivit, viro suo, quia ipsum ad fidem convertit, et ad coronam martyrii animavit. Hinc est quod Angelus duas coronas de liliis et rosis attulit, et unam sibi, alteram suo sponso dedit. *Per liliū virginitas, et per rosas martyrium designatur; per quod significatur quod merito virginitatis et martyrii debebant in cælestia gloria coronari.*¹

The interpretation here given is perfectly explicit. It may, however, be objected that this is merely Jacobus de Voragine's individual allegorizing of the flowers of the crowns. But even a cursory reading of the *Sermones aurei* shows the symbolism to be of wider significance. The bee, for instance, that alighted on the mouth of the infant St. Ambrose is explained (in part) as follows:

Apis florem de diversis floribus colligit: In prato quidem cælestis viriditatis sunt diversi flores, scilicet *rosæ Martyrum, violæ Confessorem et lilia Virginum. De rosis Martyrum* collegit florem constantiae et magnanimitatis . . . *De violis Confessorum* collegit florem sobrietatis, quia quotidie, nisi in sabbato et die Domenico, et festis præcipuis, jejunabat. *De liliis Virginum* collegit florem castitatis, quia virginitatem perpetuam conservavit.²

John the Baptist is called by six names:

Ipse enim dictus est Patriarcha, Propheta, Angelus, *Martyr, Confessor et Virgo*. Et ideo in cælo existens modo moratur in societate Patriarcharum . . . modo inter rosas *Martyrum*, modo inter violas *Confessorum*, modo inter lilia *Virginum*.³

St. Luke has place in four orders:

Unde dicitur ubi supra: Lucas inter Angelorum, et Apostolorum choros atque candentium *Virginum lilia, et immarcescibiles rosarum Martyrum flores* coruscat.⁴

In the sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin, after

¹ II, 360.

² II, 151.

³ II, 284. In *De Laudibus Deiparae*, "rosa patientiae . . . viola humilitatis profundae, et liliū puritatis et munditiae" are again associated with Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins (p. 148).

⁴ II, 330.

enumerating the "septem choros," three of the Old Testament (Angels, Patriarchs and Prophets) and four of the New (Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and Apostles), Jacobus continues :

De ista honorabili societate cantat Ecclesia : Sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. *Per flores rosarum intelliguntur omnes Martyres sanguine rubricati. Per lilia convallium intelliguntur omnes Angeli, Confessores et Virgines, et etiam Apostoli, etc.*¹

But the ascription here of the lilies to Confessors and Apostles as well as to Virgins is exceptional. Even when the Confessors are represented (as sometimes happens) by frankincense instead of violets, the Martyrs and Virgins retain their characteristic flowers :

Tertio habitatio cælestis est sancta, id est, sacro usui deputata, et hoc quantum ad se, quia est ad producendum rosas *Martyrum*, et libanum odoriferum Confessorum, et lilia *Virginum*.²

The allegorical significance, accordingly, of the roses and lilies is clear. They designate martyrdom and virginity, and even more explicitly they symbolize the orders of *Martyrs* and *Virgins*.³

¹ II, 250. This interpretation is repeated in *De Laudibus Deiparae*, p. 12 : "*Flores rosarum sunt Martyres, Lilia convallium sunt Confessores et Virgines.*"

² *De Laudibus Deiparae*, p. 67. The "Libanum" is explained in a parallel passage in the *Sermones de Sanctis* : "quia deputata est ad producendum rosas Martyrum, Libanum, id est thus odoriferum Confessorum, et lilium Virginum" (II, 262).

³ A closely corresponding symbolism appears in the colors that are associated with the three orders of Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins. Red belongs to the Martyrs, white to the Virgins ; the color that symbolizes the Confessors tends to vary. A few examples will suffice :

Ibi enim est color aureus Apostolorum, rubeus *Martyrum*, caeruleus *Confessorum*, albus *Virginum* (II, 263).

Istam namque associant Apostoli cum vestibus deauratis, *Martyres cum vestibus purpureis, Confessores cum vestibus hyacinthinis, Virgines cum vestibus candidis* (II, 337).

Sancti enim sunt quaedam vestis B. Virginis, ipsam tanquam dominam

The roses and lilies, then, of the two crowns enrol Cecilia and Valerian at once in the noble army of Martyrs and Virgins.¹ And it is the emphasis upon their virginity and their martyrdom which constitutes the core of the Legend.

et reginam adornantes. Quae quidem vestis est multiplici varietate contexta; nam Apostoli ibi ponunt colorem aureum, *Martyres colorem rubeum*, *Confessores colorem indigum*, *Virgines et Angeli colorem candidum*. (*De Laudibus*, p. 145).

I add, as curiosities of interpretation, one or two other passages. Isaiah 54, 11-12, is thus explained:

Per lapides sculptos intelliguntur *Martyres*, qui diversis vulneribus sunt sculpti et vulnerati. Per jaspidem qui est viridis coloris, intelliguntur *Confessores*, qui fuerunt virides in conscientia, et in vita. Per saphyros qui sunt caelestis coloris intelliguntur *Virgines*, quae vitam caelestem et angelicam habuerunt (II, 341).

In the sermon on St. Dominic appears a *quadriga* of the saints:

Et sunt in quadriga, id est quarta. In prima enim quadriga sunt *equi rufi*, id est Ordo *Martyrum*. In secunda sunt *equi nigri*, id est Ordo *Confessorum*, qui se per macerationem denigraverunt. In tertia sunt *equi albi*, id est Ordo *Virginum* (II, 235).

Moreover, the many mansions of John 14, 2 (which Jacobus enumerates as *oratorium*, *atrium*, *cellarium*, *consistorium*, *coenaculum*, *viridarium* and *cubiculum*) are divided among the seven orders. The whole quaint passage deserves quotation; there is space for the particularly pertinent lines alone:

In coenaculo ponuntur *Martyres*, quia fuerunt tribulati, afflicti, ideo nunc plenissime saturantur. . . In viridario vero ponuntur *Confessores*, qui sunt viridarium Dei; in quibus fuit *rosa patientiae*, *lilium humilitatis*, et *viola munditiae*. In cubiculo autem ponuntur *Virgines* tanquam sponsae (II, 342).

Space fails for further illustration. Enough has been given however, to show that the *Sermones de Sanctis* are steeped in the symbolism that attached itself to the order of the saints.

¹ The story in Jacques de Vitry, which Professor Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, v, 409, under l. 271) refers to, is perfectly explicit in its interpretation of the roses. It is given in full in Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (Folklore Soc., 1890), No. cccvii, p. 128. Professor Skeat quotes verbatim Professor Crane's synopsis (Crane, p. 268), but seems to have overlooked the pertinent passage in the story itself: "At ille valde territus et compunctus caepit cogitare, quod Deus Christianorum *ad martyrii rosas* vellet et ipsum vocare," etc.

The gift of the crowns looks back to the one and forward to the other, and its symbolism gathers up in itself the central and distinctive significance of the narrative. It is clear that Chaucer himself so understood it. The last stanza of the Prologue, before the *Invocatio ad Mariam*, ends thus :

I have heer doon my feithful businesse,
After the legende, in translacioun
Right of thy glorious lyf and passioun,
Thou with thy gerland wroght of *rose und lilie*;
Thee mene I, *mayde and martir*, seint Cecilie !¹

The "mayde and martyr" echoes both the Oratio and the Secreta of the service for St. Cecilia's day (November 22) : "Deus, qui nos annua beatae Caeciliae *Virginis et Martyris* tuae solemnitate laetificas," etc. (Oratio); "Haec hostia, Domine, placationis et laudis, quaesumus: ut, intercedente beata Caecilia *Virgine et Martyre* tua," etc. (Secreta).² And its juxtaposition with the "rose and lilie" makes Chaucer's recognition of the symbolism clear.³ It is not clear to us simply because the service and the symbols of the church are no longer part of the very texture of our thinking. And in this case, as in a hundred others, an attempt to reconstruct for ourselves what one may call the mediæval background of the story justifies itself not only by the illumination it contributes to the *meaning* of the story, but

¹ G. 24-28.

² *Proprium Missarum de Sanctis*, Festa Novembris, Die xxii. The same phrase, of course, applies to Saints Catherine (Nov. 25), Bibiana (Dec. 2), Luke (Dec. 13), Prisca (Jan. 18), Agnes (Jan. 21; cf. Jan. 28), Emerentiana (Jan. 23), Martina (Jan. 30), Agatha (Feb. 5), Dorothea (Feb. 6), Thecla (Sept. 23), Ursula and her companions (Oct. 21).

³ It is present, too, as a matter of fact, in the explanation ascribed to the preface of St. Ambrose :

The palm of *martirdom* for to receyve . . .
Devocioun of *chastitee* to love (ll. 274, 283).

also by the enhanced appreciation it makes possible of its *artistic values*.¹

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

¹The version of the legend of St. Cecilia found in Ashmole ms. 43 (Chaucer Society, *Originals & Analogues*, 208 ff.) agrees with Jacobus de Voragine in its interpretation of the crowns :

pe lilie betokeneþ ȝoure maidenhod • þat is so wit & suote.

pe rose biȝokeneþ ȝoure martirdom • uor þeron deie ȝe mote.

See also Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, i, 232. The same interpretation is also found in a version published by Schönbach, in *Ztschr. f. d. A.*, xvi, 165 ff.: . . . ich wil ir betiutunge och sagen dir : | *es betiutent die rosen rot* | *daz man dur got sol williklich liden den tot ;* | *so betiutet der wizen lyliē shin* | *daz der menshe an lîbe und an herzen kiushe sol sin* (Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, i, 232).

X.—ROMANTIC TENDENCIES IN THE NOVELS OF THE ABBÉ PREVOST.¹

The heroes of the novels of the Abbé Prevost present certain emotional states which are generally regarded as characteristic of the romantic school. Since these moods are not commonly supposed to have received literary expression until a later date, it may be worth while to point out the more striking among them. It is interesting to note the anticipation of some of the doctrines of Rousseau, and of the type of romantic rebel represented by Werther, René, and Childe Harold. Most of the following passages are from *Cleveland*, the novel which offers the greatest interest from this point of view. The others show the same tendencies, but in a less marked degree, and in a form less convenient for citation.

Cleveland, ou le Philosophe Anglais, the second novel of Prevost, was published in 1732. It purports to be the autobiography of a natural son of Cromwell, who is driven by the persecution of his father to take refuge in France. Thence he goes to America, where he lives for some time among the savages. He finds much to admire in these children of nature, and is cautious in introducing European ideas of civilization. His main effort is directed toward establishing a very simple form of religion among them. After a series of marvellous adventures on land and sea, he returns to France, where, after a number of further trials, he is left at the end of the sixth volume.

We need not be surprised to find that the author con-

¹The following article is a summary of a paper presented in a seminary directed by Monsieur Lanson at the Sorbonne. It is a pleasure to thank him for his criticism both of the original study and of this résumé.

stantly emphasizes the sensibility of his heroes. The "Cœur sensible" was much affected in his time. It represents the sentimental side, and is in some measure the cause, of the humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century. But when a man begins to observe his own bleeding heart, and takes pleasure in self-pity, we have a symptom of romanticism. It is precisely this subjective sensibility which is found in the novels of Prevost. Two lines from *Cleveland* might be taken as a motto for them all. The hero claims for himself

"le cœur le plus tendre et le plus sensible que la Nature ait formé." ¹

Again he declares :

"Rien n'est plus opposé à mon caractère que ce continuel oubli de soi-même." ²

Prevost's heroes are constantly suffering, and they often arrive at an emotional state closely akin to that known as "le goût des larmes" of the romanticists.

"De deux hommes, transportés l'un de joie et l'autre de douleur, je ne sais lequel souffrirait le plus volontiers qu'on lui arrachât le sentiment dont il jouit," ³

says *Cleveland*. And again :

"Le cœur d'un malheureux est idolâtre de sa tristesse, autant qu'un cœur heureux et satisfait l'est de ses plaisirs. Si le silence et la solitude sont agréables dans l'affliction, c'est qu'on s'y recueille en quelque sorte au milieu de ses peines, et qu'on y a la douceur de gémir sans être interrompu." ⁴

Like the romanticists, Prevost's heroes find in melancholy confession a pleasure which they constantly avow.

¹ *Cleveland*, Londres, 1777, 6 vols. in 12°. The citation is from Vol. III, Livre VII, p. 383.

² *Cleveland*, Vol. III, Livre VI, p. 264.

³ *Cleveland*, Vol. II, Livre IV, p. 202.

⁴ *Cleveland*, Vol. I, Livre I, p. 3.

"Ne me demandera-t-on pas quelle sorte de plaisir peut trouver un misérable à rappeler le souvenir de ses peines par un récit qui ne saurait manquer d'en renouveler le sentiment? Ce ne peut être qu'une personne heureuse qui me fasse sette question; car tous les infortunés savent trop bien que la plus douce consolation est d'avoir la liberté de se plaindre et de paraître affligé." ¹

And again :

"Je ne sais quel triste plaisir je trouve à mesure que j'avance dans cette histoire, à ni interrompre ainsi moi-même et à prévenir, comme je fais, mes lecteurs, sur ce qui me reste à leur raconter . . . C'est le goût de ma tristesse que je consulte, bien plus que les règles de la narration et que les devoirs de l'historien." ²

Interesting too, is Cleveland's apology for his *Mémoires* :

"C'est une consolation plus douce encore de pouvoir exprimer ses sentiments par écrit. Le papier n'est point un confident insensible, comme il le semble; il s'anime en recevant les expressions d'un cœur triste et passionné; il les conserve fidèlement au défaut de mémoire; il est toujours prêt à les représenter et non seulement cette image sert à nourrir une chère et délicieuse tristesse, elle sert encore à la justifier." ³

We are far from meaning that sporadic expressions of a similar sentiment are not to be found in all literature of all time. Virgil's "forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit," for example, is familiar. But for one instance among the classicists there are a hundred among the romanticists, who made it one of the articles of their creed. This emphasis we find in Provost, and mark as a tendency toward romanticism. The same may be said of many of the expressions of sentiment here considered. We have given only one or two illustrations of each, but we might have multiplied them indefinitely.

A belief in the *uniqueness* of his own misery was characteristic of the romanticist. A similar conviction is constantly expressed by the heroes of Prevost. Cleveland says :

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. I, Livre I, p. 3.

² *Cleveland*, Vol. II, Livre V, p. 421.

³ *Cleveland*, Vol. I, Livre I, p. 3.

"Pour moi, je puis me placer dans une troisième classe, et je suis peut-être le seul individu de ma malheureuse espèce." ¹

The romanticist was fond of imagining himself the chosen object of the persecution of a malign deity. Innumerable examples of the same sentiment might be cited from Prevost's novels. We have chosen two.

"Je le regarde encore comme une preuve sans réplique de la réalité de quelque puissance maligne, qui s'est comme emparée de mon sort, et qui change le cours même de la nature pour assurer ma perte." ²

And again :

"J'étais le jouet de cette même puissance maligne, qui n'a rendu malheureux dès ma naissance, et qui n'a pris soin de conserver ma vie que pour en faire un exemple de misère et d'infortune." ³

The sentimental cult of pessimism, arising from a personal *dégoût* of life, which is associated with the romanticists, is cherished by Prevost's heroes. For example, Cleveland says :

"Ma douleur s'accrut tellement par mes tristes réflexions que je tombai en peu de jours dans la plus dangereuse et la plus terrible de toutes les maladies. Je ne puis la faire mieux connaître qu'en la nommant *une horreur invincible pour la vie*." ⁴

This pessimism is responsible for a mania of suicide which appeared at certain periods of the romantic movement. Several of the characters of Prevost's novels are led by their distaste for existence to contemplate self-destruction. Cleveland's reflections on this subject offer interesting similarities to those of Saint Preux in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. There is little that is new in their arguments.⁵ Both Cleveland and Saint Preux regard suicide as a justifiable means

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. II, Livre IV, p. 159.

² *Cleveland*, Vol. II, Livre III, p. 57.

³ *Cleveland*, Vol. II, Livre III, p. 75.

⁴ *Cleveland*, Vol. III, Livre V, p. 167.

⁵ One might compare, for example, *Les Lettres Persanes*, of Montesquieu, No. 76.

of escape from irremediable suffering. Neither has any fear of punishment after death. But the note to which we would especially call attention is the conviction in each of the *uniqueness* of his own misery, and the belief that he is thereby exempted from the laws which govern the herd of mankind. The romanticists gloried in constituting this privileged aristocracy of suffering. Cleveland expresses his conviction as follows :

“Le souverain Auteur de mon être . . . a marqué la durée de mes jours ; je viole ses ordres si j’en précipite la fin ; . . . mais, s’il les a changés lui-même, ou du moins, s’il les interprète autrement pour moi que pour le commun des hommes, dois-je moins de respect à ses dernières volontés que je n’en devais aux premières ? En permettant que je sois tombé dans l’extrémité de l’infortune et de la douleur, il m’a excepté du nombre de ceux qu’il condamne à vivre longtemps. . . . L’excès même de mes peines est un témoignage clair et intelligible qu’il me permet de mourir.”¹

Saint Preux writes :

“Mais qu’en général, ce soit, si l’on vent, un bien pour l’homme de ramper tristement sur la terre ; j’y consens ; je ne prétends pas que tout le genre humain doive s’immoler d’un commun accord, ni faire un vaste tombeau du monde. Il est, il est des infortunés trop privilégiés pour suivre la route commune, et pour qui le désespoir et les amères douleurs sont le passe-port de la nature.”²

Another aspect of the romantic temperament is found in *Le Doyen de Killerine*. This novel describes the adventures of an Irish cleric who is brought into numberless strange situations by the lawlessness of his half-brothers. In the opening pages he gives the following description of the character of the younger, Patrice. We find in him a prototype of the restless wanderer, René or Childe Harold, forever seeking an escape from himself and from his restless discontent with present reality.

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. III, Livre v, pp. 171-172.

² *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Partie III, Lettre 21. Tome IX, p. 126, of *Oeuvres Complètes de J. J. Rousseau*, Paris, 1826.

“Mais ce qui était difficile à expliquer, c’est que Patrice était aussi insupportable à lui-même, qu’il paraissait aimable aux yeux des autres. Il ne trouvait rien qui fût capable de la satisfaire, et de lui faire goûter un véritable sentiment de plaisir. Les plus fortes occupations n’étaient pour lui qu’un amusement qui laissait toujours du vide à remplir au fond de son cœur. Quelque agrément qu’il eût l’art de répandre dans une conversation ou dans une partie de plaisir, il ne tirait aucun fruit pour lui-même de ce qui faisait les délices des autres. Sous un visage enjoué et tranquille, il portait un fond secret de mélancholie et d’inquiétude qui ne se faisait sentir qu’à lui, et qui l’excitait sans cesse à désirer quelque chose qui lui manquait. Ce besoin dévorant, cette absence d’un bien inconnu, l’empêchaient d’être heureux.”¹

And again :

“Il suffisait de lui proposer quelque chose sous un tour nouveau pour lui en inspirer le désir, non qu’il concût en effet beaucoup de goût pour ce qu’il commençait à désirer, mais parce qu’étant dégoûté de tout ce qu’il possédait, son cœur se promettait plus de satisfaction dans le changement.”²

Patrice’s quest for strange sensation may be seen to advantage in his first meeting with Mademoiselle de L . . . , one of the women whom he loved. The passage is too long for citation, but in its gruesome horror it would do credit to the romances of Mrs. Anne Radcliffe.³

Another doctrine professed by the romanticists is that of the “divine right of passion.” Brunetière considers Prevost to have been the first to proclaim this in the novel.

“C’est encore l’auteur de *Cleveland* et du *Doyen de Killerine*, qui, le premier dans le roman, a proclamé ‘le droit divin’ de la passion. . . Il a formulé cette doctrine dans le roman, ou même dans l’art moderne, avec une netteté que personne n’a depuis dépassée.”

Brunetière then quotes from *Cleveland* :

¹ *Le Doyen de Killerine*, 4 vols. in 12°, Paris, 1808. The citation is from Vol. I, Livre I, p. 19.

² *Le Doyen de Killerine*, Vol. I, Livre I, p. 30.

³ *Le Doyen de Killerine*, Vol. I, Livre II, p. 130 ff.

"Il me parut, après un sincère examen, que les droits de la Nature étant les premiers de tous les droits, rien n'était assez fort pour prescrire contre eux ; que l'amour en était un des plus sacrés, puisqu'il est comme l'âme de tout ce qui subsiste, et qu'ainsi tout ce que la raison ou l'ordre établi parmi les hommes pouvaient faire contre lui, était d'en interdire certains effets, sans pouvoir jamais le condamner dans sa source."¹

Brunetière continues :

"Tous ceux qui depuis ont développé, répandu, propagé la doctrine dans le monde n'ont fait que l'emprunter à Prevost."²

We recall a Virgilian line,

"Sua cuique deus fit dira cupido,"

which seems as applicable to the heroes of Prevost as to the romanticists. The slaves of passion, they bid defiance to human and divine laws ; they are tossed from profession to profession, from creed to creed ; they take refuge on desert islands ; they meditate and attempt suicide. Proud of being its victims, they proclaim it the scourge by which a malignant deity drives them to their doom. The Chevalier des Grieux, relating his conversation with Tiberge after his second flight with Manon, says :

"Je lui représentai ma passion comme un de ces coups particuliers du destin, qui s'attache à la ruine d'un misérable, et dont il est aussi impossible à la vertu de se défendre qu'il l'a été à la sagesse de les prévoir."³

The frenzy of passion is intensified in *Cleveland* by the unnatural love of Cecile for her father. In the passionate scenes between them we find cadences that suggest Atala and the sister of René. These are too long for citation, but we quote an echo of them from Cecile's death :

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. I, Livre I, p. 159. Brunetière's citation differs slightly from the text of the edition of 1777, which we have quoted.

² *Etudes Critiques sur l'Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 3^e Série, Paris, 1887. The citation is from pp. 218-219. In taking it from the context we have been obliged to change slightly the construction of one of the clauses of Brunetière.

³ *Manon Lescaut*, Paris, Ernest Bourdin, no date. Citation from p. 84.

“Son dernier soupir n'avait été que l'élancement passionné d'une amante qui se précipite dans le sein de ce qu'elle aime pour y rassasier à jamais la fureur qu'elle a d'aimer et d'être aimée.”¹

A bare mention will perhaps suffice for another aspect of romantic passion anticipated by Prevost. *Manon Lescaut* is a novel which clearly deserves a place in the literary history of the regeneration of the courtesan by love.

There remains for consideration the attitude of Prevost toward nature. Let us state at once that on this point he is, in general, far from the romanticists. To please the popular taste of his time for books of travel, he sent his heroes to the Orient, to Spain, to America, but they had no eyes for what the romanticists found to admire in these countries. Prevost's interest is in humanity, not in nature for its own sake. He reveres it as a goddess, and speaks of it as of one of the most beautiful works of the Creator, but, like all men of his time, he does not see the grandeur of wild mountains, or of the sea in storm, or of forests unknown to civilized man. He is a deist and then a pantheist, and so a lover of nature,—but his admiration is intellectual and philosophical rather than sentimental. How far he is from the romantic attitude may be seen by reading the adventures of the Chevalier des Grieux or of Cleveland in America. A perfect opportunity is offered for the use of desert solitudes as a background for the sufferings of his heroes, but this *motif* is hardly touched upon.

In all the novels of Prevost we have found only one example of the romantic type of what Ruskin calls “the pathetic fallacy”—the sentimental call for sympathy from nature, which gives it a sentient being, capable of responding to moods of joy or sadness. Lord Aximinister, describing

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. VI, Livre xvi, p. 275.

his life in a cavern, where he has taken refuge from the persecution of Cromwell, says :

“Dans ces moments, si je mets le pied hors de la caverne, tous les objets que je découvre me paraissent sombres et obscurs. Il semble que ma tristesse se répande sur la nature entière et que tout ce qui m’ environne s’afflige et s’attendrit en ma faveur.”¹

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE.

¹ *Cleveland*, Vol. I, Livre I, pp. 126-127.

XI.—ROMANCE ETIMOLOGIES

1. IT. *Andare*, PROV. *Annar*, F. *Aller* : A Rejoinder

Reviewers hav not accuratly appraisd my *Etimology ov the Romance Words for To Go*.¹ Inasmuch as the article appeard in 1904 and contributions to the subject seem rather scarce nowadays, I propose to take up the subject again.

I will express no opinion ov Horning's essay.² He merely refers to a detail ov my article in a foot-note. Elise Richter³ has lately written ov "the solution ov the *andare* problem, which Horning sturdily attacks and which he has eminently advanst." Just how, she does not say. But we used to hear ov *la question ambulare*, point-blank; so somehow a little ground is being gaind, whoever gets the credit. Schuchardt⁴ seems to abandon his monogenetic scheme by admitting that his tipe **ambitare* may be connected with *ambire* rather than with *ambulare*. Behrens,⁵ referring to my work, uses the frase "noteworthy but hardly convincing." From this authority I shud hav expected a detaild and definit appreciation at least ov the French morfology and fonology involvd in my hipotesis. P. Meyer⁶ says that from the postulated Vulgar Latin verbs **annitare* and **annulare* 'by various slight-ov-hand tricks we get to the Spanish and French verbs—all this not very serious.' Any

¹ *Publications ov the Modern Language Association ov America*, New Series, XII, 217 ff.

² *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XXIX (1905), p. 515.

³ *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, IX (1905, printed 1909), I, 67.

⁴ *Z. f. rom. Phil.*, XXX (1906), p. 84.

⁵ *Z. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXI (1907), p. 123.

⁶ *Romania*, XXXVI (1907), p. 140.

fonologist who reads my article will admit that this is hardly a justified presentation.

I will consider in detail the report or rather discussion of my article by Elise Richter.¹ Fräulein Richter fails to notice my derivations of dialectic Roumanian *amna*, *imna* from **adminare*, "to chase to," and of *F. branler* from **brandulare*. A much more serious neglect, to my mind, is the utter ignoring of my carefully, fully, clearly and painstakingly elaborated scheme of the Latin-Romance sense-development of *adnare*, *annare*, **annitare*, **annulare*; viz. 1) "to swim to," 2) "to sail to" (well attested), 3) "to get to," "to go or come to" (once attested as a meaning of *adnare* in classic Latin, cf. *enatare*, "to get out" [in Cicero]), 4) "to go or come" (cf. Russian *idti*, Greek *ἔρχεσθαι*² with both meanings, and note Papias' gloss *adnare adnatare venire*), 5) "to go" (occasionally rather "to come"). As I might have expected from the *Jahresbericht* critic, however, I find here something like a just appreciation of the phonological and morphological matters involved in the derivations *aller* < **annulare*, *andare* < **annitare*. My critic, be it noted, reluctantly accepts the important and tell-tale derivation *annar* < *annare*, mentioning as evidential the monition *non adnao sed adno*, which I discovered in the grammarian Probus. She does not attack the phonology of the French derivation. Her definite³ objections are confined to two points in morphology which are well dealt with in my former article but which I will now discuss again, namely the use of the suffixes *-itare* and *-ulare* in Vulgar Latin. On the first I have only to quote Meyer-

¹ *Jahresbericht ii. d. Fort. d. rom. Phil.*, VIII (1904, printed 1906-08), I, 85 f.

² This word was suggested by Mr. E. W. Martin of Stanford University.

³ I quote her indefinite objections later on.

Lübke's list,¹ including **circitare*, **cogitare*, **flavitare*, **mis-citare*, **movitare*, **nasitare*, **pigritare*, **seditare*, **sequitare*, **taxitare*, **tinnitare*, **vanitare*, **vannitare*, **visitare*. As tho unaware ov this array, my critic ventures to assert in the *Annual Report on the Progress ov Romance Filology*, "In Spanish *andar* < *adnare*, with the metathesis ov *dn* > *nd*, common in Spanish, wud be more acceptable than derivation from **annitare*." Does not this reactionary suggestion also betray ignorance ov the antiquity ov the reduction ov *dn* to *nn* in Latin? On the suffix *-ulare* I hav alredy referd to Meyer-Lübke.² I now mention the postulated or reconstructed Vulgar Latin diminutiv verbs which survived in the vernacular ov northern Gaul, viz., **brustulare* > *brdler*, **misculare* > *mêler*, **orulare* > *ourler*,³ **rasiculare*⁴ > *racler*, **turbulare* > *troubler*. To this group I hav added **brandulare* > *branler* and **annulare* > *aller*. It is held that new formations in *-ulare* wud rather be expected in Italian than in French. This objection was foreseen and carefully met in my article. The etima **annulare*, **brandulare* wer postulated in the Vulgar Latin period along with the other postulata just cited. I translate a few interesting but to me unconvincing comments from the *Jahresbericht* article :

"The formation ov a diminutiv ov a verb for "to go" seems somewhat strange anyway. It cud scarcely originate in the nursery. It wud, perhaps, be used to a dog. [*Foot-note* : Cf. Viennese *ausserl* = "get out," dim. ov *aussi*, said to the dog.] The main objection, as in the case ov all other hypotheses, remains, that these formations, ov greater or lesser fonetic accuracy, ar vain suppositions, while the exist-

¹ *Rom. Gram.*, II, § 587.

² *Rom. Gram.*, II, p. 611.

³ This verb is properly from *ourle* < **orula*.

⁴ This diminutiv ov **rasicare*, the well establisht modification ov classic *radere*, was constructed by Diez and mistakenly rejected by Körting.

ence ov *ambulare* is establisht, whether its fonetic development is explicable or not."

I quite agree that, to quote my critic's expression, "die Existenz von *ambulare* feststeht." I fail to see any enormous difficulty, however, in explaining the fonetic development ov the Latin verb for German *gehen*, which became Roumanian *imbla*, French *ambler*, English *amble*. Filologists will recognize Fräulein Richter's avowd preference for Bovet's application ov the Wulff suggestion (see her article) as temporizing and unprogressiv rather than pacific. She here follows Paris, who, however, in seeming to grant som grace to the delta or thick *l* notion, apparently used this device to mark with a warning (Δ) the approach to other hopeless but more pretentious *ambulare* alleys.

2. It. *Agio*, *agiato*, Port. *Azo*, Prov. *Aize*, F. *Aise*, *Aisé*, etc.

I. THE FORMS. Verbs: It. *adagiare*, *agiare*, Prov. *aisar*, *aizir*, *aisir*, O. F. *aasier*, *aisier* (with opposit meaning, *malaisier*), *aiser*. Nouns: It. *agio* (*malagio*), Prov. *ais*, *aize*, *aise*, *aisimens*, Cat. *aise*, Port. *azo*, F. *aise* (*malaise*), *aisance*, Eng. *ease*. Adjectivs: It. *agiato* (earlier also *malagiato*), F. *aise*, *aisé* (*malaisé*), Eng. *easy*.

II. CONTROVERSY. The derivation from Latin *ansa*, proposed by Bugge, is refuted by Thomas, *Mélanges d'étymologie française*, p. 22, who particularly insists that in vew ov the "constant" spelling ov the Provençal words, in the best sources, with a *z*, an etimon in *sy* is impossible. Mackel assumes the existence ov a Vulgar Latin **adatiare* < Germanic **asatia* supported by Gothic "azēti, st. n., Annehmlichkeit" (Körting's summary). Here the assumed shift from Germanic *s* to Vulgar Latin *d* is quite strange. Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 223), arguing against Mackel's etimology, asserts that in Prov., **atiare* cud hav becom only **azar*,

which wud not account for a verbal substantiv *aize*. This, however, is not so; witness *portionem* > *pozon*, *poizon*, *rationem* > *razo*, *raizon*, etc.¹ It is plain that a tipe **atiare* cud hav becom **aizar* in Prov. The derivation by Thomas (following in part Darmesteter) from *adjacens*, *adjacentia*, fights shy ov the Port. and It. forms,—a neglect which may be said to invalidate the suggested etimology.

III. CONTRIBUTION. Mackel's tipe **adatiare* is substantially not incorrect, a V. L. word in *ty* being postulated by the developments. I posit the form **malatiare* (cf. It. *malato* < **malatus*), whence, by a change ov the (mistaken) prefix, **adatiare*, "to make good," "to make easy," and by aferesis ov the mistaken initial sillable **atiare*. Note the regularity ov the assumed developments **malatiatus* > F. *malaisé*, It. *malagiato*, **malatiare* > O. F. *malaisier*. Port. *azo* (postverbal) is regular.² Meyer-Lübke³ states, "IARE tritt an Participia und Adjectiva, gehört aber naturgemäss der vorromanischen Zeit an." He presents dozens ov examples. The process ov postverbal or deverbal derivation ov nouns and adjectivs is also well establisht.⁴ Meyer-Lübke⁵ indicates by a score ov examples and several etceteras the commonness ov the prefix *mal*. Considering the numerous pairs like *contentus* beside **malcontentus*, with opposit meanings, I suppose that the form **malatiatus* was taken for a compound, the second hâf ov which was **atiatus*, with meaning opposit to that ov **malatiatus*. A similar confusion is attested by O. F. *empouiller* beside *dépouiller* < *despoliare*. Cf. also It. *bonaccia*, "câm" for **malaccia* < *malacia*.

¹ Cf. Grandgent, *Provençal Phonology and Morphology*, p. 68.

² Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, p. 748.

³ *Rom. Gram.*, II, p. 606.

⁴ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, II, pp. 441-448.

⁵ *Rom. Gram.*, II, p. 570.

3. It. *Malvagio*, O. S. *Malvazo*, Sp., Port. *Malvado*,
Prov. *Malvatz*, F. *Mauvais*.

It seems unnecessary to show that the various theories hitherto proposed to account for the origin of these words are all unsatisfactory. Diez, starting from O. S. *malvar*, "böse machen," derives it from *male levare*, an etimon of suitable meaning presenting no fonetic irregularity; but he separates *malvado* and *malvagio*, which seem related. I suggest the assumption of a V. L. verb derived from *male levatus* > Sp. *malvado*, Prov. *malvatz* —viz., **mal(e) levatiare* > It. **malvagiare*, O. F. *malvaisier*, O. S. **malvazar*, Prov. **malvaizar*. The surviving It. *malvagio*, F. *mauvais*, together with O. S. *malvazo*, Prov. *malvais* are postverbals. On postverbals in general see Meyer-Lübke.¹ The fonetic changes assumed are all regular. (Prov. *malvatz* is a contamination of *malvatz* and *malvais*.)

CARL C. RICE.

¹ *Rom. Gram.*, II, pp. 376, 448.

XII.—THE INFLUENCE OF *PIERS PLOWMAN* ON THE MACRO PLAY OF *MANKIND*.

In the Macro play of *Mankind*¹ the central motive is the tilling of a piece of ground "To eschew ydulness," a motive, as Dr. Brandl² points out, foreign to all the other morality plays. According to him it is introduced from the "Ackerfeld motive" of Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods*. "Für die Quellenfrage sind die Uebereinstimmungen zwischen 'Mankind' und Lydgate's 'Assembly of Gods' wichtig. Auch in dieser allegorischen Erzählung ist der Mensch (Freewill) auf einem Felde (Mikrokosmos) gedacht. Virtue eilt dahin um Gnade zu predigen. Aber auch Vice stellt sich ein und schickt zunächst drei Gesellen (Temptation, Folly, Sensuality) voraus, von denen einer das Feld mit Unkraut besät (nach Matthäus 13, 24 ff.). In Folge dessen muss in der Schlacht um den Menschen Virtue zurückweichen, Freewill neigt sich zu Vice und wird nur dadurch gerettet, dass Virtue verstärkt zurückkehrt, worauf er mit Gewissen, Vice aber mit Verzweiflung zusammenkommt (Triggs' Ausgabe, S. 28-34)."

It seems, however, much more probable that the author of *Mankind* was influenced by the "half-acre" episode in *Piers Plowman*.³ True, the main action of Lydgate's poem takes place on a field; but what kind of a field?

¹ *Early English Text Society, Extra Series* xci, 1904, pp. 1-34.

² *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXX, p. xxx.

³ *Piers the Plowman*, Ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1886. A Text, Passus VII (B Text, VIII). I am indebted to Professor Carleton F. Brown for the suggestion that this might be the case, and for the great interest which he has taken in this paper.

Not one which the hero elects to till, but one in which the whole army of Vice is arrayed against an equally imposing army of Virtue. Although the "field motive" is carefully and elaborately worked out, all the paraphernalia of battle are in evidence: Virtue appears in his war-chariot with suggestions of coming victory. All the characters placed in the field are the allegorical conventions so well known by the fifteenth century, with a good many minor vices and virtues added in lines that are of interest only if the reader be on the lookout for old friends in accustomed rôles or new disguises. No attempt at characterization is made, very little vividness of narration is evident. There is nothing, I think, to suggest the tilling in the Morality play, which affords Mankynde so much labour and the audience (and Tytivillus) so much amusement. For although seed is sown, it is the seed of Sensuality, and it plays an exaggerated part of a different character, serving only to render the ground slippery for Virtue and his hosts.

Turn now to *Piers Plowman*, A Text, Passus VII (B Text, VIII), and we find exactly the same rustic surroundings as in *Mankind*. \ And instead of a field of battle with Gods and Goddesses, Vices and Virtues for the main characters, we have Piers himself a ploughman, the other characters "wastours" and "faytours," quite comparable in social status and in character to New-Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought; Hunger, a rough burly fellow like either Mankynde or his tormentors; and the Knight, not unlike the character of Mercy, I should think. Moreover, there are, I believe, greater resemblances of situation. After the confessions of the Seven Deadly Sins and their avowal to seek St. Treuthe if only they can find a guide, they meet with a man who is recognized by one of their num-

ber as Piers the Plowman. He tells them the road to Treuthe, which is nothing other than the Ten Commandments.¹ Passus VII² opens with the folk begging Piers to act as their guide. To them he answers:—

I haue an half-aker to herie · bi the heiȝe weye;
Weore he wel i-ried · thenne with ou wolde I wende,
And wissen ou the rihte weye · til ȝe founden Treuthe.³

He then directs the women in the crowd to make clothes for the poor and sacks for wheat at the harvest, while they are awaiting him. A Knight offers his services, and Piers says that he will willingly plough for them both if he will keep holychurch free from Wastours and his wheat free from robber-birds. He then prepares as a pilgrim from the journey, hanging a seed-bag on his back in place of the usual scrip, with a bushel of bread-corn in it. After making his testament he takes up his "plouh-pote"⁴ (B text "plow-fote"⁵) for his staff, and he and the pilgrims work on the land till noon, when Piers stops to see who has worked well and is worthy to hire at the harvest. By and bye when Wastour and a "Brutiner" proffer Piers bribes for corn, and the Knight can avail nothing, Piers summons Hunger to the rescue, who punishes them so soundly that finally Piers has to intercede. Only after a hearty meal furnished by the now eager workers does Hunger consent to go away, first advising Piers not to feed the men too highly but "bidde him go swynke."⁶ The succeeding episodes in this Passus, *i. e.*, the withdrawal of Hunger and consequent evil results of prosperity are not relevant to the question in hand.

¹ A Text, Passus VI; B V.

² Cf. B VI.

³ A VII, ll. 4-6; cf. B VI, ll. 4-6.

⁴ A VII, l. 96.

⁵ B VI, l. 105.

⁶ A VII, l. 205; B VI, l. 219.

One or two passages from the next Passus are, however, worth noting. Treuthe, hearing of the famine that has followed upon idleness, sends for Piers,

To taken his teeme · and tilyen the eorthe.¹

and purchases a "*pardoun a pena et a culpa*"² for him and his heirs. At the end of the Passus a priest reads the pardon to Piers. "*Qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam, qui vero mala, in ignem eternum.*"³ Then—

Pers for puire teone · pollede hit a-sonder,

· · · · ·
"I schal sese of my sowinge," quod Pers, "and swynke not so harde,

Ne about my lyfode · so bisy beo no more!"⁴

Here seem to be the essentials of vigorous drama, a mingling of different kinds of persons, vivid characterization, lively dialogue, and plenty of action. The dramatic quality evident throughout *Mankind* assures us that its author was a man of a good deal of wit, who would see the dramatic possibilities, and turn the events to his own account. It would be easy for him to change Piers and the Knight into his admonitory Mercy, and, for the sake of the comedy, to bring Mankynde out from the ranks of the wastours to make him the hero of the most original, and perhaps the funniest of the early "moral" plays. Near the beginning of the play Mercy warns Mankynde against the three Vices, New-Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought and their master Tytivillus, adding the advice,

¹ A VIII, l. 2; B VII, l. 2.

² A VIII, l. 3; B VII, l. 3.

³ A VIII, after l. 95; B VII, after l. 287.

⁴ A VIII, ll. 100-103; B VII, ll. 116-118.

Do truly yowur labure, & kepe yowur halyday.¹

and again,

Do truly yowur labure, & be never ydyll.²

Mankynde's efforts literally to follow this sound advice create for the play the "field-motive" peculiar to it. As soon as Mercy leaves him to his own devices, he takes up his spade and begins to dig, with the words:

Thys erth, with my spade, I xall assay to delffe;
To eschew ydulnes, I do yt myn own selffe.³

Meanwhile New-Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought come on the stage and twit Mankynde with his labour; Now-a-days wishes to bargain for a "goode carte in harwest,"⁴ and Nought remarks, "He ys a goode starke laburrer; he wolde fayn do well,"⁵ but Mankynde bids them do their "labur" and beats them soundly with his spade.

Now follows a very lively scene. For while Mankynde goes out to fetch corn for his land, Myscheffe and his three companions, loudly complaining of Mankynde's treatment, return, and the three make the most of their injuries. Myscheffe offers to cure them by cutting off their heads, an offer which effectively ends their pains and renders them strong enough to collect from the audience "goode rede reyallys"⁶ or any coin they can get. Tytivillus then comes and hides a board under the earth Mankynde is digging, mingling his corn with "drawk & with durnell."⁷ Upon this Mankynde

¹ *Mankind*, l. 293.

² *Ibid.*, l. 301.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 321-322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 359.

⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 361.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 458.

⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 530.

returns with his seed and proceeds to sow it, but finds the ground so hard that he decides to

Sow [it] in wyntur & lett Gode werke.¹

Turning round now to get his corn, he exclaims:

A-lasse! my corn ys lost! here ys a foull werke
I se well, by tyllynge, lytyll xall I wyn.
Here I gyf wppe my spade, for now & for euer;
To occupye my body, I wyll not put me in deuer.²

He resolves to hear evensong, but this proves irksome, his head feels heavy, and he falls asleep. This is as far as it is necessary to carry the play here as there are no more traces, with one exception, of *Piers Plowman*. But the parallelism of the main themes seems clear enough.³

1. The characters are to a certain degree similar; Mercy corresponding to Piers Plowman and the Knight, Manynde and his jolly tormentors to the wastours and fayturs, the lame and the blind who attempt to impose on Piers, and those who

songen atte ale,

And holpen him to herien · with "hey! trolly-lolly!"⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, l. 539.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 540-543.

³ Of course Piers uses a plough, Manynde, a spade, but the limitations of the stage obviously necessitate the change to something less wieldy. Moreover, the spade is not altogether an innovation on the part of the author. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, B vi, ll. 190-193 (cf. A vii, ll. 177-178):

An heep of heremites · henten hem spades,
And ketten here copes : and courtpies hem made,
And wenten as werkemen · with spades and with shoueles,
And doluen and dykeden · to dryue awaye hunger.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, A vii, ll. 108-09; B vi, ll. 122-23.

2. In both cases the setting is rustic; the chief action takes its origin from the tilling of a piece of ground for honest labour, the comedy comes from what in *Piers Plowman* closely resembles a practical joke, and in *Mankind* is the genuine article.

If this were all, in view of the wide vogue of *Piers Plowman*, one would be disposed to consider the similarity as due merely to the general influence of a poem of such repute. But it does not stop here; there are other instances of such notable similarity that I feel convinced that *Piers Plowman* directly influenced *Mankind*. The incidents that group themselves about the two fields are fairly alike in character. Notice, for example, in *Piers Plowman* the commotion created by Hunger. At the summons of Piers,

Hongur in haste · hente Wastor bi the mawe,
And wrong him so be the wombe · that bothe his eȝen watreden,
And buffeted the Brutiner · aboute bothe his chekes;
He lokede lyk a lanterne · al his lyf after.
He beot so the boyes · he barst neih heore ribbes,
Nedde Pers with a peose-lof · i-preyed him to leue.¹

This may easily have suggested the more elaborate, perhaps more stirring, scene when Mankynde with righteous indignation belabours New-Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought for interfering with his work. Now-a-days says

Xall all this corn grow here,
ȝat ȝe xall haue þe nexte ȝer?
Yf yt be so, corn had nede be dere.²

Nought suggests:

¹ *Ibid.*, A vii, ll. 161-166; cf. B vi, ll. 171-176.

² *Mankind*, ll. 345-47.

A-lasse, goode fadere! þis labor fretyth yow to þe bone.
But for yowur croppe I take grett mone.¹

But New Gyse bursts out with:

Ey, how ȝe turne þe erth wppe & down!
I haue be in my days in many goode town,
ȝett saw I neuer such a-nother tyllynge.²

Mankynde pays them in their own coin,—

Haue ȝe non other man to moke, but ever me?
Hye yow forth lyvely! for hens I wyll yow dryffe.
(Beats them).³

Then the three say in turn

(New-Gyse) A-las my Jewelles! I xall be schent of my wyff!
(Now-a-Days) A-lasse! & I am lyke neuer for to thryue,
 ³ I haue such a buffet.⁴
(Nought) Marryde I was for colde, but now am I warme.
ȝe are ewyll avysyde, ser, for ȝe haue done harme.
By cokkys body sakynde, I haue such a peyn in
 my arme,
I may not chonge a man a ferthyng.⁵

Again a few lines further on, when Mankynde attributes his success to God ("Nec in hasta, nec in gladio, saluat Dominus"),⁶ Nought replies,—

No, mary, I be-schrew yow, yt ys in spadibus;
Therfor Crystis curse cum on yowur hedybus,
To sende yow lesse myght.⁷

and Mankynde, with a triumphant countenance (evidently turning to the audience),—

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 349-50.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 354-56.

³ *Ibid.*, 371-ff.

⁴ *Mankind*, ll. 374 ff.

⁵ *Mankind*, ll. 381 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 390.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 391-93.

I promytt yow, þes felouse wyll no more cum here,
For summe of þem, certesly, were summe-what to nere.¹

For a man of such wit as the author of *Mankind* surely the few lines in *Piers Plowman* would suffice to start this really amusing bit of play.²

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 394-5.

² This episode, with the spade recalls forcibly the similar episode in Lucian's *Timon the Misanthrope* (called to my attention by Professor Brown). When Zeus sends Plutus and Hermes to relieve Timon from Poverty, he threatens Plutus with his spade, but finally has to accept the gift of the Gods. Then, as in *Mankind*, his spade stands him in good stead and turns up a mighty treasure of gold. Almost instantly those friends who had shunned him in Poverty swarm up the hill to the corner where he is working in smock-frock to earn his six-pence a day, only to be met each in turn by Timon's spade. This plays even a more prominent part here than it did in the stirring scene of *Mankind*. Timon's reception of his visitors parallels very closely Mankynde's reception of New-Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought, and the resulting confusion in both cases has much the same comic effect on the reader. I give one or two of the similar bits of repartee:

Timon—It will be a funeral march, and a very touching one, with spade *obligato*. (Cf. Nought's "Spadibus," l. 391).

Gnathonides—Oh, My God! My God! . . . I'll have you before the Areopagus for assault and battery . . . Mercy, Mercy!

Timon—What! you won't go, won't you?
Then to Philiadès:

Come near, will you not, and receive my—spade!

Philiades—Help! help! this thankless brute has broken my head. . . ."

To Demeas:

I doubt whether you will feel like marrying, my man, when I have given you—this!

Demeas—Oh, Lord! What is that for? . . .

Timon—Well, here is another for you . . .

Demeas—Oh! oh! my back!

and to Thrasycles, who bargains for a scripful of his treasure:

Instead of a mere scripful, pray take a whole headful of clouts, standard measure by the spade.

Moreover, there are, I believe, still closer parallels in situation. If the field-motive comes from *Piers Plowman*, one might reasonably expect to find little points of agreement. And this I think to be the case, although such likenesses do not occur in the same order in the poem and in the play.

1. Piers tells the people who wish him to act as guide to St. Treuthe that he has a half-acre to till before he can go with them;¹ Nought asks of Mankynde "How many acres suppose 3e here, by estymacyon?"² The very fact that the question comes at the end of Nought's taunting speech when it could have been turned into a pretty bit of satire, confirms the feeling that the idea has simply been transferred without thought from the earlier poem.

Thras.—Land of liberty, equality, legality! protect me against this ruffian!

Timon.—What is your grievance, my good man? is the measure short? Here is a pint or two extra then, to put it right.

The similarity of incident, though obvious and most interesting, does not for a moment warrant the conclusion that *Mankind* was under the influence of *Timon*: the parallelism between the two lies only in the fact that the spade is used as a foil against the Vice Idleness, as in *Timon* it is the foil against Poverty and Ingratitude, and the weapon by which the heroes get the better of their tormentors—taunting on the one hand, cringeing on the other. Had there been any direct influence, there would, I think, have been some appearance of the numerous allegorical figures, spoken of as actual persons (Wisdom, Endurance, Hunger, Courage, Folly, Arrogance, Deceit, Toil), although Poverty is the only one with a speaking part. If the author did know the dialogue, he probably merely remembered what a good bit of stage business the spade produced, and made no further use of it than to let it weigh somewhat in recasting the *Piers Plowman* episode on his own lines.

¹ *Piers the Plowman*, A VII, l. 4.

² *Mankind*, l. 353.

2. Piers makes his testament in which he reviews his worldly state; Mankynde, before beginning his labours, writes also on a paper *his* worldly state.

Her wyll I sytt, & tytyll in his papyr
The incomparable astat of my promycyon,

.

The gloryuse remembrance of my nobyll condycyon

.

*Memento, homo, quod cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris*¹

3. Moreover, although Mankynde does not begin his "testament" with an invocation as does Piers "In dei nomine amen,"² he does begin his tilling "in nomine Patris, & Filii & Spiritus Sancti."³

4. Again, the "waystours" and "faytours" bargain with Piers for his harvest, offering him bribes and finally declaring,

Wiltow or neltow . we wil haue owre wille,
Of thi flowre and thi flesche . fecche whan us liketh,
And make vs murie ther-myde . maugre thi chekes!⁴

Now-a-days says to Mankynde,

¹ *Mankind* ll. 308 ff.

² *Piers the Plowman*, A vii, l. 79, B vi, l. 88. Note that at A vii, l. 59 Piers Plowman says "I wol souwen hit [bred-corn] myself . and seththen with ou wende," and at line 79 "*In dei nomine, amen* . I make hit [his testament] mi-seluen." Now Mankynde, when he takes up his spade, says, "Thys erth, with my spade, I xall assay to delffe; To eschew ydullness, I do yt myn own selffe." (ll. 321-322), lines that strongly recall Piers Plowman's. Of course the first instance cited may be caused by the exigencies of alliterative verse, but the recurrence of the words so close together makes them almost a catch phrase, which might unconsciously re-appear in the writing of the later author.

³ *Mankind*, l. 537.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, B vi, ll. 158-160, cf. A vii, ll. 144-146.

We xall bargin with yow, & noþer moke nor scorne;
 Take a goode carte in harwest, & lode yt with yowur corne,
 Ande what xall we gyf yow for þe levyng? ¹

What, indeed, but the same scorn as the wastours?

5. Piers wishes to sow a bushel of bread-corn ere going on his pilgrimage; Mankynde goes away to fetch corn for his land, and presently returns with it.

6. And, lastly, Pier's evident disgust when the priest reads his pardon to him is quite comparable, I think, to Mankynde's when he finds that his spade will not turn up the earth in which Tytivillus has hidden the board. I have already given a few of the lines ² describing these scenes, but it will be necessary to quote more fully, in order to make the similarity apparent. After reading the pardon,

"Peter!" quod the preost tho · "I con no pardoun fynde,
 Bote 'dowel, and haue wel · and god schal haue thi soule,
 And do vuel, and haue vuel · hope thou non othur,
 That aftur thi deth-day · to helle schaltou wende!'"
 And Pers, for puire teone · pollede hit a-sonder,
 And siththe he seide to hem · these semely sawis,

*"Si ambulauero in medio vmbre mortis, non timebo mala,
 quoniam tu mecum es.*

I schal sese of my sowynge," quod Pers, · "and swynke not
 so harde,

Ne aboute my lyflode · so bisy beo no more!
 Of preyere and of penaunce · my plouh schal ben heraftur,
 And bi-loure that I beo-louh · er my lyf fayle."³

Compare now Mankynde's actions when he also meets with disappointment.

¹ *Mankind*, ll. 358-60.

² See above, p. 342.

³ *Piers Plowman* A viii, ll. 96-105, cf. B vii, ll. 112-120.

Thys londe ys so harde, yt maketh wn-lusty & yrke;
I xall sow my corn at wyntur & lett Gode werke.

I se well, by tyllunge, lytyll xall I wyn.
Here I gyf wppe my spade, for now & for ever
To occupye my body, I wyll not put me in deuer;
I wyll here my ewynsonge here or I dysseuer:
Thys place I assygne as for my kyrke;
Here, in my kerke, I knell on my knees:
"Pater noster, qui es in celis."¹

Both the men show anger and disappointment, both apparently decide to let prayers take the place of more active efforts to make a living in the future and "lett God werke."

It has already been said² that the general characteristics evinced by the *dramatis personae* of *Piers Plowman* reappear, to a certain extent, in the *dramatis personae* of the play. One is tempted, in the case of Mercy, to work out the relation more closely, for he seems to embody the teaching of Piers and of his confederate Hunger, a peculiar combination, no doubt, but one that works well as we find it. The chief difference between Mercy and Piers lies in the fact that the one is an active participant in affairs, guiding the plough, hiring men of all sorts and conditions, acting as judge in deciding who shall be worthy of hire at the harvest; the other is the giver of wise counsel. As in the case of the other changes noted in *Mankind*, this again is due to the necessities of dramatization. Mankynde, the neutral figure, had to appropriate to himself the crucial thing in *Piers Plowman*, but he could not actually change places with Piers. For the latter

¹ *Mankind*, ll. 538 ff.

² See above, p. 340.

is most assuredly the spiritual agent of the poem, sent to help and teach the people, just as Mercy is the spiritual adviser in the play, sent to direct Mankynde, if possible. He is fashioned on the lines of Piers himself, as far as that was practicable and moreover combines also the teaching of Hunger the counsellor. From the beginning he advocates labour and moderation as the only real means of salvation. There is no line for line similarity that I can confidently set down, but the sentiments expressed are close enough to suggest direct influence, and in two instances at least, the connection can hardly be disputed. Piers advises the women seeking counsel in these words:

Summe schul souwe sakkes · for schedyng of whete,
 And ȝe wyues that habbeth wolle · worcheth hit faste,
 Spinneth it spedily · spareth noght ȝour fynGRES,
 Bote ȝif hit be haly day · or elles holy euen."¹

Again he says:

For hose helpeth me to heren · or eny thing to swynken,
 He schal haue, beo vr lord · the more huyre in heruest,

 And alle kunnes craftus men · that cunne lyuen with treuthe,
 I schal fynden hem heore fode · that feithfuliche lyuen."²

And again,

Treuthe schall techen ow · his teeme for to dryue,
 Bothe to sowen and to setten · and sauē his tilthe,
 Gaste crowen from his corn · and kepen his beestes,
 Or ȝe schulle ete barly bred · and of the brok drynke³

Here it is only the active life that is to have its reward.

¹ A VII, ll. 9-12, cf. B VI, ll. 9 ff.

² A VII, ll. 60 ff., cf. B VI, ll. 67 ff.

³ *Piers Plowman*, A VII, ll. 127 ff. Cf. B VI, ll. 136 ff.

Similarly in *Mankind*, New-Gyse and his followers are in disgrace with Mercy because they are "onthryfty gestis,"¹ "They haue grett ease; þer-for þei wyll take no thought,"² and "þei be wanton now, but þen xall þei be sade";³ and Mankynde is to spend his time well and "serue Gode with hertis affyance"⁴ "to do truly [his] labure & þe neuer ydyll."⁵ This theme afterwards is worked out by action rather than expounded in more words.

The discussions of "Measure," or moderation, introduced into speeches of Mercy show even closer resemblance. Piers says that food for "aneres and hermytes"

Ones at noon is i-nouȝ · that no werk ne vseth,
He abydeth wel the bet · that bommeth not to ofte,⁶

and Hunger's receipt for keeping away mischief is:

ich hote the, . . . and thou thin hele wylne,
That thou drynke no dai · til thou haue dynet sumwhat;
Ete not, ich hote the · til hunger the take,
And sende the sum of his sauce · to sauer the the betere;
Keep sum til soper tyme : and sit thou not to longe,
A-rys vp ar appetyt · habbe i-ȝeten his fulle.
Let not sir Surfet · sitten at thi bord.⁷

Compare now Mercy's advice to Mankynde as regards moderation:

Dystempure not yowur brayn with goode ale nor with wyn.
"Mesure ys tresure"; y for-byde yow not þe use.
Mesure yowur sylf euer; be-ware of excesse!

¹ *Mankind*, l. 158.

² *Ibid.*, l. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, l. 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 228.

⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 301.

⁶ *Piers Plowman*, A VII, ll. 138-39.

⁷ *Piers Plowman*, A VII, ll. 246 ff.; cf. B VI, ll. 261 ff.

þe superfluouse gyse, I wyll þat ȝe refuse;
When nature ys suffysyde, a-non þat ȝe sese.¹

Then follows a specific instance to prove that "measure ys trespure":

Yf a man haue an hors, & kepe hym not to hye,
He may then reull hym at hys own dysyere;
Yf he be fede ouer well, he wyll dysobey,
Ande in happe cast his master in þe myre.²

words which recall somewhat the horse passage in *The Owl and the Nightingale*.³ Surely they would be more appropriate in the mouth of one of the comic characters, but that Mercy should utter them as a solemn *exemplum* only vouches for the author's originality in treating what with him has almost ceased to be the old conventional figure, and suggests that he had the character of such an one as Hunger in mind.

Finally one other startling reëcho from *Piers Plowman* (pointed out to me by Dr. Brown) occurs in Mankynde as one of the main bits of action, taken over from Langland's remonstrances with Scripture for the inconsistent bestowal of future reward and punishments. He says:

Souteris and seweris · suche lewde lottis
Percen with a pater-noster · the paleis of heuene,
Withoute penaunce, at here partynge · in-to heighe blisse!
*Breuis oracio penetrat celum.*⁴

As Mankynde kneels down to pray after his futile efforts at tilling, Tytivillus comes on the scene with,—

¹ *Mankind*, ll. 229-233.

² *Mankind*, ll. 234 ff.

³ ll. 773-788.

⁴ *Piers Plowman*, A xi, ll. 301 ff.; B x ll. 460-461.

Qwyst! pesse! I xall go to hys ere, & tytyll þer-in.

"A schorte preyere thrylyth hewyn": of þi preyere blyn.¹

Whatever may be thought of the significance of some of these instances, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the plot of *Mankynd* depended for its central situation, its characters, its surroundings and general trend of thought on the greatest of English allegorical poems.

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¹ *Mankind*, ll. 550 ff.

XIII.—METIPSIMUS IN SPANISH AND FRENCH

This article will deal only with the phonology of the problem.¹ By a careful study of the Spanish and French forms I hope to establish the correct etymologies of the important forms and to show that we must suppose for Vulgar Latin a form *metipsimus* by the side of *metipsimus*. As I have said in my *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*,² the majority of the explanations previously given for the various forms in Spanish and French, are curious rather than scientific. Gaston Paris (*Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, § 18), Cornu (*Rom.* XIII, 289) and Menéndez Pidal (*Gram. Hist.*,² § 66), however, seem to have come to believe in a long vowel for some of the forms and rightly so. As to the numerous attempts made by others, it is only necessary to say, that in so far as the Spanish and French forms are concerned, every explanation which the writer has seen is either a traditional error or a new one. Such explanations as those of Baist (*Grundriss*, I, 887, and *Krit. Jahrsb.*, I, 534), Cejador (*La Leng. de Cervantes*, I, 739), Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*,⁵ § 777), Ford (*Don Quixote*, 93), Pieri (*ZRPh.*, XXVII, 584) and others for the Spanish forms, and of Mussafia (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 112), Etzrodt (*Rom. Forsch.*, XXVII, 878), Harseim (*Boehmer Stud.*, IV, 287) and others for the French forms have little or no basis in fact and I need not refute them here.³

¹The semasiology of the problem needs no further discussion, see *ALLG*, III, 270, and Grandgent, *Vulg. Lat.*, § 66.

²*Révue de Dialectologie Romane*, I, 185. See also P. Barbier Fils, *Ibid.*, II, 496.

³In Spanish the traditional error has been to attempt to derive *mismo* from *mesmo*, starting with the Lat. *metipsimu*. My objections to such a procedure are based on the fact that of the Spanish forms *mismo* is as old

I now enter into the subject matter of my article.

I

THE HISPANIC FORMS

The important Hispanic¹ forms are the following :
meïsmo, *miismo*, *mismo* ; *meesmo*, *mesmo*.²

(a) *meïsmo*

This form seems to be the oldest strictly Spanish form, used in the XIIth century and perhaps already archaic by the XIIIth century when *mismo* is the prevailing form. The total number of cases of *meïsmo* known to me are the following : *Fuero de Avilés* (ed. Fernández-Guerra, 1865) 91, 106 (the exclusive form) ; *Fuero Juzgo* (variants, Escorial 3.) va, via, 91b (*y así otras veces.*) ; *Sto. Domingo de Silos* (ed. Fitz-Gerald, 1904) 78a. The last case establishes the form *meïsmo* with the accent on the *i* beyond doubt :

'Orava amenudo a Dios por si meïsmo
que el que era padre e luz de Christianysmo
guardasselo de yerro e de mortal sofismo,
por non perder el pacto que fizo al baptismo.'

if not older than *mesmo*, as I shall soon show. The archaic *meïsmo* and the other old Hispanic forms, such as Galician *meesmo* and *miismo* have not been known to those who have written about the etymology of the Spanish forms and left out of consideration, important as they are. In French there has also prevailed the error of attempting to derive (often by very ingenious but improbable phonetic processes) *misme* and even *meïsme* from *meesme*, but as a matter of fact *meïsme* is by far the prevailing form in old French and *medisme* is the oldest. The forms *misme*, *meïsme* have been usually avoided by the French etymologists.

¹ I do not include Catalan in my use of this word.

² The form *miesmo* used by Lope de Vega (see Pietsch, *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 57) is used for *mesmo* (false diphthongization) and deserves no consideration as an etymological form.

(b) *mismo*, *mesmo*

The prevailing form for the oldest Spanish period, i. e., XII–XIII centuries, is *mismo*, tho *mesmo* is also found. The following lists give a fairly accurate account of the forms in the more important texts:¹

XII–XIII centuries

<i>mismo</i>	<i>mesmo</i>
847 ' <i>Que bien pago a sus vassalos mismos!</i> ' (in assonance with <i>venido</i> , <i>ricos</i> , <i>mesquino</i> , <i>deliçio</i> .)	<i>P. del Cid</i> (Pidal)
114, 131.	<i>El Fuero de Oviedo</i> (Fernández-Guerra)
4b, 9b, 12b, 14a, 14b, 17b, 19a, 24b, 29a, 30b, 32b, 35a, 36b, 37b, 41a, 43a, 71b, 91b, 101b, 103b, 108a, 115b, 116a, 121a, 122b, etc., etc. ²	<i>El Fuero Juzgo</i> (Acad. ed., 1815)
3a6, 4b39, 5b16, 6a46, 9b12, 15a9, 17a42, 18a36, 23a3, 30b51, 36a34, 37a2, 44a31, 49b51, 61b6, 55a51, 62b29, etc., etc.	<i>Pr. Crónica Gen.</i> (Pidal, 1906)
124, 169, 174.	<i>Fuero de Brihuega</i> (J. Catalina García, 1887)

¹ In all cases I have limited my examples to the XII and XIII centuries. Some texts have not been examined in their entirety, but the cases of either *mesmo* or *mismo* have been carefully recorded as far as the text was examined. In the *Pr. Crónica Gen.*, for example, I have examined the first 200 pages, and only *mismo* occurs.

mismo

168, 178, 180, 182, 183,
187, 189, 200, 201, 203,
207, 228, 234, 241, 243,
244, 248, 252, 261, 265,
etc., etc.

13, 18, 19.

595, 596, 598, 612,
617, 622, 625.

34, 41, 56, 77, 78.

5, 10, 11, 41, 64, 77, 81,
116, 116, 118, 120,
121, 140, 144, 152,
156, 164, 192, 198,
206, 256, 273, etc.

1a, 2b, 3a, 4b, 6a, 6b,
7a, 7b, 9b, 11b, 13a,
13b, 15a, 16b, 17b, 18a,
20a, 23a, 24a, 25a, 28b,
31a, 32a, 32b, 34b, 37b,
39a, 40a, 42a, 45b, 46a,
50b, etc., etc.

10, 12, 22, 26, 28, 29,
33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41,
57, 61, 66, 85, 87, 102,
106, 127, 132, 153, 155,
156, 168, 172, 175, 178,
180, 181, 190, 193, 198,
199, 200, 201, 209, 212,
227, 233, 236, 237, 238,
240, 242, 246, 252, etc.,
etc.

*Chartes de l'Abbaye de
Silos*
(ed. Férotin)

*Documents des Archives
de la chambre des
comptes de Navarre*
(ed. J. A. Brutaills,
1890)

*Historia del real monas-
terio de Sahagún, etc.*
(Romualdo Esca-
lona, 1732)

Fuero de Sepúlveda
(Feliciano Calle-
jas, 1857)

Memorial Hist. Esp.,
Vol. I,
(ed. Acad. Esp.,
1851)

*Lapidario del Rey Al-
fonso X, Códice original*
(ed. Acad. Esp.,
1881)

*La Estoria de los Quatro
Dotores de la Santa
Eglesia*
(Lauchert, 1897)

mesmo

27, 33; 34, 41, 42, 53,
140, 156, 211, 217.

11, 42, 44, 117, 149.

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
23 (in ryme with <i>vautismo, cristianismo, paganismo</i>), 110, 119, 373, 443, 449, 585, 586, 587.	<i>Fernán Gonzales</i> (Marden)	342, 431, 655.
80d, 206d, 264c, 266a, 301c, 595d, 520b, 663b, 711d, 838b, 963b, 1000d, 1021c (in assonance with <i>destendido, entremetido, rremanido</i>), 1099d, 1206a, 1216b, 1328c, 1394d, 1549d, 1627d, 1689b, 1760d, 1791d, 1826d, 1877c, 1998c, 2013d, etc.	<i>Alizandre</i> (Morel-Fatio)	1177 (in assonance with <i>bafas? cabeças, espesas.</i>)
54a, 109d, 206a, 210b, 211a, 340a, 428d, 449a, 631a.	<i>Libre de Apollonio</i> (Janer)	
1439.	<i>Santa María Egípeiaqua</i> (Barcelona, 1907)	
111c, 227b, 307c, 330a, 334a, 344b, 369d, 394c, 404a, 407a, 484c, 672a, 681b, 706a, 775a.	<i>São Domingo de Silos</i> ¹ (Fitz-Gerald; all other texts from Janer)	221d, 571a.
192d, 233d, 306a, 659c, 694d, 707a, 741d, 751a, 760d, 783d, 842c, 898a.	<i>Milagros</i>	
3b, 182b, 189b, 208d.	<i>Sacrifício</i>	
22d, 55d, 138a, 145a, 258c, 269b, 301a, 313d, 344b, 414a, 444b, 486d.	<i>San Millán</i>	
47c, 110c, 144a.	<i>Loores</i>	66b, 184b, 211d, 216c.

¹ In all cases I use *mismo* for *mismo, misma, mismos, mismas*, and likewise *mesmo* for *mesmo, mesma*, etc. In *mismo* for Berceo I also include *misme* which he uses very frequently for either gender, e. g., *San Millán* 22d, 145a, 258c, 313d, etc., etc. In the French forms, I use likewise the masculine sing. accus. for all cases, numbers, and genders.

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
27, 83, 110, 115, 118.	<i>Colección de Fueros Municipales</i> (Muñoz y Romero, 1847)	109, 110, 114, 115.
1b, 15b, 16a, 22b.	<i>La Gran Conquista de Ultramar</i> (ed. Gayangos, 1877) (First 75 pages) In the old Leonese texts only <i>mismo</i> is found. ¹	3a, 4b, 5b, 9b, 13b, 18b, 28b, 37a, 39b, 40a, 43b, 46a, 47a, 48b, 49a, 55a, 57b, 62a, 63a, 71b, 75b, etc.

During the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, therefore, the prevailing form is *mismo*. *Mesmo* is also frequent and an archaic *mëismo* is found.

From the middle of the XIVth century *mismo* gradually loses ground in favor of *mesmo* and by the XVth century *mesmo* is as common if not more so than *mismo*.

XIV-XV centuries

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
55c.	Juan Ruiz, <i>L. B. Amor</i> (Ducamin, 1901)	269c, 272c, 273d, 278d, 309c, 311c, 347d, 565c, etc.
3, 4, 12, 92, 114, 128, 136, 145, 148, 157, 196, 204, 209, 237, 239, 252, 256, etc.	<i>El Conde Lucanor</i> (Knust, 1900)	159.
376 (in ryme with bautismo.)	<i>Tractado de la Doctrina</i> (Janer)	
119c, 811g (rymes <i>cisma, crisma</i>), 1493c, 1564b.	<i>Rimado de Palacio</i> (Janer)	535b, 565d, 896b, 1196b, 1246b 1334b, 1342d, 1527d.
619a.	Sem Tob, <i>Prov. Morales</i> (Janer)	71a, 71d, 72a, 173c, 621c, 655a.

¹ See Staff, *Étude sur l'ancien dialecte Léonais*, § 53.

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
231.	Martinez de Toledo, <i>Corvacho</i> (Madrid, 1901)	16, 17, 22, 32, 48, 52, 65, 70, 79, 182, 190, 198, 233, 234, 240, 245, 250, 251, 259, 290.
106, 129, 170, 206, 268, 292.	<i>Cancionero de Antón de Montoro</i> (Cotarelo y Mori, 1900)	32, 33.
48, 80, 93, 152, 185, 200, 211, 221.	Juan de Mena, <i>Obras</i> (Francisco Sanchez, 1804)	1, 23, 34.
102.	<i>Cancionero</i> de Gómez Manrique (Paz y Melia, 1885, Vol. I)	16, 18, 21, 22, 63, 77, 106, 112, 113, 214, 218, 223, 229, 237, etc., etc.
2, 29, 37, 39, 42, 43, 56, 64, 82, 95, 105, 138, 147, 150, 151, 157, 171, 187, 199, 203, etc., etc.	Pulgar, <i>Claros Varones de Castilla</i> (Madrid, 1789)	11, 67, 76, 91, 96, 107, 112, 115, 123, 129.
52, 60, 90, 180, 205.	<i>Cancionero Inédito de Juan Álvarez Gato</i> (Madrid, 1901)	119.
XVI century		
<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
222, 301, 313, 341, 345, 361, 350.	Juan del Encina, <i>Teatro Completo</i> (Madrid, 1893)	23, 37, 52, 98, 144, 162, 188, 209, 210, 213, 215, 218, 246 (ryme Lledesma).
9, 36, 44, 45, 63, 65, etc.	Lope de Rueda, <i>Obras</i> (Acad. Esp., 1908, Vol. I)	

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
3b, 9a, 10a, 10b, 13a, 13b, 18b, 25a, 30a, 41b, 54b, 55b, 56b, 66a, 67b, 71a, 78b, etc.	<i>Don Quixote</i> (Facsimile of ed. of 1605, Vol. I)	1b, 2a, 3a, 8b, 16b, 21b, 28b, 30b, 32b, 38a, 39b, 45b, 46b, 59b, 66a, 68a, 71b, 74b, etc.
10b, 11b, 18b, 26a, 33a, 39b, 54a, 172b.	Lope de Vega, <i>Arcadia Prosas y Versos</i> (ed. 1603)	6a, 6b, 10a, 11b, 15a, 17b, 18b, 22a, 25a, 42b, 44b, 45a, 47b, 52b, 53b, 60a, 62b, 72a, 77b, 78b, 85a, 88b, 92a, 100b, 106b, 110a, etc., etc.
7b, 48b, 49b, 58a, 74a, 89b.	Santa Teresa de Jesús, <i>Escritos</i> (Vol. II, Madrid, B. A. E., 1879)	1b, 2b, 9a, 12b, 13a, 15b, 38a, 39a, 41a, 42b, 44a, 47b, 54b, 56a, 60b, 61b, 84a, 88a, etc.
37 (rymes <i>barbarismo</i> , <i>abismo</i>), 54 (ryme <i>abismo</i>), 80, etc., etc.	Gaspar Mer- cader, <i>El Prado de Valencia</i> (Mérimée, Tou- louse, 1907)	
22, 24.	Fr. Luis de Gra- nada, <i>Obras</i> (Madrid, 1788, Vol. I)	19, 20, 25, 27, 33, 40, 44, 52, 125, 173, etc., etc.

From the middle of the xvth to the end of the xvth century the forms *mismo*, *mesmo* are used side by side in literature, the same author (e. g., Cervantes, Juan del Encina) using both forms with no decided preference for either. Generally, however, there seems to be a slight preference for *mesmo* thruout the xvth and xvth centuries, and even as late as 1626, this form is preferred by the grammarian Gonzalo Correas.¹

By the end of the xviii century, however, *mismo* had become the prevailing literary form, and from the beginning

¹ *Arte Grande de la Lengua Castellana* (ed. Viñaza) page 101. Fifty years before, César Oudin (*Tesoro de las lenguas Española y Francesa*, 1575, Vol. I, col. 667) gives for French *mesme* Spanish *mesmo* and *mismo*.

of the XVIIIth century it has been the exclusive form, while *mesmo* has been relegated to the dialects.

XVII century

<i>mismo</i>		<i>mesmo</i>
10, 19, 32, 39, 50, 56, 58, 63, etc., etc.	Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, <i>Obras</i> , Vol. III (Fernández- Guerra, 1907)	32, 42, 47.
420, 608, 663, 1191, 1244, 1497, 1557 (ryme <i>avismo</i>), 1628 (ryme <i>avismo</i>), 1740, 2304, 2557, 2824 (ryme <i>abis-</i> <i>mo</i>), 3075, 3178, etc.	Calderón, <i>El Mágico Prodigioso</i> (Morel-Fatio, 1877)	3676.

(c) *meesmo*, *miismo*

For Spanish, properly speaking, I have no examples of *meesmo* or *miismo*, tho it is likely that these forms also existed in the XIth and XIIth centuries by the side of *meismo*. At least a form *meesmo* must have existed, an old Hispanic form which as I shall show later, must be the source of *mesmo*. In old Portuguese, however, the old Hispanic *meesmo* is found, e. g., *Textes Portugais du XIVe siècle* (ed. Cornu, *Rom.*, XI, 356-390), 364, 366, 372, 379. This form gave regularly the modern Portuguese *mesmo*. In old Galician, I have not only found a form *meesmo*, but also a form *miismo*, used in the same text, evident proof that they are of independent development. Examples: *Fueros Municipales de Santiago* (ed. Antonio L. Ferreiro, 1895) (XIIIth century), *miismo*, 277, 279, 280, 356; *Crónica Troyana* (ed. M. R. Rodríguez, 1900) (XIVth century), *miismo*, I 120, 129, 148, II 53, 226; *meesmo*, *Ibid.*, I 93, 101, 294, 310, etc., II 19, 49, 114, 159, 169, 163, 178, 234, etc.

These two old Galician forms *miismo*, *meesmo* must be considered independent forms, the first another form of the old Spanish *meïsmo* and probably directly developed from it, while the second is the same as the old Portuguese form *meesmo* above mentioned, and which probably also existed in old Spanish. The double forms exist, as will be seen later, in Galician, Spanish, French and Provençal.

II

THE FRENCH FORMS

The important French forms are the following: *medisme*, *meïsme*, *meïme*, *misme*, *mime*; *medesme*, *meesme*, *mesme*, *meme*; *meisme*.¹

(a) *medisme*, *meïsme*, *meïme*: *medesme*, *meesme*

During the old French period (XI–XIII centuries) all these forms occur and also *misme*. By far the prevailing form is *meïsme*. It is safe to say that ninety per cent. of the total number of the various forms is *meïsme*. *Meesme* is not frequent. *Medisme* and *medesme* are both rare and found only in the XI–XII centuries.

A fairly complete history of these forms in the important works of the XI–XII centuries is the following:²

XI–XII centuries

medisme
24c, 57d, 87b 'A grant
duel met—la soue charn
medisme;' (Asson. pei-

La Vie de St. Alexis
(ed. Paris—Leo-
pold, 1887)

medesme

¹ I include such orthographies as *methisme*, *methime*, *methesme* in *medisme*, *medesme*. For several very rare and curious forms see (e) note.

² In all cases (except the prose texts, where *meïsme*, *meïme* are established for the old French period thru the evidence of the texts in verse), the forms can be controlled with certainty thru meter and assonance or ryme.

medisme

trine, enhadide, avoglide,
vedisse), 108d (Asson.
ledice, riches, bailide,
graciet), 123e (Asson.
servise, vide, replendide,
dire).

medesme

Libri Psalmorum, 83, 98, 128, 132, 134,
*Versio Antiqua Gallica*¹ 138, 139, 141, 162, 164,
(ed. Fr. Michel, 1860) 190, 206, 220, etc.

*Oxford Psalter*¹ 78 (13).
(ed. Meister, 1877)

XI-XII centuries

meïsme, meïme²

204 'Nuncierent vos cez
paroles meïsmes' (As-
son. fenie, müe, olive,
etc.), 592 'Altre bataille
lur livre de meïsme' (As-
son. ocire, dire, riches,
müe, vie, etc.), 1036,
1644 (Asson.), 2315,
2343, etc.

139 'Par le mien es-
ciento, —go est meïsmes
Deus!', 157, 560, 769.

203 'Del sien meïsme—
nos poons bien paier,'
371, 541, 1161, 2517.

16, 28, 76, 103, 117,
132, 133, 412, etc.;
meïme, 54, 98, 117,
220, 254, etc.

La Chanson de Roland
(ed. Stengel, 1900)

Karls des Grossen
Reise, etc.
(ed. Koschwitz,
1883)

Couronnement Loois
(ed. Langlois,
1883)

Les Quatre Livres des
Rois
(ed. Le Roux De
Lincy, 1841)

meesme

¹ In these texts *meesme* and *meïsme* also occur, see *meesme*, *meïsme*.

² The fall of s began in the XIIIth century, see (b). The cases of *meïme* will be so indicated in each text, the form *meïsme* is otherwise the form cited.

<i>meïsme, meïme</i>		<i>meesme</i>
33, 43.	<i>Libri Psalmorum, Versio Antiqua Gallica</i> (<i>op. cit.</i>)	97, 156 (see also <i>me-desme.</i>)
4 (9), 34 (9).	<i>Oxford Psalter</i> (<i>op. cit.</i>)	33 (3), 61 (9), etc.
1969, 3665, 8369, 9638.	Wace, <i>Roman de Rou</i> (ed. Andresen, 1879)	
497, 665, 5954, 6148, 7267, 9932, etc.	<i>Le Roman de Thèbes</i> (ed. Constans, 1890)	
3435, 3612, 15300, 15124, 17531, etc.	Benoit, <i>Roman de Troie</i> (ed. Constans, 1904-1907)	
1552 (Asson. <i>vie, mie</i> , etc.); <i>meïme</i> 321 (Asson. <i>sozterraine</i> , etc.), 335 (Asson.), 585, etc.	<i>Orson de Bauvais</i> (ed. G. Paris, 1899)	
1539, 2139; <i>meïme</i> 610, 692, 1553, 2962, etc.	<i>Les Narbonnais</i> (ed. Suchier, 1898)	
5, 6, 13, 15, 20, 24, 27, 34, 38, 41, 43, 46, 52, 55, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75, etc., etc.	<i>Li Dialogue Gregoire Lo Pape</i> (ed. Foerster, 1876)	
236 'Que Deus meïsmes dît : ' 2110, 2526. [Cf. also <i>neïs</i> 97, 997].	Philippe de Thaun, <i>Bestiaire</i> (ed. Walberg, 1900)	
480, 2083, 2100 (Ryme <i>Judaïsme</i>), 2475, 2779 (Ryme <i>abïsme</i>).	Guillaume Le Clerc, <i>Bestiaire</i> (ed. Reinsch, 1892)	
670, 792, 2312, 4011, 4756, 5509, 6054, 7186, 7279 (Asson. <i>ire, vive</i> , <i>sire</i> , etc.), 7546, 8087, etc.	<i>Raoul de Cambrai</i> (ed. Meyer-Longnon, 1882)	2792 ('Ton cors mees- mes se aisement an ai').
3641, <i>meïme</i> 599 (Ryme <i>dimes</i>).	Bérout, <i>Le Roman de Tristan</i> (ed. Muret, 1903)	

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <i>meïsme, meïme</i> | | <i>meesme</i> |
| 1904, 1954, 1965, 4143
(Ryme <i>disme</i>), 7224. | <i>L'Escoufle</i>
(ed. Michelant-Meyer, 1894) | 1764 'Or oiés que cel jor
<i>meesme</i> ' (Ryme <i>bautesme</i>), 3999 (Ryme
<i>acesme</i>), 6941. |
| 383, 391, 807, 1895,
1994, 2013, 3427 (As-
son. <i>sarrassine, vie, mie,</i>
etc.), 3681, 3704, 4836,
etc. | <i>Le Moniage Guillaume</i>
(ed. Cloetta, 1906) | |
| 1027, 1142, 3526. | <i>La Vie de St. Gilles</i>
(ed. Paris-Bos,
1881) | |
| | <i>Li Romans de Carité et
Miserere</i> (ed. Van
Hamel, 1885) | |
| XXXI 8, CLXXXVI 8
(Rymes <i>saintisme, cis-</i>
<i>me, sisme</i>). | 1. <i>Carité</i> | |
| CCLXIII 11. | 2. <i>Miserere</i> | CCXVII 1 (Rymes <i>cres-</i>
<i>me, batesme, achesme</i>). |
| 5, 11, 58. | <i>La Vision de Tondale</i>
(ed. Friedel-
K. Meyer, (1907) | |
| 159, 1364, 1596, 1873,
2428, 2717, 4424, 7420,
7512, 7565, etc. | <i>Aliscans</i>
(ed. Hartnacke-
Rasch-Wienbeck,
1903) | |
| 928, 1790. | <i>Eneas</i>
(ed. Jacques S.
de Grave, 1891) | 2423 (Ryme <i>esme</i>). |
| 5210, 5230. | <i>Roman de la Rose où de
Guillaume de Dole</i>
(ed. Servois, 1893) | 578 (Ryme <i>ferme</i>), 958
(Ryme <i>acesme</i>), 5211. |
| 51, 437, 752, 1804,
2149 (Ryme <i>hautisme</i>),
4085 (Ryme <i>saintis-</i>
<i>mes</i>), 5035 (Ryme <i>sain-</i>
<i>tisme</i>). | <i>Robert le Diable</i>
(ed. Löseth, 1903) | 3422 (Ryme <i>esme</i>). |

*meïsme, meïme**meesme*

Chretien de
Troyes
(ed. Foerster)
Yvain (1891)

1777, 2790 (Ryme
abisme), 2792, 4746,
5379, etc.

341, 394, 414, 709, *Erec und Enide* (1896)
1137 (Ryme *veïmes*),
1258, etc.

3, 15, 43, 56, 57, 62, Marie de France,
72, 73, 79, 85, 94, 114, *Lais*
125, etc., etc. (ed. Warnke, 1900)
(References are made
to page)
cases in Ryme cf. Fa-
bles 53 (54), *meïsme* :
prisme).

Gautier d'Arras
(ed. Löseth, 1890)

1839, 2288, 2958, 3533
(Ryme *lime*), 4993,
5996, etc.

Eracle

1197, 1792.

Ille et Galeron

Thus it is seen that *medesme*, *meesme* are rare during the old French of the XI–XII centuries, while *meïsme* (*medisme* in the *Alexis*) is the regular and most common form. During the XIIIth century, the forms *meïsme*, *meïme* are practically the only forms used. *Misme*, *mime*, *mesme*, *meme*, which are found also in old French, will be treated later.

XIII century

meïsme, meïme

meïme,¹ 304, 342, 379,
656.

Vie de St. Auban
(ed. Atkinson,
1876)

32 (all), 136 (Boul),
3749 (2 M. S.)

Enfances Vivien,
4 M. S. S.
(ed. Wohlund-
Feilitzen, 1895)

¹In this text the form is *meïmes* for all cases and genders. *Mismes* is likewise used in St. Bernard, and *meïsmes* in the *Aymeri de Narbonne*.

- meisme, meime*
 995, 3619, 4805, 5589. *Hervis von Metz*
 (ed. Stengel, 1903)
- 287, 2291, *meime* 962, *Florence de Rome*
 3833, 6400. (ed. Wallens-
 köld,)
- 2464 (Asson. *prises*, *Aiol*
vile, riches, etc.), 4789, (ed. Norman-
 3665, 6558, 8874, 10922 Raynaud, 1877)
 (Asson. *marie, escrient*,
conquise, etc.).
- 540, 1498, 1558, 4190, *Li Chevaliers as deus*
 5903, 7186, 7822, 9454, *Espes*
 9795. (ed. Foerster,
 1877)
- 21 (Ryme *redeisme*), Rustebuef's
 29, 36, 46, 146, 236, *Gedichte* (ed. Kress-
 270, 287. ner, 1885)
 (References are to
 page)
- II 997 (M. S. N, *mees-* *Le Roman de Renart*
me), IX 439, IX 622, (ed. Martin, 1882-
 XI 1936, XIV 175, XVI 1887)
 1475, etc., etc.
- 1861, 4196, 4819, 5809 *L'Estoire de la Guerre*
 (Ryme *paenisme*), 7069 *Sainte*
 (Ryme *primes*), 8847 (ed. Paris, 1897)
 (Ryme *deimes*). *Mei-*
mes 3021, 4935, 10026,
 10808, 12088, 12231,
 etc.
- 349, 723, 2177, 3041, *Aymeri de Narbonne*
 3800. (ed. Demaison,
 1887)
- 1320, 2542. (Asson. *La Mort Aymeri de*
fie, guinples, ravine, *Narbonne*
 etc.), 2798. (ed. J. C. du Parc,
 1884)
- 695 (10) [M. S. Arse- *Alexandre Le Grand*
 nal], 789 [M. S. Bibl. (ed. P. Meyer, 1886)
 Imp.], 1219 (12),
 1251.

meïsme, meïme

meesme [M. S. de
Venice] 268.
meesme 9543, 10008.

Huon aus Auvergne
(ed. Stengel, 1908)

72, 358, 509, 2813, 2972, 3183. *Adenet de Rois,*
Berte aus grans piés
(ed. Scheler, 1874)

6, 9. *Aucassin et Nicolette*
(ed. Suchier, 1903)

7, 20, 61, 67, 97, 112, 146, 154, 194, etc. *Li Hystore de Julius*
Cesar
(ed. Settegast,
1881)

44, 46, 102, 104, 220, etc., etc. *Villehardouin, Con-*
quête de Constantinople
(ed. de Wailly,
1874)

(b) *misme, mime, mesme, meme*

All these forms are found in the old French period. We have already observed in (a) how *meïsme* and *meïme* are frequently found side by side, and the rymes, such as *meïsme*: *primes* (*L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* 7069), *meïsme*: *veïmes* (*Erec und Enide* 1138), etc., show that many a XIIth and XIIIth century *meïsme* was pronounced without the *s*. The *s* began to fall in the XIIth century and probably earlier and must have been very frequent in the XIIIth.

(1) The contracted forms *mime, misme* < *meïsme* < *medisme* (see III) occur very early:

L'Escoufle (op. cit.), *misme*, 'Sachiez qu'il mismes departist' 8742.

Les Enfances Vivien (op. cit.) M. S. de Boul, *misme* 2904.

Li Sermon St. Bernard (Foerster) *mismes*, 5, 7, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 42, 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, etc., etc. (The exclusive form.)

In literature I have found *misme* as late as the XIVth century, *Miracles Vol. II* (ed. Paris—Robert), xv 691 :

‘*Ay je mort mon enfant je mismes ?* (Ryme *hautismes*).

The orthography *mime* is found as early as the XIIIth century, e. g., *Fragment de Moralités sur Job* (in *Quatre Livres des Rois*, *op. cit.*), 441, 442, 449, 450, 460, 466, 468, 471, 472, etc.

(2) *Meme*, *mesme* < *meesme* < *medesme* (see III) are also found since the XIIIth century :

Simund de Freisne (ed. Matzke, 1909), *mesme*, S. G, 1693 ; *Le Livre des Psaumes* (Eadwin M. S. ed. Michel, 1876), *mesme*, 292. By the XIVth century *mesme* is very frequent. The orthography *meme* is also as old as the XIIIth century : *Simund de Freisne*, *R. Ph.*, 499 ‘*Ewe ad memes la manere ;*’ *La Vie de St. Edmund Le Rei* (ed. Ravenel, 1906), 3001, ‘*Par eles memes sunt sanées.*’¹

(c) The XIVth century forms.

By the beginning of the XIVth century an important new form appears derived from *meïsme* by the shift of the accent to the more sonorous vowel, *meïsme*.² The XIVth century

¹Several rare and obscure cases are found in old French. In the form *maïsmes* given by Godeffroy, *ai* may be *ei* or *e*, so that the difficulty may be only orthographical. On the other hand it can be phonetically derived from *MAXIME* with the adverbial *s* added. Of the other forms given by Godeffroy, I have no examples of *mieme*, *moiime*, *moime*, *moieme*. The *oi* forms may be due to progressive assimilation from *moi*, *mei meïsme* > *moi meïsmi* > *moi moïsme*, etc. On the other hand if the *eï* became monosyllabic early, the whole change may be regular, *ei* > *oi*. In the dialectic *mua* *muesme* (*Atlas Ling. de la France*, Carte 832.), we may have a continuation of either of these developments. The forms *maemmes* (*Orson de Beauvais*, *op. cit.*, 378), *meammes* (*Ibid.*, 1023) may also present difficulties which are merely orthographical.

²The form is as old as the XIIIth century, e. g., *Simund de Freisne* (*op. cit.*), *R. Ph.*, 1371 ‘*Seit de meïmes la manere*’ (7 syll.), but it is not frequent until the XIVth century.

forms are *meïsme* (which lives to the xvth century) and *meïsme*, *mesme*¹ (derived from *meesme* and both rare before the xivth century). In the texts in verse (and all cases can be controlled) the forms *meïsme*, *meïsme* are more frequent and in the prose texts *mesme* is perhaps the most frequent.

<i>meïsme</i> ¹	<i>meïsme</i>		<i>mesme</i>
vi 27.	i 344, ii 374, iii 196, iv 12, 106, 336, v 48, 313.	<i>Miracles de Nostre Dame</i> (Paris-Robert) (Ref. are to Vol. and page) <i>Lothringischer Psalter</i> (ed. Apfelstedt, 1881)	i 239, iii 61, 192, 268, iv, 915, 107, 164, 202, 236, 353, v 39, vi 61, 145, 155.
	[The form <i>meïsme</i> which is very frequent, e. g., 1, 12, 34, 64, 67, 74, may be <i>meïsme</i> or <i>meïsme</i> . The work is in prose.]		86.
	1303, 6446.	<i>Chronique Métrique de Godeffroy de Paris</i> (ed. Buchon, 1827)	
i 427, iv 471, x 647, xvi 419, etc.		<i>Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourg</i> (ed. Valenciennes, 1841)	
<i>meïsme</i>	<i>meïsme</i>		<i>mesme</i>
J. R. N, 1066, 2601, 3636, 3714, 3719.	J. R. N, 389.	Guillaume de Machot, <i>Oeuvres</i> (ed. Hoepffenger, 1908), Vol. i	

¹The fall of *s* may have been general in all these forms, tho the orthography preserves it to the xviiith century.

<i>meisme</i>	<i>meisme</i>	<i>mesme</i>
499, 8647 (Ryme onsimes), 12435 (Ryme venismes).		Froissart, Meliador (ed. Longnon, 1895-1899)
4547, 7856.	5142.	<i>Le Roman de la</i> 4382. <i>Dame a la Ly-</i> <i>corne</i> , etc. (ed. Genn- rich, 1908) <i>Oeuvres Completes</i> <i>de Eustache</i> <i>Deschamps</i> (ed. Raynaud, 1891-1894)
	183, 187.	Vol. VII (pages) 197, 278. Vol. VIII (pages) 190.
	361.	Vol. IX (<i>Miroir</i> <i>de Mariage</i>) 4895, 4897, 5381, 7902, 8271, 8525, 8648. Nicole Bo- 25, 57, 66, 70, zon, <i>Contes Mo-</i> 81, 102, etc., etc. <i>ralisés</i> (Smith- Meyer, 1879) (Prose)
<i>Ch. L. Est</i> , 1045, 4659 (Ryme vin- tisme).	I 13, II 10, 42, 68, 108, 296, 298, III 54, 71, 100. <i>Ch. L. Est</i> , 439, 609, 1335, 1651, ¹ 2849, 2966, 4599, 4675, 4728, 4875, 5335.	Christine de III 24, 41, 92, Pisan, 134, 140. <i>Oeuvres Poétiques</i> (ed. M. Roy, 1886-1908)

Thus we see that both *meisme* and *meisme* last till the xvth century. In the xvth century a new and important phenomenon takes place. The form *meisme* < *meisme*, with

1

"Que de celle matiere *meisme*
Selon que soubtilleté aime."

The *ei* probably represents here a close *e*. The *s* also is silent, see p. 371.

its diphthongal *ei* or probably a close and long *e*, falls together in sound with *mesme* (with a close and long *e* also, partially due to the fall of *s*) < *meesme*. Christine de Pisan, as we have seen, uses *meisme*: *aime*, just as Bernard de Menthon uses *meisme*: *desme* (Henri Chatelain, *Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1908, page 27). *Meisme*, therefore, came to be pronounced exactly like *mesme*, since Ronsard (see below) also has such rymes as *mesme*: *aime*. When the two forms came to have the same pronunciation, only one orthography was necessary, hence *mesme* became the regular literary form after the xvth century.¹

(d) Since the xvth century.

By the middle of the xvth century the regular literary form in French is *mesme* and this is the modern *même*. *Mesme* is the exclusive form in Guillaume Alexis (ed. Piaget-Picot); *Pierre Pathelin* (ed. Fournier, 1872); François Villon (ed. Von Würzbach, 1903); Clement Marot (ed. Scheuring, 1870) who rymes *mesme*: *bleme*, II 88; Marguerite de Navarre (ed. Lefranc, 1896); Ronsard (ed. Blanchemain, 1852) who rymes *mesme*: *aime* (see above); etc., etc.

In the dialects, however, the old French *misme* still lives. In the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (op. cit.), I notice the following forms: *mīm* in Lorraine (cf. St. Bernard *mismes*), Haut-Savoy; *mīme* in Saone, Loire; *mīmū* in Suisse, Fribourg.

We have in French the double development just as in Spanish, but in Spanish the *i* form became the literary preference and the *e* form was relegated to the dialects, while

¹ The fall of *s* was by this time probably general, see (b) and the rymes cited in (c) and (d).

in French exactly the opposite is the case. Portuguese, also, seems to have preferred the *e* form from the beginning.¹

III

RESUMÉ AND CONCLUSIONS

The history of the Spanish and French forms as supported by our materials, is the following: ²

Century		Spanish	French
XI			{ <u>medisme</u> <u>meïsme</u>
XII			{ medesme, meesme <u>meïsme</u> , meïme
	Leonese <i>mismo</i>	{ <u>meïsimo</u> <u>mismo</u> mesmo	
XIII	Portuguese { <i>meesmo</i> <i>mesmo</i>		{ <u>meïsme</u> <u>meïme</u> misme
XIV	Galician { <i>meesmo</i> , <i>mesmo</i> <i>miïsimo</i> , <i>mismo</i>	{ mismo mesmo	{ <u>meïsme</u> <u>meïsme</u> mesme
XV			{ <u>mesme</u> <u>meïsme</u> , <u>meïsme</u> (both very rare)
XVI		{ <u>mesmo</u> <u>mismo</u>	{ mesme
XXVII		{ <u>miïsimo</u> <u>mesmo</u>	
XVIII-XX		{ mismo	{ <u>même</u>

¹I have no complete data for Provençal but in the old language the double development is found just as in Spanish, Galician and French. There are found *mezis*, *medips*, *meïme*, *meïpme* and *mezes*, *medes*, *medesme*, *meesme*, *meepme*, etc., see Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wörterbuch*, s. v.

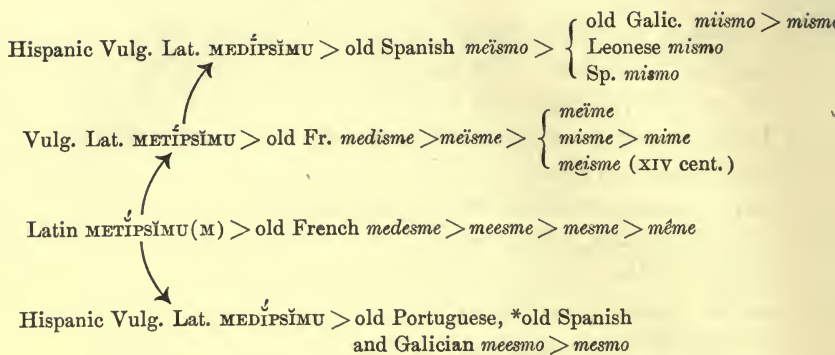
²I include in this resumé all the important forms. The general lists give an account of all the forms. The prevailing form is underscored.

Mismo, therefore, cannot be derived from *mesmo*, nor *mesme* from *mēisme*. We have to do, in my opinion, with two words of independent origin and development, which as I have shown lived side by side in the literary language for six centuries in Spanish and five in French. The Spanish forms *mēismo*, *mismo* must be placed with the old French *medisme*, *mēisme*, *mēime*, *misme*, old Galician *miismo*, Leonese *mismo*, while *mesmo* belongs with old French *medesme*, *meesme*, *mesme* (now *même*), old Portuguese *meesmo*, *mesmb*. For the first forms we must suppose a Vulgar Latin form with a long *i*, while the last are regularly developed from the form with the short *i*.

For all the Hispanic forms we must also believe in a prefix *med-* instead of the regular *met-*. The *t* was probably treated as final and became *d* in Spain, a change otherwise very frequent in Vulgar Latin.¹ Why the *t* in this prefix should remain *t* in Gallic Latin and change to *d* in the Latin of Spain is not clear, but there is evidence which seems to show that this is actually the case, e. g., '*per semed ipsum*' (Pribsch, *Altsp. Gl. ZRPh.*, XIX, 8), but in Gallic Latin, '*quid sint de semet ipsis*' (*Dialogue Gregoire Lo pape*, (Foerster, 1876), 87), '*vel per memetipsum dedici*' (*Ibid.*, 7), '*apud semetipsos habuerunt*' (*Ibid.*, 27), etc.

The following, I believe, is the etymological history of the Spanish and French forms :

¹ See Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, I, 118-122, Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 123.



AURELIO M. ESPINOSA.

XIV.—THE HARMONIZING OF GRAMMATICAL NOMENCLATURE, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO MOOD-SYNTAX

FIRST ARTICLE

It probably does not often happen that a worker in Latin and Greek addresses a body of workers in the modern languages, or the converse.¹ But there is nothing unnatural in such a proceeding, and it ought indeed to be a common thing. We of the classics and you of the modern languages have the same convictions to maintain in the scheme of education,—first the conviction of the charm and civilizing power of great literature, and, second, the conviction of the interest and educational efficiency of literary-historical and linguistic science. The difference between us is purely one of chronology. We proceed by identical methods. We cultivate the same great field, and our respective holdings in that field overlap. We are natural friends, if either party has a friend. Our interests, in their large and final bearings, are identical. Classical studies cannot really flourish in a university in which they are looked upon with hostility by the teachers of modern languages. But neither will the study of modern languages, beyond the strictly vocational ideal, flourish permanently in any atmosphere in which, for any reason, classical studies are asphyxiated.

¹The opportunity to do this was given me at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in New York, December, 1910.

By an error, the last sentence of the first paragraph was assigned in the *New York Evening Post* of Jan. 5 to the Hon. Edwin M. Shepard, who spoke to the same effect, but with the greater authority of an unprejudiced man of affairs, on the evening following.

The matter which I have to discuss today touches our common interests on the scientific side. It has to do with the teaching of syntax. Its importance, accordingly, is not only theoretical, but practical; for the study of syntax necessarily plays a large part in the early stages of the learning of any language.

For the young student, and often for the teacher, the name given to a construction in the grammar which he uses determines largely his conception of that construction and his feeling for it. It is therefore of consequence that the name of each construction should be as exact a description as possible of its force. The man who frames a working name that is a more perfect description of the force of a given construction than any existing before is not only making the construction more intelligible to the student, but is also providing a more practical tool for daily class-room work. We must never say that intelligence can go no farther, and that grammatical terminology is now fixed for all time. But, on the other hand, the same impulse which leads individual grammarians to suggest new names may well lead us occasionally to take counsel together and see if, among names suggested, or that may be suggested, we cannot find one upon which we may agree. In this way we might at least clear the field for a fresh start, with a better chance thereafter of concentration of attention upon such terms as may still prove unsatisfactory.

The present state of affairs, at any rate, is bad. In the desire for betterment, we have reached a multiplicity of terms, even for grammatical relations about the nature of which there is no difference of opinion,—e. g., the con-

structions which every one will recognize under the names predicate noun or adjective, direct and indirect object, predicate object. For each of these there are many names in our English grammars of today; and indeed so great a variation of terminology has nowhere else come into existence as in the grammar of our mother tongue. The result is confusing to the student as he changes books in passing from year to year, or perhaps from school to school. It is confusing even to the teacher, since he often has to deal with a number of students trained to a different terminology from that of the rest of the class, or even to change his own terminology as one publishing house after another gets the upper hand in the struggle for the sale of books.¹

¹It may here be added that a French Committee of Fifteen began work upon the nomenclature of French grammar in 1906, making reports in 1907 and 1909 (discussed by M. Félix Weill in the *Bull. Officiel de la Société Nationale des Professeurs Français en Amérique*, May, 1910). The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Gaston Doumergue, published an Arrêté July 25, 1910, and an official *Nouvelle Nomenclature Grammaticale* September 28. An English Joint Committee upon Grammatical Terminology, appointed in Oct., 1908, reported in 1910 upon a terminology for English, German, French, Latin, and Greek. I gave a paper on *Conflicting Terminology for Identical Conceptions in the Grammar of Indo-European Languages* at the Christmas meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1909, and another in the same week before the American Philological Association (the latter printed in abstract in Vol. 40 of the *Proceedings*). These two papers dwelt upon the root of the matter, doubtless felt, but not spoken of, by the writers of the English Report, namely the large amount of common *inheritance* in the languages of our family. I also offered a paper entitled *The Waste Involved in the Use of a Conflicting Terminology in School Grammars of Various Languages*, for the meeting of the Superintendence Section of the National Education Association in February, 1910, but too late to have room found for it upon the programme. In May, 1910,

The principle of naming ought to be simple. A grammatical term should be as exact a description as possible of the essential idea conveyed.

The first part of this statement is a requirement, the second a limitation. The description must be exact. Final satisfaction is not to be obtained by inexactness agreed upon. *Sometime, somebody* will not agree. But, on the other hand, whatever goes beyond the strictly essential goes too far. Let me illustrate these two points.

If an exact name is given to each construction, then such constructions as possesses something in common will be found to show that common something in their names, while the differences among them will also appear in corresponding differences in the names. If either side is lacking, one or another of these names is imperfect, if not all. Thus, in "he is king" and "he is good," the relation of the last words to the rest is the same. If, then, the former is called, as in some English grammars, an "attributive complement," then the latter must be likewise called an "attributive complement," since it is also both attributive and complementary. So it is in fact called in a number of grammars. But the names fail, on the other hand, to bring out the *difference* between the two. To accomplish this, we should have to say "attributive complementary noun," and "attributive complementary adject-

Professor Dörr, of Frankfurt a. M., read a paper on *Vereinfachung der grammatischen Terminologie* at the XIV. Tagung des allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologen-Verbandes in Zürich (published in the Bericht, 1911, Carl Meyer, Hannover). In June, 1910, Professor C. R. Rounds, of the State Normal School in Whitewater, Wis., published in the Educational Review a paper on *The Varying Systems of Nomenclature in Use in our Texts in English Grammar*. There thus appears to be a wide-spread sense of the need of reform.

tive." But even this would still leave out what is the most important feature of the construction, namely that the noun or the adjective forms a part of that which is predicated. It is, to be sure, complementary, but it is complementary in the *predicative* way. We must then add to each the word "predicative" or "predicate," and so get the heavy names "predicative attributive complementary noun" and "predicative attributive complementary adjective." Obviously this will not do at all. It is exact, but it goes beyond what is essential. It is true that the noun and the adjective have in this construction a common function, namely that both are attributive. But this is a fact which should be pointed out elsewhere, and at a relatively advanced stage, not in the working name. It is also true that whatever is predicative is necessarily complementary, since it fills out an incomplete idea. But the same reasoning would make it necessary to call every direct object an "object complement" or "objective complement," as, indeed, some grammars do call it. We must then subtract the two words with which we began,—“attribute” and “complement,”—as not essential. This leaves us the short but practically sufficient names “predicate noun” and “predicate adjective,”—names which exhibit at once the point of similarity and the point of difference between the two functions. They have also the merit of being as simple as the facts allow. And, finally, they have the advantage of being already familiar.

In the terms criticized, the fault lay in an unnecessary building up of the amount of implication covered by the name, to the exclusion of vital characteristics.

It may be feared that exactness of terminology will lead to an increase in the number of terms used. The

opposite is true. An illustration may be given from Latin. Some of our grammars have the terms "genitive or ablative of quality," "descriptive adjective," "relative clause of characteristic," and "descriptive *cum*-clause of situation," the last being taken from my own writings. But the relative clause which is in mind very often expresses, not a permanent characteristic, but a purely temporary condition, like "worn-out," "unable to bear arms," etc. The two kinds stand to each other the adjectives *magnanimus*, "high-minded," and *fessus*, "tired." Both of these *describe*; and "descriptive" is therefore the proper word by which to express their office. But, again, the genitive or ablative of the construction under examination likewise describes. *Magni animi* means the same thing as *magnanimus*. Then we should say "descriptive genitive or ablative." In consequence we should have the terms "descriptive adjective," "descriptive genitive or ablative," "descriptive relative clause," and "descriptive *cum*-clause of situation." By using these thoroughly simple names, which go just far enough and not too far, we shall be using one word where before we were using four,—at the same time bringing out, instead of missing, the point of essential similarity. Bennett, in his recent *Syntax of Early Latin*, has helped towards this simplification by adopting my name "descriptive" for the relative clause, instead of the earlier "clause of characteristic," which had been generally adopted in this country from Greenough's terminology, and has been passing of late into grammars of the Romance languages.

So much, briefly, to illustrate differences existing within grammars of the same language, and where there is essential agreement about the nature of the construc-

tions. Of course a similar trouble is likely to exist where a student passes from one language to another. For the predicate, for the direct object, etc., etc., he may have to give different names as he passes from English to French, or from French to Latin, or vice versa. This is certainly not what is coming to be known in business as "scientific management." It involves great waste. We ought so to arrange our work that the definition for a given relation learned by the student in his first grammar shall serve him for that same relation to the end, no matter how many languages he takes up.

Since the first grammar studied in English-speaking countries is that of our own tongue, it follows that, for us, the basis for the terminology of all that is common to the languages studied in our schools should be the terminology of English grammar. In general, whatever is the best description for a given construction in English will be the best description for the same construction in any language. But it may occasionally happen that, for English, either of two terms would be satisfactory, while one would be distinctly better than the other for French, German, etc. In that case, the term of wider applicability should be chosen for English. In other words, in any movement toward improvement, the terminology of English grammar ought to be studied with a view to usefulness for other languages also. It is also desirable that, ultimately, the nomenclature of different nationalities should, for identical phenomena, correspond. It would be better, e. g., that a more advanced student who passes from an English grammar of French to a French grammar of French should find corresponding, not different, terms. And indeed a resolution looking to the appointment of an international committee to bring

about an international grammatical terminology has already been passed in Paris, April, 1909, by the Congrès International de la Société des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes.

We have been speaking of constructions about the nature of which there is essential agreement of opinion. But one also encounters differences of a much more perplexing kind,—differences of conception, as well as of name. This occurs on the largest scale in the treatment of the moods. My own interest lies no more in this field than in that of the cases, or of the general relations of the sentence. But I want to present today, not merely criticism, but a definite body of suggestion, and I shall accordingly attack this, the most difficult of all the fields, and the one in which our work is at present most unsatisfactory. It plays a relatively small part in the study of English, and perhaps only the more advanced manuals should go beyond a mere statement of the forces of the English auxiliaries, and of the fact that the subjunctive is also familiarly used, with forces corresponding to two of them. But it plays a larger part in the treatment of German, and a distinctly large one in the treatment of French, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek.

Now some of the French grammars, for example, make the idea of dependency to be the ultimate ground of the mood for all French subjunctives, others the idea of uncertainty, others the idea of subjectivity, others the idea of conception, others the idea of non-reality, and so on; while still others combine these ideas in various mixtures. A change of the grammar used for a given language is therefore likely to demand a fundamental change of conception.

The case is still worse as the student passes from one

language to another. The prevailing conception is that each language has its own individual syntax. Thus a well-known book upon the French subjunctive says, "The Latin subjunctive . . . affords no real clew to the actual use of the French. On the contrary, reference to it merely confuses the student." And, again, "First, let it be understood that the French subjunctive mood bears little resemblance to the moods in German and English which are called by the same name." If this is true, let me say in passing, I have been very much at fault, for I have often told my students that the best way to get a sound feeling for the mass of Latin subjunctive uses was to read French, Shakespeare, and the English Bible.

The teaching of the schools naturally conforms to the prevailing attitude of the grammars. Thus for the subjunctive after words meaning "before" or "until," as seen in "Here will I stand till Cæsar pass along," said by Artemidorus in the throng in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, 2, 3, 11, one of my children has had to learn three different explanations for three languages, which he is studying in the same school. For Latin, using the Hale-Buck Grammar, he learned that the subjunctive after words meaning "before" or "until" expresses *anticipation*, *expectation*,—a mere looking forward to an act as coming. In his Greek book, he learned that the subjunctive is used after words meaning "before" or "until" because the reference is to the future, and all future time is indefinite, and the mood of indefiniteness is the subjunctive. In his scheme for French, he learned that the French subjunctive expresses dependency, and that the ultimate reason for its use after words meaning "before" or "until" is that the clauses are dependent.

If he had been studying German at the same time, he would probably have learned that the subjunctive, when used after words meaning "before" or "until," expresses thought as against reality. And if he had gone on to the study of English syntax, he might have learned, in an English text-book republished and used in this country, that the subjunctive in "till Cæsar pass along" was used because the idea to be expressed was that of subjective assertion. Here are five different explanations, which would have to be given in five different rooms, perhaps in one corridor, for the subjunctive after the idea "before" or "until,"—anticipation, indefiniteness, dependency, thought, subjective assertion. I am a seasoned student of language; but I confess that my memory would be strained in having to produce these different explanations, each in its appropriate room. I am much afraid that I might produce the German explanation in the French room, or the English explanation in the Latin room. Further than this, I should give my explanations, even if I could memorize them, in a half-hearted way. For I remember that, even for any of these languages taken by itself, different grammars give different explanations, so that what is true for the French subjunctive in the Chicago schools, but not for the German, might, in the New York schools, be false for the French subjunctive, but true for the German, etc., etc.

We may sum up the situation by saying that, for constructions corresponding in form, and apparently identical in force, different explanations have to be given as the student passes from one class-room to another. The results are that every additional language learned adds to his confusion, and that the whole matter of syntax

comes to seem to him to be arbitrary, unreal, unimportant, and uninteresting. As our young people pass from one natural science to another, the sense of harmony and law grows. As they pass from one language to another, this sense, if it anywhere succeeds in springing up, is destroyed,—unless, indeed, the teacher pays no attention to syntax.

If, now, it be true that each language has its individual syntax, there is nothing for us but resignation. A forced uniformity, through the adoption of some traditional scheme for some one of these languages, and the application of that scheme to all the others, is not to be thought of.

And yet, in spite of the great diversities now existing in our grammars, this is precisely the method that has been employed in the last hundred years by the vast majority of grammarians in the treatment of the moods. Each grammarian has adopted, for the grammar of the language which he was expounding, a scheme which had been made originally for the *Greek* moods. This scheme goes back ultimately to Gottfried Hermann's application of Kant's Categories of Modality to the Greek verb, with the inclusion of two inherited errors, and one sound inherited observation of a single force which happens to tally with one of Kant's categories.

The inherited errors are, 1. that the subjunctive is always dependent (which error is due solely to the fact that the Greeks named the mood from its commonest employment, and not, as they did the other moods, from some one of its forces), and 2, that any apparently independent subjunctive may be explained by "ellipsis" as dependent. The sound inherited observation is that the Greek optative sometimes has potential force.

The categories from Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781, are Reality, Possibility, and Necessity. Hermann, *De Emendanda Ratione Grammaticae Graecae*, 1801, had to put four moods into these three categories, besides providing also for Kant's Subjectivity and Objectivity. Two moods must go together. Hermann therefore assigned the optative and subjunctive to Possibility, making the former express Subjective Possibility, *possibilitas cogitata*, possibility as *thought*, the latter Objective Possibility, *possibilitas per ipsarum rerum condicionem*, possibility depending upon the nature of things. To Necessity, he assigned the imperative, making it the mood of Subjective Necessity, while Objective Necessity was assigned to the verbal in -τέος. To Reality he assigned the indicative. The subjunctive he made to be always dependent, by the doctrine of ellipsis. Thus ἴωμεν, "let us go," he explained as from ἄγε, ἵνα ἴωμεν, "come, in order that we may go."

A succession of writers upon Greek grammar, especially Matthiae, 1807-8, Dissen, 1808, and Thiersch, 1812, worked the system into different shapes by the twisting of one or another phrase. Then one worker after another applied one or another of these schemes for Greek grammar to the grammar of the language which he was writing about, as Zumpt did to Latin, Jakob Grimm to German, Mätzner to French and English, and so on. This is the source of the common explanation of the subjunctive as the mood of dependency, the mood of conditionality, the mood of possibility, the mood of doubt or uncertainty, the mood of thought, the mood of subjectivity, the mood of something conceived in the mind of the speaker ("Vorstellung" in the German grammars of the various

languages),¹ the mood of "Nichtwirklichkeit,"² and the like.³ I have shown this in an address entitled *A Century of Metaphysical Syntax*, given before the Congress of the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, and printed in Volume III of the Proceedings, and in an address entitled *The Heritage of Unreason in Syntactical Method*, given before the Classical Association of England in 1907, and printed in Volume V of its Proceedings,—to which, in default of space, I must refer for details, and which I would beg any one who is interested in mood-syntax to read. But I hasten to say also that schemes of this sort are often mixed with sound psychological observations,⁴ and that in some of our grammars we have the psychological observations alone. Still, I nowhere find what is to me a satisfactory arrangement either for science or for teaching, namely a grouping of the mass of constructions under a relatively small number of leading forces, and an arrangement of such a kind as to exhibit the relation

¹ So in Hanssen's *Spanische Grammatik*, 1910.

² So in Haas's *Neufrauzösische Syntax*, 1909.

³ "Contingency" as an explanation of the subjunctive fits in with "conditionality," but historically has come down from an earlier scheme, based similarly on metaphysics, namely the notions of Possibility, Contingency, and Necessity in Wolff's *Ontology*. Thus Meiner, in his *Philosophische und allgemeine Sprachlehre*, 1781, makes the indicative express Necessity, the subjunctive Possibility and Contingency. Note how differently the indicative fares at the hands of Wolffian and Kantian grammarians.—In point of fact, Hermann misunderstood what Kant meant by subjective and objective, and by necessity. By necessity, Kant meant that which always and inevitably *is*, while by objective he meant that which lies beyond our impressions, forever inaccessible to us.

⁴ Thus Thiersch, 1812, recognized the two forces of Will and Futurity in the Homeric verb. Delbrück, 1871, made these the bases of his treatment of the subjunctive in his *Conjunctiv und Optativ im Sanskrit und Griechischen*.

of dependent uses to the independent uses out of which they have sprung.

The instinct which led to the application of schemes for Greek syntax to the syntax of other languages may have been, and in my opinion was, a sound one at bottom. These languages, it was then already beginning to be known, are descended from a common parent speech. They must, at their earliest stages, have inherited the same syntax. It is conceivable, though hardly probable, that they should never have changed at all. But it is also conceivable that they should have changed completely. The question cannot be begged for either side. The way to settle it is to study each of these languages by itself, and also to study each in the light of the whole, and thus to judge how far the phenomena are the same, and how far they are different. The way is *not* to adopt a scheme for one language and then apply it to the others. Least of all is it sound procedure to frame the initial scheme by forcing the mood-constructions of the language treated into the mould of an *a priori* metaphysical system, even if it were sure that this was not a passing system. In a word, what is wanted is wholly independent and open-minded observation, and observation on a large scale. We demand such a method and such openness of mind on the part of workers in natural science. They should be not one whit less demanded of us. We deal with one of the most beautiful of all the sciences, the means of expression of human thought. It deserves to have our best powers brought to bear upon it.

The task is a large one. It is evident that it is impossible, within the limits of two articles, to set forth a complete system, for the seven languages which I

have in mind, with complete proof at every point. I can only give a brief sketch at the leading points, together with a general summary of my proposals, which must be placed at the end of the second article.

I am also hampered by the certainty that, while many will agree at once with my main point of view, either as already theirs or as at once to be accepted, others will be reluctant. The method of exposition must therefore be a patient one, which shall take no step for granted; and it will call for similar patience on the part of the reader.

Let us begin with the examination of some of the facts in some one language, and then pass to other languages.

In considering English we are likely to be met with the common idea that the subjunctive¹ is obsolete, or nearly obsolete, in that tongue. This is not the case. The subjunctive is less used than it was in Shakespeare's time, or the time of the translators of the King James Bible. We have a right, of course, as well as duty, to include this English, since it is read in the schools. But even in the literature and colloquial English of today, one is constantly encountering subjunctives. Some are deeply embedded in popular speech, like "come" in "she will be twenty come Christmas," or "be" in "be that as it may." Others are met with frequently in the literary English style, as in Tennyson, Longfellow, Stevenson, and the magazine writers generally. Others are in habitual use in our daily papers and in our daily speech. If your students have a class-meeting, and some

¹ For convenience, I use the better-known name "subjunctive" for English and German, and not the name "optative."

one wants a class-badge, he says, "I propose that a class-badge be adopted," or "I propose that the class adopt a badge." "Be adopted" and "adopt" are subjunctives. The English subjunctive (except in the verb "be") shows itself to the eye or ear only in the passive, or the third person singular of the active. But the mood used is of course equally subjunctive in corresponding clauses in other persons, as in "I propose that we adopt a badge." To illustrate the freedom of the usage, I quote from a number of daily papers.

"Demand by — that — quit;" "insists that senator retire from contest . . .;" "I demand that — surrender his seat," *Chic. Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1910; "all urging that there be no diminishing of effort on the Bulletin's part," *Providence Eve. Bulletin*, Dec. 27, 1910; "I recommend that the coal deposits of the government be leased after advertisement," "Message of President Taft, *Chic. Rec.-Her.*, Dec. 7, 1910; "the sentence of the court is that you be fined \$25.00 and serve six months in the workhouse at Cincinnati," *Boston Post*, Jan. 2, 1911.

In these examples the indicative cannot be used. But there is another form that can be used, namely the auxiliary "shall," as in "I propose that this class shall adopt a badge," or "President Taft insists that Senators shall recognize the obligation resting upon them to decide the — case upon its merits," *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1911 (compare "insists that . . . retire," above). English possesses a number of such auxiliaries. Let us look at others.

"Congratulations to the University of Minnesota. . . . The new man is a decided acquisition and has a most promising future. He should enjoy many years of fruitful work, should make an excellent guide and leader. . . . It is hard for Chicago to lose him, but Chicago should be generous in the thought that its loss is Minnesota's gain. *Chic. Rec.-Her.*, Dec. 14, 1910.

The last "should" expresses moral obligation. The first "should" clearly expresses, not moral obligation, but an *obligation in the nature of things* or, as we might call it, *natural likelihood*. This is a very common use.

"Taft may attack the tariff on wool," *Chic. Trib.*, Nov. 21, 1910; "were he alive now there can be no doubt that he would use yesterday's horror as a grim argument," *ibid.*

Here "may" expresses possibility, while "would" expresses, not possibility, but *certainly* in the imagined case,—or, as we may call it, *ideal certainty*.

Evidently, then, our English auxiliaries are to be studied in any study of the subjunctive, and the exact meanings are to be determined. We might, indeed, very well start our whole study of mood-ideas with them. But there is a certain advantage also in taking them up one at a time, in connection with the forces which we find in other languages. We will accordingly begin with a foreign language which has the subjunctive in large use. Let this be French.

We find at once an apparently large number of forces. Now we are not to look, as metaphysical syntax does, for some one force so abstract, so nearly emptied of meaning, as to cover all of these. We know nothing analogous to such a relation of meanings anywhere else in language. Consider what has happened in the case of the meaning of *words*. For many of them, we find two, three, four, or more meanings. We do not look for some one meaning present in all of these, and thus accounting for them. If, e. g., we travel to Rome in a palace car, and the next day visit the Palatine,—the ancient Palatium,—we remember, if we stop to think, that the word "palace" has come from the word

"palatium," and that the Romans also used "palatium" in the sense of palace. The word meant originally something like "the grazers' hill." We do not for a moment suppose that there is some one meaning common to the idea of a palace and the idea of a grazers' hill, and that this is the reason why the same word is used for both. We know that some special *association*,—in this case a chance one, namely the later erection of splendid buildings upon the once humble grazers' hill,—brought about the new meaning. There are three stages in the process, which, to exhibit the principle of growth by itself, we may conveniently designate by algebraic representations. The first meaning was that of the grazers' hill. We may call this x . But there arose also, in consequence of the erections mentioned, the idea of the hill *with* its splendid buildings; that is, the idea of splendor, y , became associated with the word "palatium." We may call this stage $x + y$. Out of it came in time the meaning "splendid building" alone, or y . The process is thus one of association and subsequent detachment, x , $x + y$, y .

These are accidental associations. The cause may often lie deeper, and generally does. Thus the word "miserable," once meaning only "pitiable," "unfortunate," has come to have a new idea of "bad," through the apparently natural association of misfortune and moral degeneration. In consequence, the statement, "he is a miserable man" may today mean either "he is unfortunate" or "he is bad."

Of course, too, the new meaning y may in turn give rise to still a third one z , or a fourth one, and so on, by a similar process. Thus Latin *captivus*, "captive," has come in Italian (*cattivo*), French (*chétif*) and

English (*caitiff*) to mean "bad," "base," etc., doubtless through an intermediate stage in which it meant "miserable."

Now it is extremely unlikely that, while the words which we employ gain new meanings by association, cases and moods do not. The opposite is probable. It is altogether likely that the subjunctive, for instance, had in the beginning a single and fairly definite meaning, and gained new powers by association. The association might take place in the mind of the speaker as well as of the hearer; or it might take place in the mind of the hearer only, for whom, thereafter, the mood would possess the new power, in addition to the old one, or with the loss of that. For we copy expressions, using them with the force with which we have heard them, when we do not ourselves know how they originate. Thus I suppose the modern familiar exclamation "gee!" has come from the fuller form "Jesus!" (compare German "Herr Je!"). The delicately nurtured modern girl, brought up in a Christian home, may say "gee!" in all innocence, while she would be shocked if she heard her brother say "Jesus!"

We are, then, to endeavor to find the force of the subjunctive in this or that concrete example, going ultimately through the whole gamut. The result will be a certain number of constructions, which will probably be reducible to a much smaller number of families, that is, applications of a given force to a number of uses. The forces seen in these families will constitute the leading forces of the mood. So much being accomplished, it is possible that we may then be able, by detecting natural associations of meaning here and there, to determine the probable ways in which these various leading forces came to attach

themselves successively to a mood which originally had but a single force. We shall then have reached a rational and satisfactory understanding of the whole, a mood-*system*. This, it should be clearly marked, is an entirely different conception from that of a single force underlying every use. The conception which I oppose is metaphysical. The one which I advocate is biological and evolutionary. Let me say also that the system which I propose is not a "logical" one, but a psychological one. Language is now logical, now not logical; but it is always psychological, i. e., a matter of the actual behavior of the human mind. Our ideas of what this psychology is are to be determined from a study of the actual operations of the mind, as seen in recorded speech. Syntax is an observational science.

Before we take up the subjunctive, we may get helpful points of view by noting the uses of the imperative. Happily, it is generally admitted that the imperative has the same forces in all the languages which we are considering.

The imperative varies through all shades of energy, from a peremptory order to request, entreaty, prayer, and, on the corresponding other side, to consent, acquiescence, indifference.

The imperative is also employed frequently, not with the force of a true command, but with a purely imaginative force. Thus it is used in concessions of indifference, as in, "let it be as you say: still . . . ;" in assumptions (conditions) as in Shakespeare, *J. C.* 3, 1, 103, "grant that, and then is death a benefit"; and in provisos, as in, "only try, you will find people to help you." This imaginative use of the imperative is perfectly familiar to us in mathematics, as in "let $x =$

the number of bushels of wheat," "let a perpendicular be dropped upon the base," etc.

We are ready now for our attack. But what will be the nature of the evidence which we may be able to find for determining the force of the subjunctive in a given instance? The leading evidence (I do not here cover the whole ground) may be of a single kind, or, in addition, of either of two other kinds.

1. The force must be recognized by interpretation. *The force in a given place is the one naturally demanded by the passage itself.* All syntactical work must rest ultimately on this basis, and not on the basis of inherited categories supposed to be permissible.

2. The force of a mood may also be indicated at times by its approximate equivalency with another mood, as shown by alternation between the two under fixed conditions.

3. Specific additional evidence is at times afforded by the coupling of the subjunctive with another expression the force of which cannot be doubted.

As we read or hear French, a common usage is that of command or prohibition (negative command) in the third person, as in *qu'il vienne*, *qu'il ne vienne pas*, "let him come," "let him not come." Obviously the mood here expresses what the speaker wants done, or does not want done. This is evidence of the first kind.

But, for commands or prohibitions, the subjunctive alternates with the imperative, according to the person,—imperative in the second, and subjunctive in the third; while in certain irregular verbs, we also see the subjunctive form in the first plural. Thus we say *viens*, "come," in the second person, but, *qu'il vienne* in the third, and *soyons braves*, or *ayons du courage*, in the first plural.

This is evidence of the second kind. We see, then, that the French subjunctive, whatever other forces it may possess, possesses one that lies very close at least to that of the imperative. We might call this roughly the imperative subjunctive; but, since it is convenient to have a distinctive name, I have called it the volitive subjunctive (making the word from *volo*, "I want (something);" and the term has already passed into considerable use, in Europe¹ as well as in America.

The recognition of the existence of this force at once explains a large number of dependent clauses, as after *vouloir* (in *je veux qu'il vienne*, "I want him to come,") and after verbs of *commanding*, *demanding*, *requiring*, *urging*, *proposing*, etc.

We can also, having seen the imperative used, with purely imaginative force, in the expression of concession, condition, proviso, etc., readily believe that its mate the volitive subjunctive would have the same power, and can thus explain large classes of examples, as in *qu'il vienne, verra*, "let him come, he will see." (I postpone the consideration of the origin of this use of the conjunction *que*, and also the question whether any other mood-force may likewise have contributed to these particular uses).

Leaving French for the moment, let us make an entirely fresh start in Italian, as if we were beginning our whole study here. We find, by precisely the same evidence, the same force in the subjunctive. It alternates with the imperative in the expression of commands, positive and negative. In the same way, too, the volitive

¹ As by Delbrück, and occasionally by Brugmann. The latter, however, ordinarily uses the word "voluntative," adopted by him in his *Greek Grammar*, 1885.

power, once recognized, gives us immediately a successful key to a mass of dependent clauses after verbs of *commanding, demanding, requiring, urging, proposing, etc.* The constructions correspond in detail. Thus the Italian for "I want him to come," *voglio che egli venga*, looks precisely like *je veux qu'il vienne*.

Or, again, we may make a fresh start with Spanish. The evidence is the same, the conclusion is the same, and the details correspond. In the Spanish for "I want him to come," *quiero que él venga*, the word "I want" has indeed changed, the descendant of Latin *quaero* having ousted Latin *volo*. But the dependent construction has obviously the same force that it has in *je veux qu'il vienne* and *voglio che egli venga*.

Now the agreement with one another which we have seen in French, Spanish, and Italian (it might be shown in the other Romance languages also) cannot be the result of sheer chance. Coincidence on such a scale would not fall short of miracle. The agreement must be due to origin in a common mother of them all. The volitive force of the subjunctive must have come down from that language. If we did not possess that language, we could still surely make the conclusion. But we do possess it, and can verify our inference. By the same kind of evidence as before, again applied independently, it can be shown that the Latin subjunctive has, among other powers, a volitive one. And the same power gives us, in the same way, an explanation of many details of dependent clauses exactly corresponding to those which we found in other languages, including the Roman way of saying, "I want him to come," namely *volo ut ille veniat*.

Now, if it be granted that a power found in all the Romance languages did not originate in each of them

independently, but has come down from Latin, an important conclusion follows, namely: no one has a right to speculate upon the origin and interrelations of French constructions on the basis of French alone, or of Spanish constructions on the basis of Spanish alone, or of Italian constructions on the basis of Italian alone. For, in so doing, one may easily take as his starting-point a construction or force which is of late origin, and explain by it something which was in existence before the assumed cause of it was. This is exactly what happens. Thus the book from which I quoted the caution that Latin affords no clew to the actual use of the French subjunctive derives the use in the expression of a wish and the expression of an order after verbs like *commander* from the use in the expression of feeling or sentiment, as after the phrases "je suis désolé," "je suis fâché," etc. These uses are common to the Romance languages. But Latin did not possess the latter construction in the form in which we find it in the Romance languages, while it did possess the former, and used it very abundantly. The older construction cannot be derived from the younger.

Again, in working from Romance alone, one may overlook the possibility that the particular construction of which one is trying to trace the origin may be the last survivor in a series of developments, and have no near relations living. Thus if you speculate, on Romance soil alone, upon the origin of the subjunctive clause after negatives, superlatives, and words meaning "first," "last," or "only," you have nothing real to go upon, and *must* go wrong. The construction is inherited from Latin. In Latin, then, is the origin to be found, if it is to be found at all. But do not misunderstand me. This, of course, is not the end of the matter. We have also

to consider the *disappearance* of the related constructions in Romance. And, further, it is always possible that a construction which exists in Latin should survive in Romance, but have come to have a different force from the one which it originally had. I am not advocating a mere mechanical tabulation of Romance constructions on the basis of even the best scheme for Latin. So far indeed from this, I believe that I discern in certain facts of Romance construction the decisive evidence with regard to the nature of certain Latin constructions which cannot surely be solved on evidence afforded by Latin alone. I hope, however, to have established the position that the investigator of Romance syntax must deal with Latin and Romance as a whole, and that a *Lateinisch-Romanischer Modus-Schatz* is just as reasonable a thing as a *Lateinisch-Romanischer Wort-Schatz*.

A second conclusion is implied in what has just been said. Where the Romance languages agree in a construction, but we are perhaps in doubt about its exact nature, and at the same time possess sure evidence about the nature of the Latin construction which it continues, we know, through Latin, the *original* nature, at any rate, of the Romance construction, and, in default of any evidence of change, are to interpret the Romance construction as possessing that nature. Use will be made of this principle presently.

But a larger and still more important conclusion also follows from the general argument from Romance and Latin. If you grant that the agreement which we have seen in the Romance languages is not due to a coincidence of accidents, but to a common descent from one mother, you have granted the whole position of comparative syntax. For you cannot stop here. It can be inde-

pendently shown, by the same kind of evidence, that the volitive power possessed by the subjunctive in Latin is possessed by the Germanic languages, by Greek, by Sanskrit, by Slavic, by Celtic, and so forth. Now if the existence of a given power in all the Romance languages proves that that power was inherited from their mother, Latin, then the existence of a given power in Latin, Germanic, Greek, Sanskrit, Slavic, Celtic, and so on, proves that this power was inherited from the common mother of them all,—the parent speech, spoken when the remote ancestors of all the peoples who have developed these various languages were still dwelling together, one people, with one language.

For each of these languages independently, as I have said, the existence of a volitive power of the subjunctive may be proved in the same way as for Latin and Romance. Thus in English a command in the second person is expressed by the imperative, while a command in the third is expressed at will by the subjunctive in older English, as in Shakespeare's "then every soldier kill his prisoners," *Hen. V*, 4, 7, 17, in modern literary English, as in Stevenson's "this be the verse they grave for me," from the *Requiem*, and occasionally in modern colloquial English, as in "everybody get into the yell," which I heard recently on the football field. The force, once recognized, gives us the explanation of dependent clauses such as were quoted above from the daily papers. We have noted, too, that the alternative mood-auxiliary for this force is "shall," and may therefore conveniently speak of *volitive shall*.

By this same kind of evidence the Greek subjunctive possesses the same power, and so on.

The ultimate conclusion for the Romance subjunctive

is, then, that it possesses a volitive power, *and that this power was inherited from the parent speech.*

Leaving the volitive subjunctive for the present, we pass to another group of constructions in Romance, namely subjunctives after words or phrases meaning "before" or "until," as *avant que, jusqu'à ce que, prima che, finchè, antes que, hasta que.* The natural interpretation is that the act is merely looked forward to, without any other mood feeling, as in "how long will that last? Until your hair shall be gray," *combien de temps durera-t-il? Jusqu'à ce que tes cheveux soient gris,* de Musset, *On ne badine pas avec l'Amour*, II, 4. The sole idea compatible with the context is that of *expectation, anticipation.* This, again, is the first method of proof, and should be enough, by itself alone, to show the existence of such a power. But, as it happens, we have fuller evidence in Latin for the use from which Romance has come down. In Latin, if the future act in such a clause is to be expressed as in a finished state, it is the future perfect *indicative*, not the corresponding tense of the *subjunctive*, that is used. Then the Latin subjunctive possesses a power which approximates to that of a future tense of the indicative, that is, a power of expressing something close to mere futurity.¹ We might call this

¹ The *future indicative* also occasionally occurs with *antequam* or *priusquam*, as in *si minus, non antequam necesse erit*, Cic. Att., 13, 48, 1. An occasional usage, however, while it may convey a sound hint, does not necessarily do so (as a fixed alternative does), since it may indicate a variant conception. But in Cato's *De Agricultura* there are four cases of the future indicative to ten of the subjunctive (I am relying on Keil's list, *ad* 134, 1, which purports to be complete); and this number constitutes so respectable a proportion as to point strongly toward the practical equivalency of the two constructions.

the near-future-indicative power. But, for the sake of brevity, I have called it an "anticipatory" power, or a "prospective" power. Professor Sonnenschein, who independently detected this power of the Latin subjunctive, and, like myself, taught it in his classes a number of years before publishing it,¹ prefers the word "prospective." So should I, so far as the word itself goes. It is a little shorter. But we also need an abstract noun to go with our adjective, and a verb. Now you can speak of the anticipatory subjunctive, of the idea of anticipation, and of an act as anticipated; but after saying prospective subjunctive, you cannot speak of the idea of a prospect, and of an act as prospected, because

¹ Professor Sonnenschein published in 1893, I in 1894. But my doctrine already clearly appears, though briefly touched upon, in my *Cum-Constructions*, Cornell University Studies in Class. Phil., I, 1887, p. 42 (p. 46 of the German translation). In dealing with *antequam veniat*, etc., I said that it was extremely probable that the construction was the same as that of the Greek "before" and "until" clauses, and that Delbrück's treatment of the latter (*Conf. u. Opt. im Sanskrit u. Griechischen*) was convincing. This, which was the first printed recognition of the existence of a Latin subjunctive of mere futurity, was before Rodenbusch's statement (not applied to these clauses, and mostly wrong in its details) in his dissertation *De Temporum Usu Plautino Quaestiones Selectae*, 1888, which I failed to know, and so to mention in the publications referred to above, because its title did not imply a treatment of the moods. I also, in my *Sequence of Tenses*, *American Journal of Philology*, used in 1887 the phrase "act in view" (which is like Sonnenschein's "act in prospect") in dealing with "before" and "until" subjunctive clauses in Latin, and, in April, 1888, in the same journal, the phrase "act looked forward to from a certain time," choosing them to be in accord with my theory of the origin of the constructions when I should expressly publish upon them. These are the phrases upon which I still especially rely. I speak thus of having anticipated Rodenbusch because I may have seemed to be using a suggestion of his without giving him credit.

the noun "prospect" and the verb "prospect" have gained special meanings. The English Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology, while it has adopted the adjective "prospective," preferred by its chairman, has nevertheless been obliged to adopt my noun "anticipation." It seems to me better to use corresponding words, *i. e.*, "anticipation" and "anticipatory." In practice it is found that students have no trouble at all with this latter word.

Let us now see clearly what we have done. We have, in brief, found evidence *in Latin* for the nature of a common Romance construction,—about which, to be sure, there should have been no doubt, but about which there *has* been doubt, and which no Romance grammar, so far as I know, classifies as I have classified it.¹ The evidence cannot be rejected, unless the force which appears in the Latin original can be shown not to fit the examples in Romance. But it fits admirably.

The Romance conjunctions for these constructions are interesting. *Avant que* and *antes que* are descendants of Latin *ante quam*. *Prima che* is a variation from *prius quam*. *Hasta que* is half Arabic. *Jusqu'à ce que* and *finchè* are, in the first half, new formations. But the force of the clause as a whole is not affected.

The so-called present subjunctive in these Latin-Romance clauses looks forward to the future from the present. The corresponding form, the imperfect subjunc-

¹ Some of the French grammars speak of "anteriority" as the force of the subjunctive in these constructions. But this, while good as far as it goes, is a recognition of the force of the conjunctions, not of the force of the mood. There is equal "anteriority" in the frequent *indicative* clause with *jusqu'à ce que*, expressing a past fact.

tive, expresses an act put as looked forward to from the past, *i. e.*, *past* anticipation. This is the key to a great number of subjunctive examples, in various kinds of clauses.

In French, the subjunctive is steadily used also in the expression of a past *fact* after *avant que*, and largely, though not always, of a past fact after *jusqu'à ce que*. This must be due to a process of levelling, which had begun already in classical Latin. In my *Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin: a Chapter of Comparative Syntax*, University of Chicago Press, 1894 (reprinted in *Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 1, 1895), I suggested that it came about through a confusion between prevision and fact in narration.¹ Thus the passage in Livy, 5, 33, 5, *ducentis quippe annis ante quam . . . Roman caperent*, may in his own mind have meant "two hundred years before the Gauls were to take Rome," *i. e.*, have expressed an historic anticipation (similar things are found in modern English, with "was to" or "should"). The result was ultimately a mere mood-habit, without mood-meaning, and the French construction remains at this point.

The anticipatory power of the subjunctive in Romance, once recognized, gives us the key to several fairly fixed constructions which would otherwise be puzzling. These are the use of the subjunctive after verbs of *expecting*, *hoping*, *doubting*, or *denying*, as in *je doute qu'il vienne*, *dudo que venga*, "I doubt that he will come." Elsewhere in Romance, the tense-meaning of the present subjunctive after verbs of opinion is that of the present. These sub-

¹This explanation is repeated by Hullihen, "*Antequam and Priusquam*," Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1903.

junctive uses exist in Latin, and cannot be explained in any other way than as anticipatory, since the alternative, and commoner, constructions in Latin are either the future infinitive, or, if the subjunctive is required, the periphrastic form with the future participle,—i. e., the mood *alone*, in the use under examination, carries the force of futurity which ordinarily is carried by an express future tense. Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, who does not give any real explanation of the idiom, says that *expecto ut* and *spero ut* are already to be found in Latin. But the word “already,” which implies that the construction is new in Latin, is wrong. The great probability is that the construction is a survival from an older one, of much more general use. The reason for this belief will appear in what follows.

The examples noted for Romance are all in subordinate clauses. So are they in classical Latin. Is this then a new power, which arose in ancient Italy, or a survival from an original freer use? We may get light on the question from other languages, if the general principle which we seem in the way to establish should be confirmed in other fields of subjunctive uses.

Classical Greek is in the same general condition as Latin. There is abundant use of the subjunctive after words meaning “before” or “until.” But when we go back to Homeric Greek, we find a considerable use also of the *independent* subjunctive, in the approximate sense of a future indicative. So do we, along with the dependent subjunctive of the same force, in Vedic Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Avestan.¹ But Greek does more for us than

¹ So do we, even as late as the fourth century, A. D., in the Gothic subjunctive (optative), as in Mark 10, 8, where the independent future indicative *ἔσονται*, “will be,” is translated by the independent optative *sijaina*.

any other language can, because of its possession of a modal particle, *ἄν* (in Homeric Greek, *ἄν* or *κε*), the use or non-use of which enables us to part the subjunctives into two masses.¹ In independent sentences in Homer, subjunctives expressing volition, namely exhortations and prohibitions, *never* have the particle, while subjunctives expressing anticipation may have it or not. The particle is thus like a little tag of ownership. The absence of it in a given example is no proof of the nature of that example; but its presence is proof that the force is anticipatory. This gives us a clew to the force in dependent clauses,—in which, for some reason which I have not satisfactory solved, the use or non-use of the particle is much more steady. The particle is constantly present in Homer in clauses with phrases meaning “until.” (Clauses with words meaning “before” are few in Homer, and demand individual discussion, which I have given in *The Anticipatory Subjunctive*. In Attic prose they always appear with the particle). For these Greek clauses, then, we not only have the evidence of the natural demand of the meaning, but also this visible external evidence in the shape of the modal tag. They are surely anticipatory. We are thus brought to the same result as for Latin and Romance. There is also an interesting coincidence of detail. The French phrase *jusqu’à ce que*, “until,” is

¹ We shall see in the second paper that the same particles enable us similarly to part the Greek optatives into two masses. Greek thus, when properly studied, practically distinguishes four moods for us, where Sanskrit, Old Persian and Avestan distinguish but two, and Latin, Germanic, etc., afford no distinction. Nowhere else, accordingly, can the behavior of the mind of any people in the building-up of its expression of mood-ideas be seen so clearly as in Greek. The fact makes Greek of paramount importance, on the side of the verb, to the student of comparative syntax.

formed precisely like the common Homeric *εἰς ὃ*, which is one of the introductory phrases used,—i. e., it is made up of a preposition and a relative. Through far separated in time and territory, the early Greek mind and the French mind worked in precisely the same way in reaching their mechanism for the expression of the idea of “until” with anticipation.

We have seen that early Sanskrit, and the languages of its immediate family, Old Persian and Avestan, have a very free use of the subjunctive of anticipation, both in independent and in subordinate clauses. They possess then the material out of which anticipatory “before” or “until” clauses might have grown; but they use instead a mechanism of another sort, without a verb.

English possesses an anticipatory use of the subjunctive in clauses with words or phrases meaning “before” or “until.” The use was common enough at an earlier time, as in “or ever the golden bowl be broken,” *Eccl.* 12, 6, “this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice, *Matth.* 26, 34, and is common enough today in poetry, as in “before this fire of sense decay,” A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*, XLIII. A key to the force, if one were needed, is given us by the alternative use of the auxiliary “shall,” as in “before it shall be too late,” “the lads you leave will mind you, | Till Ludlow tower shall fall,” Housman, III. Now we know what this *shall* means. It is still occasionally used in independent sentences by many writers (much employed by Eden Phillpotts, for example), and was once very common, as in the King James translation of the Bible. We may call *shall* so used the *anticipatory shall*. An extremely interesting parallelism between English and Greek is to be

with "before" or "until" as the mood of *Vorstellung*, i. e. of conception, as against reality. But, as I said in an unpublished paper at the St. Louis Exposition, and again before the *Versammlung Deutscher Professoren und Schulmänner* in Bâle in 1907 (abstract published in the Proceedings), this kind of explanation is an inheritance from metaphysical syntax, from which, though he holds the distinguished position of having been the first to apply psychological syntax to the moods on a large scale, I am forced to feel that Delbrück has not wholly freed himself.

Anglo-Saxon developed, for the past, a mood-habit with "before" like that of modern French. In *Beowulf*, 675, *gespræc þá se góða gylp-worda sum, Beowulf Geáta, ær he on bed stige*, the clause *ær . . . stige* may have meant "before climbing up on his bed" (before he should climb," cf. common clauses like *antequam in aciem educeret* in Latin), but could easily be taken to mean "before he climbed." The levelling is complete in such an example as "ic wæs ærþam þe Abraham wære," *John* 8, 58, "before Abraham was, I was" (similarly in the Gothic, *faurþizei Abraham waurþi, im ik*. The mood is not due to the Greek original, which has the infinitive). But English has restored again the distinction between an act looked forward to and an actual act looked back upon. Note again the working out of identical detached processes in two groups of languages that have no historical connection nearer than the ultimate one through the parent speech.

The "before" and "until" clauses looking forward to the future really have a very simple office, which they share with many other clauses, introduced by various

connectives, as "when," "who," "which," etc. These clauses tell *what* person, *what* thing, *what* time, etc., is meant. They fill out an incomplete pronoun or equivalent article, or themselves completely take the place of one. Examples are seen in "with the legion which he had with him," "God bless the man who first invented sleep," "that which you say," "the man that married Nausikaa." Such clauses are probably the commonest of all relative clauses. Yet they have been without a name, until I gave them one.¹ Since they fill out an incomplete pronoun, they should bear the same name that is given to the pronoun. For the pronoun, two names are in existence, demonstrative and determinative, some grammars using one, others the other. The word demonstrative, "pointing," is excellent, if the object is close at hand, so that it might really be pointed at. But in many cases the object is remote, and it is *generally* so in the case of the clauses. Hence the word determinative is better, and should be applied throughout,—determinative pronoun, determinative clause. It would make for clearness also if the corresponding article "the," and the corresponding Romance words, were called the determinative article.

Now the mood for the determinative clause dealing with the future is, in Greek, Sanskrit, etc., the anticipatory subjunctive, as in "the man who shall perfect this invention will make a fortune," and, "happy the man who shall lead you home in marriage," said by Odysseus

¹ In "The Cum-Constructions: their History and Functions," *Cornell University Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. I (1887), p. 85 (p. 94 of the German translation).

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to Nausikaa in *Od.* 6, 158. Our grammarians in general (thus Goodwin), inheriting a twist given by Dissen to Hermann's metaphysical scheme, call all such constructions *conditions*,—even clauses with “before” and “until.” There is no basis for this. Odysseus does not know surely, of course, whether Nausikaa will marry, but he takes it for granted that she will. Years later, remembering the girl who had befriended him, he might have said, “happy the man who led her home in marriage.” He would not have known surely whether anybody had done so. But no one would think of explaining the preterit indicative clause in such a case by calling it conditional. Greek held steadily to the method of expression pointed out for the determinative clause referring to the future. A simple and beautiful “rule” might be given, which would eliminate a great deal of difficulty, as well as bad science, from our Greek manuals, namely that “in determinative clauses, futurity is regularly expressed by the anticipatory subjunctive, if the main verb also refers to the future.” The same rule may be laid down for generalizing clauses in the future. Both rules, again, may be laid down *permissively* for Gothic. Thus in, in þane gardei inn gaggaiþ, frumist qiþaiþ, “into whatsoever house ye shall enter, first say,” *Luke* 10, 5; iþ saei taujiþ (indic.) jah laisjai (subj.) swa, “but whosoever shall do (the commandments) and teach so,” *Matt.* 5, 19. The usages were inherited from the parent speech, or, at any rate, formed in identical ways in the various families of languages out of corresponding material.

Mark now another of the striking detailed parallelisms at long range. In English, as in Latin, the use of the anticipatory subjunctive in determinative clauses, except

those with "before" or "until," disappeared. Yet when English came to help out the expression of its mood-ideas by auxiliaries, it took the auxiliary "shall" (not "will," the future indicative auxiliary) for these clauses. English is as sensitive in feeling these constructions as Greek is. Thus, "there will be an outcry . . . when a bill carrying lower duties shall come before Congress," *Chic. Trib.*, April 11, 1911. We ought to call "shall" the anticipatory auxiliary, and might lay down the rule that "in English determinative clauses, futurity is expressed by anticipatory 'shall' rather than by the future indicative, if the main verb also refers to the future." (For the use of the present indicative, see below).

Latin in the main replaced the anticipatory subjunctive, except with words meaning "before" or "until," by the future indicative. This is the mood in French and Italian. Spanish, on the other hand, uses the subjunctive, exactly as Greek does, in all determinative clauses looking to the future, if the main verb also refers to the future. Obviously the use was not inherited. It is probably due to a *reflorescence* of the anticipatory power still living in clauses with "before" and "until," and the few other uses that have been pointed out, as in *dudo que venga*, "I doubt that he will come." Here again, then, we have a striking parallel over a wide linguistic separation.

It remains to speak of the use of the permissible present indicative, in a future sense, in Latin in clauses with words meaning "before" or "until" (*priusquam respondeo*, alongside of *priusquam respondeam*), which is also the regular mood in modern English and German. At first blush, this fact might seem to overthrow our reasoning from regular alternatives. But the *fixed* use

in Latin, that of the future perfect indicative where the act is to be represented as complete, must not be forgotten. We are obliged to suppose, either that the future perfect indicative has gained in this construction the power of a real *present*, or that, in some way, the present indicative possesses also a future power. The former is obviously not the case. The meaning cannot be a present one. The latter clearly *is* the case, not only here, but in several other constructions, as in future conditions. The origin of this power of the present indicative (it is seen, in one form or another, in all the languages of our family) is an interesting question, but belongs more naturally to my concluding article.

WM. GARDNER HALE.

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XV.—THE SHEPHERDS CALENDER

Certain critical conceptions regarding the *Shepherds Calender* require to be re-examined. One of these is the idea that the *Calender* is a series of experiments, lacking unity except through the rather imperfectly worked out idea of the seasons or the little drama of Colin and Rosalind. This view probably proceeds from the fact that in 1579-1580 Spenser and Harvey were discussing the subject of reformed versifying, and is strengthened by the well-known indebtedness of the *Calender* to certain types of Renaissance pastoral. But these discussions with Harvey are easily magnified; the careful reader of the famous letters finds abundant evidence that Spenser was none too serious.¹ The indebtedness to

¹Spenser was never in any serious danger of adopting the system of versification that he discussed with Harvey. These discussions were largely due to his friendship for Sidney and for Harvey. In an article on Spenser and the Earl of Leicester (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, September, 1910) I have discussed the letter of October fifth, 1579, showing that the thing nearest Spenser's heart was the preferment which he expected at the hands

foreign models is very real, but it has been stressed to the exclusion of elements not less important, and it no more proceeds from a supposedly experimental character of the work as a whole than the similar eclecticism of the *Faerie Queene*; a serious, unified purpose is by no means precluded. Moreover, we know by Spenser's own statement that his chief model was Chaucer; and this influence of Chaucer, strange to say, has not yet been thoroughly investigated. As to the idea that this so-called series of experiments possesses only the slight unity afforded by the seasons motif or by the Colin-Rosalind story, the fanciful importance attached to the *Kalendrier des Bergeres* as a possible model on the one hand, and the not unnatural desire to learn all that is possible of the life of Spenser on the other, have too long diverted attention from what I believe was Spenser's real purpose in writing the *Calender*.

Another misconception is that with the publication of the *Calender* Spenser became famous over night. For this there is no justification. Though the book was published, anonymously, in 1579, there are apparently no references to it, outside of the Harvey correspondence and the singularly cold praise of Sidney, before 1586. Even Sidney's book was not published until 1595; so only the small circle who saw the manuscript could have been influenced by this reference—Sidney does not name Spenser as the author. Webbe, writing in 1586, is either not sure who wrote the *Calender* or is curiously cautious

of Leicester, and for which he was indebted to Sidney. Both the *Calender* and the poems written at the same period but not printed until 1591 prove that in his serious work Spenser had no intention whatever of applying the principles laid down by Drant, whatever they were, or by the "Areopagus."

in his references; he speaks of "Master Sp." it is true, but does not give his full name as he does in the case of other authors mentioned in the *Discourse*; he stresses the moral intention of the work, replies to some charges of lasciviousness brought against the sixth eclogue, and is generally mysterious in all his references excepting where he quotes from the *Calender* to illustrate points in prosody. In short, though he protests that he does not know why the author's friends made such an effort to conceal the authorship, I am pretty well convinced that he did know. Fraunce quotes from the *Calender* in his treatise on rhetoric in 1588 and again in his *Lawiers Logike* of the same year. Whetstone attributes it to Sidney. A Latin translation of about 1585-1586 ascribes it to an unknown author and implies that it was already forgotten.¹ So late as 1589, Puttenham, or whoever wrote the *Arte of English Poesie*, speaks of "that other Gentleman who wrate the late shepheardes Callender." Here, then, there is no justification for Grosart's view (I, 120) that the "newe poet" became "famous at a bound," or Palgrave's (in Grosart, iv, xxiv) that "its position was, it appears, clearly recognized at the date of publication"; or Gosse's (Grosart, i, xix) that it was a book "already enjoying an unparalleled success."² All these gentlemen refer to allusions dating

¹ Translation by John Dove of Christ Church, Oxford, who inscribed it to the Dean "ut hoc opusculum jam pene deletum et quasi sepultum, de novo vestrae lectioni secundo commendarem." (Wilson, in Blackwood, xxxiv, 834.) For this reference I am indebted to Professor J. B. Fletcher.

² The later biographers have followed blindly the same path. Hales (Memoir prefixed to the Globe edition) says that the *Calender* "secured him at once the hearty recognition of his contemporaries as a true poet risen up amongst them." Church is more cautious

about 1590, when the success of the *Faerie Queene* brought the once neglected work into prominence, in utter disregard of the ten years interval. Nor does the record of the editions afford any comfort. It is true that a second edition dates 1581, but this is merely because of a transfer of the publishing rights from Hugh Singleton to John Harrison. The next editions date 1586, 1591, 1597. If we turn, finally, to what seems the most direct evidence obtainable, the letters passing between Spenser and Harvey in 1579-1580, we find that Harvey calls his friend "il fecondo & famoso Poeta Mester Immerito," and speaks of the "famous new Calender"; he significantly says that for his own part he will leave versifying in order to follow studies that carry "meate in their mouth," though Colin Clout may haply "purchase great lands and Lordshippes with the money which his Calender and Dreames have and will afford him." But the very next sentence proceeds "Extra iocum," etc. and no one who reads carefully the letters of Harvey can doubt for one minute that all these references are just such ironical comments on the fame and money to be won by poetry as youthful bards have in all ages been accustomed to hear. They are absolutely worthless as evidence of popularity; indeed, they suggest the contrary.

but he says that if the authorship was a secret, "it was an open secret, known to every one who cared to be well informed," and he totally misunderstands Harvey's references to it as contrasting his own poverty with Colin Clout's good luck. Jusserand (*Literary History, etc.*, II, 441) says, "The publishing of the 'Calender' had made him instantly famous." Courthope (in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 248-9) confuses Leicester, to whom Spenser at first intended to dedicate his work, with Sidney and says that Sidney "hastened to show" that Spenser's hesitancy about the dedication was groundless "by bestowing high praise."

We have, therefore, every reason to believe that outside of a small circle even the authorship of the *Shepheards Calender* was unknown for a considerable time after its publication, and that the work itself attracted no great attention until the popularity of the *Faerie Queene* made the earlier poems of the author important, as is evidenced not only by the increasing number of references to the *Calender* and the new editions of it, but also by the publication in 1591 of a collection of early poems under the name of *Complaints*. Yet every one knows the value of the *Calender* as poetry; there must have been a reason for the comparative obscurity in which the book was received. Moreover, Spenser's own feeling that his collection of eclogues was important, as shown by his remarks to Harvey on the subject of a possible dedication to Leicester, as well as our knowledge of the methods of the "sage and serious" poet, prevent our regarding it as merely a series of experiments, doubtfully unified by the seasons idea or by the romance of Colin that runs fitfully through it. All this mystery is deepened if we turn to the remarks of E. K., who if not Spenser himself, was certainly inspired by him: "Now as touching the general drift and purpose of his Aeglogues I mind not to say much, himself laboring to conceal it." A little later he refers to Spenser's desire to warn young shepherds against love, but this interest is clearly minor. The same mystery surrounds the glosses: the garrulous dwelling on minor points of pedantry, especially noted wherever the allegory is a trifle sharp; the apparent unwillingness to explain such allusions as the one to Algrind; the care to refer anti-clerical passages to the Catholics. In the anonymous publication of this work on which Spenser built such hopes, the authorship being

uncertain for nearly a decade; in the mysterious remarks of E. K. as to the author's purpose and in his evident desire to stress pedantic matters in order to divert the attention from things that might seem too direct in application; in the cold praise bestowed upon it by Sidney, who as the friend of Spenser and the recipient of the honor of a dedication might have been expected to say more about it; and in the comparative neglect which the book met, in spite of its obvious poetic merit, we have subjects meriting further consideration than they have thus far received.

Following the lead of E. K., modern critics have found the main sources of influence upon the *Calender* in the Renaissance pastoral as developed in Italy and France. While these conclusions are correct in respect to the form given by Spenser to the separate eclogues, there are some native influences bearing upon the meaning of the work as a whole that are of great importance. It cannot be said that the English translations of the *Kalendrier des Bergeres* exerted any very great influence, though there were frequent editions and we have the authority of E. K. that Spenser intended giving "a new name to an old work." The *Kalendrier* possesses no pastoral elements, in spite of that "Songe of a woman shepherde that understode weel and her songe profytes"; the minute comparison between the four seasons and the four periods of the life of man suggests the December eclogue, but Spenser's source here is Marot, and the idea is too common in Elizabethan literature to prove that he had also the French almanac in mind. There is no religious satire in the *Kalendrier*, though the whole tone of the work is religious; it is the medieval tract, however, that is

suggested.¹ Nor can Tusser's *Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry*, though an interesting and curious book, throw much light on the problem. Tusser's *Calendar* opens with September, the time when new tenantry of farms began; contains rhymes for each month, chiefly devoted to a list of the things to be done on the farm; divides the life of man into twelve parts; and gives some interpolated matter, such as the discussion of two bachelors on the subject of marriage, clinched by the testimony of a wedded man based on experience. The book is less didactic in tone than the old almanac, and is most homely and realistic in manner, but in general it suggests the eighteenth century imitators of Thomson far more than anything else. Barclay's *Eclogues* bring us a step nearer the *Calender*, for they show Italian influence and are phrased in homely English of the most realistic type. There is much of the dispraise of court common in such poems as *Mother Hubberds Tale* and *Colin Clout*, and one of the poems suggests the October eclogue in its treatment of the position and influence of poets. In all these works, however, there is very little that would enable us to say with certainty that Spenser was influenced by them. To find direct influence of an unmistakable type

¹ For convenience I append a summary of the contents of the *Kalendrier*, based on Sommer's reprint of Pynson's edition of 1506. There are two prologues, the first dealing with the duration and purpose of life and admonishing men to lead a godly life; the second comparing the seasons and the months to the course of life. In the *Calender* proper are five sections, the first containing the almanac; the second an account of the Tree of Vices and the punishments of the Seven Deadly Sins in Hell; the third, the means by which a man may lead a virtuous life, and the account of the Garden of Virtues; the fourth, "Physicks and the governail of health"; and last, a miscellany, chiefly astrological.

we must turn to Googe and to the poems contained in the Chaucer canon in the sixteenth century.

For the three motives running through the *Calender* (the seasons motive, the Colin-Rosalind romance, and the satire of ecclesiastical conditions) there are important analogues in the *Eglogs* of Barnabe Googe (1563). I believe it has not been noted that, though Googe does not name his eclogues for the months, the first describes conditions in winter; the setting of the third is spring; while the eighth and last describes summer. What is more significant, the use made of these motives is precisely similar to what we find in the *Calender*. If, therefore, Googe had increased the number of his eclogues to twelve and had given the name of a month to each, we should have had a Calendar so similar to Spenser's as to leave no doubt of indebtedness. I have no space to quote, but anyone who will take the trouble to look up the use made of the seasons, particularly at the beginning of the eclogues of Googe just mentioned, will be surprised at the closeness of the parallel. In the second place, Googe makes use of romantic narrative as a means of gaining unity, though this narrative is only incidental to his real purpose. Here the story is of the unfortunate Dametas, and in the second eclogue is a love plaint very similar to that of Colin, the main difference being that Dametas commits suicide while the wiser Colin lives to love again. With the fifth eclogue a new narrative element is introduced, based on an episode in the *Diana* of Montemayor, the story of Faustus, Valerius, and Claudia. Now it is noticeable that the purpose of Googe in both these stories is to inveigh against the worship of Venus. In the fourth, for example, the soul of Dametas returns from Hell and testifies that the flames of love are as nothing

to the torments that he now endures. Similarly, the eighth is an appeal to leave the service of Venus and to serve God. The distinction between true love and the amoristic element in the life of the court not only is on the same lines as the theory which Spenser states in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* and in the last two *Hymnes* but corresponds exactly to what E. K. says was a subordinate purpose of the *Calender*,—to warn the young shepherds because “his unstayed youth had long wandered in the common Labyrinth of Love.” Finally, in addition to these important influences of Googe on the *Calender* should be noted the strong religious element in the earlier set of pastorals; the complaint against the times and the evils of court life, motives made use of not only in the *Calender* but in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and other poems of the same period in Spenser's life; and the use of archaisms and a rude verse not unlike that of the *Calender*.

Before discussing Spenser's most immediate model, the poems in the Chaucer canon of that period, it is necessary to call attention to certain characteristics of the *Calender* that I believe have been unduly neglected. It will be remembered that E. K. groups the eclogues under three heads: Plaintive (i, vi, xi, xii), Recreative (“all that containe matter of love or commendation of special personages”), and Moral (ii, v, vii, ix, x). But the distinction between the first and second groups is not clear, since i, vi, and xii are the Colin-Rosalind poems; xi is the dirge based on the model of Marot; while these, as well as the three “recreative” eclogues are less archaic in diction and stanza, and are more imitative of foreign models, than the moral poems are. The noteworthy thing

about E. K.'s conception of the third group is that the second eclogue, which deals with the fable of the oak and the briar, and the tenth, which contains the splendid lines about the function of the poet, are classed with the three poems on ecclesiastical conditions. Moreover, all these poems are alike in certain essential respects: they are in the irregular verse supposed to be imitative of Chaucer; they represent in the form of dialogue two opposing views or moods; the first four make use of the fable as a means of enforcing the teaching that the poet has in mind; they abound in dialectal forms. A brief examination of the five will show how closely they are related.

√ In the February eclogue there is a "discourse of old age," followed by a reference to the two views of love, reminiscent of Googe, and the fable of the Oak and the Briar. This fable, told in Chaucerian fashion, is only on the surface referable to the subject of youth and age. It will be remembered that the gay, proud Briar, described like a young courtier, scorns the Oak; whereupon the Husbandman cuts down the old tree, though with difficulty, for it is ancient and sacred with mystery, and

"Often crost with the priestes crewe
And often halowed with holy-water dew;
But sike fancies weren foolerie,
And broughten this Oake to this miserye."

These four lines afford the key to the explanation of this eclogue which I wish to propose. The Oak stands for the ancient religion, once good and great, but brought by superstition to ruin, "pitied of none." The Briar, cause of the Oak's downfall, was planted by the Husbandman, who represents the English People,

"To be the primrose of all thy land;
With flowring blossoms to furnish the prime,
And scarlot berries in Sommer time.
How falls it then that this faded Oake,
Whose bodie is sere, whose branches broke,
Whose naked Armes stretch unto the fyre,
Unto such tyrannie doth aspire;
Hindering with his shade my lovely light,
And robbing me of the swete sonnes sight?"

This Briar, "puffed up with pryde and vaine pleausance," is the proud Anglican church, and also comes to ruin when deprived of the support afforded by the sturdy elements in the old religion, elements which taken away leave nothing but the pride and ambition that lead to destruction. Thus the allegory of this most interesting poem is three-fold: on the surface, concealing the deeper meaning of the poem, is the comparison between youth and age; then there is the comparison between the ill considered, violent love characteristic of youth and the more sober view characteristic of maturity; all this leads to the main purpose, to represent the way in which, despite worthy elements, the old religion, degraded by superstition, meets a well-deserved ruin and is supplanted by the Anglican form, which in turn deserves destruction for its emptiness and overweening. There are two points of view, presented in dialogue, clinched by a fable told in a manner, as I shall explain presently, thought to be characteristic of Chaucer. No one who is familiar with the conditions in church and politics in the year 1579 will fail to see that in the application of the fable to the Anglican church lies the point to the satire; it is small wonder, then, that E. K. innocently passes over any explanation that might bring the author into an uncomfortable situation. From a literary point of view,

the splendid quality of this eclogue proceeds from the masterly way in which the three elements are blended: Spenser is already master of a complex allegory.

Additional warrant for my interpretation of the February eclogue is found in the close parallelism of method between it and the three eclogues long recognized as dealing with ecclesiastical conditions. In each case there is a preliminary discussion which develops two points of view; there is a complex allegory, the most important element in it being the reference to the dangers threatening the Puritans; there is the same tendency to mystify the reader in the gloss, with the added impression of innocence given by the rude verse and diction and the uncouth names; there is, finally, the fable at the end. In "May," for example, Palinode represents youthful desire for pleasure and love, like the Cuddie of "February"; Piers stands for a more mature view. Again, Palinode defends liberal standards of judgment as applied to the clergy, his ideal being very similar to that held by Chaucer's Monk;¹ Piers holds for simplicity and sincerity, corresponding to Chaucer's Parson.² Palinode

¹ Cf. for example, Chaucer's description of the monk with Spenser's lines:

"What shoulde shepheards other things tend,
Then, sith their God his good does them send,
Reapen the fruite therof, that is pleasure,
The while they here liven at ease and leasure?
For, when they bene dead, their good is ygoe, . . .
Good is no good, but if it be spend;
God giveth good for none other end. . . .
How shoulde shepheardes live if not so?
What! should they pynen in payne and woe?"

(ll. 63 ff.)

² Cf. Chaucer's lines about the Parson (*Prologue*, ll. 477 ff.) with the characterization of the wicked pastors by Piers (ll. 39 ff.).

represents the Briar; Piers defends the old religion, uncontaminated by superstition, and represented by the Oak in its best estate. But the true purpose of the poem is in the fable of the Fox and the Kid, which is a warning to Protestant England to beware of the insidious treachery of the Catholics. One cannot be sure that Spenser had the Puritans alone in mind, but the entire fable is a cautious presentation of the problem, political quite as much as religious, which is definitely treated in "September."

"July" is strikingly similar, the chief divergence from type being that the idea of the Highland and Lowland shepherds is derived from Mantuan and that the irregular four stress verse gives way to the septenary, printed in "resolved" or divided form. But in all essentials the material is original with Spenser, and the verse is merely a variation to another rustic form. Morrell, the Highlander, defends the hills as shrines and the abode of saints; Thomalin regards them as symbols of superstition. Again, the lowlands typify the simple religion already stressed in "February" and "May"; the hills stand for ambition and pride. The reference (ll. 181 ff.) to Palinode's journey to Rome (London) and the abuses

Spenser's charge that the sheep are left to "runne at large" by shepherds who "playen while their flockes be unfedde," caring nothing "what fallen the flocke, so they han the fleece," is very similar to the point of view expressed by Chaucer. A little later, Piers speaks of the damage wrought by wolves who were permitted to ravage the flock through the neglect and worldliness of the shepherds; this parallels with some closeness Chaucer's (ll. 512 ff.) praise of the good shepherd who

"Dwelte at home and kepte wel his folde,
So that the wolfe ne made it nat miscarie;
He was a shepherde and no mercenarie."

he saw there, not only harks back to "May" but anticipates the journey of Diggon in "September." Finally, there is the fable, here compressed into a few lines, of the eagle (Elizabeth) who thought to crush the shellfish (the Puritans) by means of Algrind (Bishop Grindal, sympathizer with the Puritans); but only the bishop, by reason of his exalted position, received the full force of the blow. Thus the idea of the highlands, successively representing superstition, pride, the danger that comes through high position; and of the lowlands, standing for simplicity, humble life, the safety that freedom from ambition brings, runs through the entire poem and moulds it into a harmonious whole. It will be noted also that the effect of the three eclogues is cumulative; the application to the present position of the Puritans is much more direct in "July" than in "February" or "May."

This cumulative effect reaches its climax in "September," in which Spenser speaks far more boldly, and at the same time covers his statements far more carefully. The metre is again the irregular four stress type, and in his anxiety to appear innocent through the use of crude dialectal forms and names the poet overreaches himself; the opening lines are grotesque. There has been much needless discussion as to the identity of Diggon Davie. E. K. says that "in hope of more gayne" he drove his sheep into a far country, and in the gloss we are told that the cause of the curious dialect "is supposed to be, by occasion of the party herein meant, who being very freend to the Author hereof, had bene long in forrain countryes, and there seene many disorders." Now all this is a deliberate effort at mystification, and E. K. has succeeded in his purpose not only with Spenser's

contemporaries but with modern scholars.¹ If by foreign countries is meant Italy or Holland or France, as has been conjectured, it is passing strange that Spenser should use an English provincial dialect in order to give the flavor of foreign travel. Of course "forrain countryes" means London, and whether or not Diggon represents some friend of Spenser's, he is Spenser's mouthpiece, and may be regarded, as Piers is to be regarded in "May" and in "October" and Thomalin in "July," as representing the view of Spenser himself, or, perhaps more accurately, one mood of Spenser himself. The foreign country is London, as in "July"; the method of the poem is also similar to that of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, though in the later poem Spenser stresses the evils of court life and in this one the political and ecclesiastical conditions of the metropolis. The eclogue differs from its predecessors in that Spenser boldly says that though the clergy are to be blamed for ignorance, for scorn of their flocks, for evil life (ll. 106-122),² the true danger is to be found in the quarrels of the Protestants among themselves. The passage about the "bigge Bulles of Basan . . . That with theyr hornes butten the more stoute; But the leane soules treaden under foote" is not so much a reference to Burghley, as has been conjectured, as it is to the quarrels among the clergy and the political leaders that leave the flock at the mercy of

¹ See, for example, Professor Herford's note in his edition of the *Calender* (p. 161) with his citations from Fleay, Grosart, and Koepfel.

² It is noticeable that Spenser represents these charges as brought by the people who "chatten . . . Ylike as a Monster of many heads," and that these are the charges he himself makes in the earlier poems of the series. The effect is cumulative; here it is, as he says, that we get the truth of the matter.

the Wolf (ll. 141-149). Thus we return to the warning of "July," but with an important difference. Hobbinol protests that Diggon speaks too plainly and that it would be better to feign a little, "And cleanly cover that cannot be cured." He continues that Wolves have not been known in England for many years, which of course means that the Catholics have been long deprived of power, though E. K. hastens to cover the reference by one of his charmingly innocent notes about the conditions in England as respects wild beasts. Even Hobbinol, however, recognizes that "the fewer Woolves (the soth to sayne) The more bene the Foxes," an idea that Diggon immediately takes up with his words about the sheep's clothing that disguises the enemies of the faith. Moreover, these enemies are not to be put to rout by the "great Bandogs"; the needful thing is for "heedy shepheards to discern their face; For all their craft is in their countenaunce, They bene so grave and full of Mayntenaunce." The warning is further impressed by the fable which, as in the other eclogues of this group, ends the poem. Here the fable takes the form of a story about Ruffyn and his dog, the meaning being that the Catholics, if not watched, will yet regain control. "Forthy," concludes Diggon,

"Forthy with shepheards sittes not playe,
Or sleepe, as some doen, all the long day;
But ever ligen in watch and ward,
From soddein forse theyre flocks for to gard."¹

¹ Hobbinol may represent Harvey, but it should be noticed that he also represents a different mood of Spenser's when he says (ll. 236 ff.):

"Ah, Diggon! thilke same rule were too straight,
All the cold season to watch and waite;
We bene of fleshe, men as other bee,
Why should we be bound to such miseree?"

Other eclogues represent this variance of mood in Spenser, notably

All this discussion about the insidious methods of the Wolf calls to mind Milton's similar warning in that bitter passage of *Lycidas* which refers to those whom "the grim Wolf with privy paw Daily devours apace, and nothing said." Milton understood Spenser better than some modern editors have understood him. Indeed, we may say that in a sense *Lycidas* is but a condensation of much that Spenser gives in these five moral eclogues; there is the same fierce attack on the abuses in the church and the same wistful query as to the use of poetry that Spenser introduces into the "October" eclogue. Cuddie complains that poets are unrecognized now and rewards are scant, but Piers rejoins,

"Cuddie, the prayse is better then the price,
The glory eke much greater then the gayne."

So Milton asks what boots it to tend the homely, slighted shepherd's trade, since there is no reward, and is told that he shall not miss the praise, the fame that grows not on mortal soil. Thus "October" fitly closes the series of moral poems that E. K. groups together. There is the same presentation of two moods in dialogue form; the comparison between the old days when the Romish Tityrus sang and the present times which prefer the rhymes of Tom Piper suggests the regret for the old religion first expressed in the fable of the Oak, and running through the other poems; the feeling that it is better, when the courage fails and the heart is sick, to "content us in the humble shade" parallels the reaction from the passionate emotion of "September" which we

the view of the old religion in "February." Cf. "October," and also Milton in *Lycidas* and again in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

find in Hobbinol's cry: "We bene of fleshe, men as other bee, Why should we be bound to such miseree?"

In these five eclogues lies the heart of the *Shepheards Calender*. Spenser himself bears witness to this, and it is strange indeed that his own statement as to his purpose has been apparently unnoticed. In the Epilogue, after the prophecy of the permanence of his poem, he says that it was written

"To teach the ruder shepheard how to feede his sheepe,
And from the falsers fraude his folded flocke to keepe."

These words supply the key to the meaning of the *Calender*. "February" begins somewhat cautiously with regrets for the loss of the sturdy old religion, brought to ruin by the corrupt customs which had grown up about it, and inveighs against the pride and overweening of the Anglican Briar; "May" and "July" compare the true religion of Chaucer's Parson with the evil life of the Monk, and warn the Puritans against ambition and against the Wolf; in "September" the poet reaches his most direct teaching, warning the churchmen to put an end to their greed and quarrelling lest the Wolf again seize England. It is capable of proof, I think, that here Spenser was not indulging in pious reflections on the nature of pure religion and undefiled, nor was he interested in any way in the doctrinal aspects of Calvinism. Just how direct was the application will be understood by any one who will consider the actual conditions in England in 1579. Mary was a source of danger, and plots to put her on the throne were discovered. The foreign relations of Elizabeth were most precarious, since there was danger of a Catholic alliance against her, and Spain and France had to be kept from making such an alliance.

The plan for the Queen to marry the duc d'Alençon was coming up once more, and Burghley, ostensibly a Puritan, was supposed to favor it. Leicester, as the head of the Puritan party, was warned by Spenser in his *Mother Hubberds Tale* of the grave danger that this alliance threatened.¹ Now the last episode in the *Tale* and the "September" eclogue supplement each other admirably. The apparent alliance between the fox (Burghley) and the ape (Simier-Alençon) constitutes the grave danger to England from without. Similarly, the wolves in sheep's clothing, few in numbers though they be, are the insidious plotters against England's internal peace. The specific reference here I believe to be to the Jesuit mission of 1578-1580 which was a part of the triple attack planned by Rome. Rebellion was to be instigated in Ireland: the Desmond rising of 1579 was the result, and was directly due to the activities of Sanders; the Catholic faction in Scotland was to be reorganized; and a missionary campaign, at first headed by Allen and later carried on by Parsons and Campian, men of whom Spenser might well warn the Puritans to beware, was to stir up trouble in England itself.² Allen's idea was that the recovery of his country for the true church was the highest of objects for a patriot, and the mission sought therefore to plot against the government as well as to

¹ I have discussed these matters at some length in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, September, 1910.

² "For all their craft is in their countenaunce,
They bene so grave and full of mayntenaunce . . .
Forthy with shepheards sittes not playe,
Or sleepe, as some doen, all the long day;
But ever ligen in watch and ward."

make converts.¹ Now in both these dangers, the one proceeding from the apparent determination of the Queen to marry Alençon and thus throw the power into the hands of the French faction, the other from the less open but equally dangerous campaign of Rome, the great peril was that the Puritan leaders like Burghley and Leicester, by their ambition and greed, should be blinded to the absolute necessity of union against a common national enemy. To warn them against this danger was as truly the purpose of the *Calender* as it was the purpose of the *Tale* to warn Leicester and the Queen of the results of the proposed marriage with Alençon. In the *Tale* Spenser adapted the animal epic to his purpose; in the *Calender* he makes use of the conception of the true shepherd as opposed to the false, surrounds his teaching with an elaborate machinery of pastoral eclogue, allegory, and gloss, and clinches his teaching by the use of fable. In the Epilogue, however, with perfect frankness he discloses his purpose to teach his shepherd to keep from the falser's fraud his folded flock.

It is now possible, I think, to define the influence of Chaucer on the *Calender* with some exactness. Professor Herford's theory that Spenser seems to have borrowed almost nothing from Chaucer but "his sly way of acknowledging indebtedness chiefly where it was not due" is surely mistaken.² Professor Lounsbury finds

¹ Cf. Innes, *England under the Tudors*, pp. 318-325. It may be noted, also, that in his prose tract on Ireland Spenser expresses exactly the same views about the insidious wiles of missionaries from Douay and elsewhere (Globe ed., p. 680a).

² In his edition of the *Calender*, p. xxxvii. But he rightly holds that Chaucer's verse, as scanned by the Elizabethans, gave authority for the rude anapestic measure adopted by Spenser. The other points he mentions (Chaucer's mastery of fable and allegory as

Chaucerian influence, apart from such direct references as to the *Squires Tale* in the *Faerie Queene*, only in the verse of Spenser, and holds that it is in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* "that we find the most palpable illustration of his predecessor's versification."¹ And in general it may be said that critics, failing to find in Chaucer's works sources for any of the fables or incidents introduced into the *Calender*, depend solely on the words and phrases, or the versification, or the literary skill, as a basis for comparison. Yet Spenser's words are unequivocal. In "February," for example, Thenot calls his fable

"A tale of truth
Which I cond of Tityrus in my youth,
Keeping his sheepe on the hils of Kent."

Yet the fable of the Oak and the Briar is not one of Chaucer's stories, as even E. K. recognized. In "June," Spenser refers to his master as a poet surpassing others in matter of love:

"The God of shepheards, Tityrus, is dead,
Who taught me homely, as I can, to make;
He, whilst he lived, was the soveraigne head
Of shepheards all that bene with love ytake."

And in "December" we are again told that Colin learned all his songs from Tityrus. E. K. carefully explains these references; he also shows his own familiarity with

shown in the *Nonne Preestes Tale* and in the translation of the *Rose*, and his skill in verse narrative) do not apply with any exactness to the *Calender*.

¹ *Studies in Chaucer*, III, p. 56. But *M. H. T.* is very regular, and is an illustration of the fact that Spenser got the couplet from the French, as Chaucer had done before him, while *Colin Clout* is in regular quatrains.

Chaucer's works by the glosses he supplies in some of the eclogues and by the identification of some few direct quotations; and he bears witness to Chaucer's skill in telling "merye tales" by his reference to the *Canterbury Tales*.¹ Nevertheless, one feels that Spenser's declaration of discipleship needs stronger warrant than a few parallels pointed out by the commentators from E. K. to the present time, or a resemblance between the rude verse of the eclogue and the imperfectly scanned lines of Chaucer, or a recognition of the elder poet's skill in verse narrative, or in a merely conventional praise of a distinguished predecessor. The difficulty of the problem, moreover, is measurably increased by the fact that though Spenser nowhere else so plainly states his indebtedness, nothing could be more absurd to the modern reader of Chaucer than to think of him as a good old shepherd tending his flock on the hills of Kent and telling tales full of profit to youth. Not only are the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Shepheards Calender* utterly different in form and purpose, but the conception of Chaucer as a pastoral poet is to our times unthinkable.

The truth of the matter is that while the influence of Chaucer on the *Calender* is very great, it has not been properly estimated because of the curious fact that all those who have dealt with the problem seem to have confined their attention to the canon of Chaucer's works

¹ By no means all of the verbal borrowings from Chaucer in the *Calender* have been noted. For example, one of the emblems for the March eclogue reads: "To be wise, and eke to love, Is graunted scarce to Gods above." This is similar to the line in the *Knights Tale* (A1799) which Skeat regards as a translation of the proverb "Amare et Sapere vix Deo conceditur." (*Publius Syrus*, Sent. 15.) But the proverb is common in the XVI century.

as we have it now. In Spenser's time the list of works attributed to Chaucer was very much larger, and included certain poems that have a direct bearing on our problem. To Spenser, Chaucer was not only the poet of love and the master of verse narrative, but also the poet of Puritanism. It is not a little curious that many of the poems wrongly attributed to Chaucer in the editions of 1542, 1550, and 1561 deal either with satire of religious conditions or with love. According to Leland, whose "Life" Spenser probably knew, Chaucer "left the university a devout theologian"; his aim was "to render the English speech as polished as possible in all respects"; he wrote many works on love, such as *De Arte Amandi*; *Amores Troili et Chrisidis*; *Testamentum Amoris*; *De Remedio Amoris*; *Querelae Martis et Veneris*; *Epistola Cupidinis*, etc.¹ As a writer on religious subjects, as a refiner of English speech, and as a poet of love: these constituted the appeal of Chaucer to Spenser, and the aim of the younger poet was to imitate his master in these three respects. It is in the fact that Spenser endeavored to copy what he considered to be the ideals and teaching of Chaucer that we find the reason for his discipleship, not in matters of detail.²

The connecting link between the *Calender* and Chaucer is the spurious *Plowman's Tale*. The somewhat involved history of this Tale, and its relations to the *Pilgrim's Tale*

¹ Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, I, pp. 134-140.

² On the view of Chaucer as a Puritan poet, common in the XVI century, see Lounsbury, III, pp. 34, 35 and his discussion of the *Plowman's Tale* in I, 468, 470, 471. But Professor Lounsbury fails to note this in what he says (III, pp. 42-46 and 54-58) concerning the influence of Chaucer on Spenser.

are not necessary to our purpose.¹ The *Plowman's Tale* had been printed separately in about 1532-1535 and again about 1547-1548; but was first printed in connection with the works of Chaucer by Thynne in 1542. In this edition it was added at the end, and was not expressly attributed to Chaucer, but in the editions of 1550 and 1561 it was inserted before the *Parson's Tale* and thus made a part of the Canterbury collection. If, therefore, we combine the portraits of the Monk, the Friar, and the Parson, contained in the prologue, with the *Plowman's Tale*, Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus*, and the *Parson's Tale*, it is not difficult to understand how Chaucer came to be regarded as a religious reformer. To this body of literature we may also add the translation of Boethius, the satire of priests in the last part of the *Romance of the Rose*, the fragmentary *Pilgrim's Tale*, and such pieces as the *Testament of Love*. All this, however, merely adds weight to my contention that it is in the *Plowman's Tale* that we have the most important native influence on the ecclesiastical eclogues. This Tale, which is surprisingly similar to the eclogues in metre and style, consists largely of a debate between a Pelican and a Griffon on the subject of religion. The Pelican upholds the Protestant cause, fiercely attacking the priests. His adversary vainly tries to maintain a defence of the Catholics, but at length is silenced and flies away, after threatening ruin to the Pelican. While the Pelican mourns and wishes that some one of "Christes sheep" would hear and heed, the Griffon calls in all the birds of prey and returns

¹ For a complete discussion, see Skeat, *The Chaucer Canon*, ch. ix, x; Lounsbury, I, 461-473; and Thynne's *Animadversions* in Speght's *Chaucer* (Ed. Chaucer Society, with the introduction).

to lead an attack on his enemy; but after a fierce contest the Phoenix comes to the rescue and destroys the robber band. It will be noted at once that in this tale there is a strong fable interest; though the entire story deals with the enmity between the Pelican and the Griffon, the action comes only at the end, the first part being merely a dialogue presenting the two views of the question. Thus we have exactly the method of the four ecclesiastical eclogues: dialogue presenting two opposing views, followed by a fable in which beasts are made to represent some phase of the struggle between the two forms of religion. The Griffon, moreover, represents the pride of the Roman Church, being "of a grim stature," while the Pelican is humble, a bird "withouten pryde." Finally, the tale itself bears evidence that its author sought to conceal what he knew to be dangerously direct satire under the form of a fable. He says that if any take exception to his story,

"Wyteth the Pellican, and not me,
For herof I nil not avowe,
In hy ne low, ne in no degre,
But as a fable take it ye mowe,
To holy church I will me bowe."¹

Of course the conception of the pastoral as being a poem where "more is meant than meets the ear" is not peculiarly English. Puttenham states the theory very well in saying that the pastoral is written

"Not of purpose to counterfait or represent the rustically manner of loves and communication: but under the vaile of homely persons, and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not bene safe to have bene disclosed in any other sort, which may be perceived by the Eglogues of Vir-

¹Note the parallel in verse form between this poem and the eclogues we are now considering.

gill, in which are treated by figure matters of greater importance then the loves of Titirus and Corydon. These Eglogues came after to containe and enforme morall discipline, for the amendment of mans behavior, as be those of Mantuan and other moderne Poets."¹

Spenser's theory of the pastoral is not purely native; we may find models elsewhere for his treatment of matters not safely treated with directness. But the group of ecclesiastical eclogues in the *Calender* is distinctive in verse, theme, and use of fable, and these peculiarities are to be explained by reference to the conception of Chaucer's verse and aims held in the sixteenth century. Spenser therefore regards him not merely as the poet of love but also as a pastoral poet in the narrower sense. Undoubtedly he admired Chaucer's skill as a narrator, sought to imitate his diction and his verse, read his allegory of love with attention; but it is in the portraits of the churchmen in the *Prologue*, in such didactic works as the tales of the Parson and the story of Melibeus and the translation of Boethius, most of all in the *Plowman's Tale* with its dialogue on religious conditions and its fable of the Pelican and the Griffon, that he found the model for his own attempt

"To teach the ruder shepheard how to feede his sheepe,
And from the falsers fraude his folded flock to kepe."

¹ Ed. Arber, p. 53 (Book I, ch. xviii).

² There is a curious sentence in Thynne's *Animadversions* (ed. Chaucer Society, p. 10): "In one open parlamente (as I have herde Sir John Thynne reporte, beinge then a member of the howse) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden, Chaucer had then for ever byn condempned, had yt not byn that his woorkes had byn counted but fables."

This reference is of course to such polemical matters as are contained, for example, in the *Plowman's Tale*, which was universally attributed to Chaucer in Spenser's time. No doubt as to the authenticity of this work seems to have been expressed before 1721 (by Dart in the life of Chaucer prefixed to the Urry

In contrast with this series of five moral eclogues, strongly unified in method, aim, and in their presentation

edition of that year; see Hammond, *Bibliographical Manual*, p. 445), and in most cases the Tale was regularly referred to Chaucer down to the time of Tyrwhitt. I do not therefore believe that Spenser, whose cast of mind was not one that would lead him to be critical in matters of authorship, means to imply doubt of Chaucerian authorship of this Tale when he says, in the Envoy to the *Calender*,

“Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus his stile,
Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman playde awchyle.”

The second line almost certainly refers to Piers Plowman, not only because it does not fit with any exactness the Tale as printed by Thynne, in which no very direct use is made of the fact that it is a plowman who tells it, but because it corresponds so admirably with Passus VI of the B text. It will be remembered that after Piers has explained the way that Truth may be found, the Pilgrims rebel because the road seems difficult unless they can find a guide. Piers tells them that after he has finished the work on his half acre he will accompany them. Much of the material that follows will explain admirably Spenser's use of the word “playde,” by which he means “to act a part”; the “apparel” adopted by Piers illustrates the fact that he is not a professional “pilgrim,” it is happily impromptu. Examples are

“And I shal apparaille me, quod Perkyn, in Pilgrimes wise,
And wende with yow I wil til we fynde treuthe . . .
And hange myn hoper at myn hals in stede of a scrippe;
A busshel of bredcorne brynge me þerinne;
For I wil sowe it myself and sitthenes wil I wende
To pylgrymage as palmers don, pardoun forto have . . .
I wil worschip þer-with treuthe by my lyve,
And ben his pilgryme atte plow, for pore mennes sake.
My plow-fote shal be my pyk-staf, and picche atwo þe rotes.”
(ll. 59-60, 63-66, 103-105).

Other instances might be cited, and there are evidences elsewhere in his works that Spenser knew Piers Plowman. The material in this section of the poem (Pass. v-vii) also fits admirably the teaching of the serious part of the *Calender*. I believe, therefore, that Spenser knew the great allegory and admired it, and that in the envoy to the *Calender* he expresses his admiration.

of a direct and cumulative argument, we have the somewhat artificial unity of the Colin-Rosalind story. Only two eclogues are given over to this story with any completeness: "January," which contains the love plaint of Colin, and "June," in which Colin, who now feels "old," laments the loss of Rosalind through the treachery of Menalcas but is careful to say that riper age has turned his fancies from such follies. The passage is singularly reminiscent of the dispraise of Venus already noted in the eclogues of Googe:

"And I, whylst youth and course of carelesse yeeres,
 Did let me walke withouten lincks of love,
 In such delights did joy among my peeres:
 But riper age such pleasures doth reprove:
 My fancye eke from former follies move
 To stayed steps; for time in passing weares,
 (As garments doen, which wexen old above,)
 And draweth newe delightes with hoary heares.
 Tho couth I sing of love, and tune my pipe
 Unto my plaintive pleas in verses made: . . .
 . . . but yeeres more rype,
 And losse of her, whose love as lyfe I wayd,
 Those weary wanton toyes away dyd wype."

These lines remind us also of E. K.'s statement to the effect that "his unstayed youghth had long wandred in the common Labyrinth of Love, in which time to mitigate and alay the heat of his passion, or els to warne (as he sayth) the young shepheards . . . of his unfortunate folly, he compiled these xii Eglogues."¹ And it will

¹ Webbe implies that Spenser met with some criticism for this poem (ed. Arber, p. 54): "One only thing therein have I hearde some curious heades call in question: viz: the motion of some unsavery love, such as in the sixt Eglogue he seemeth to deale withall (which say they) is skant allowable to English eares." He then repeats E. K.'s interpretation, in effect, saying that Spenser meant to warn others.

not escape notice that although in this eclogue Spenser implies that the loss of Rosalind was due to the rivalry of Menalcas, the song in "August" is merely the conventional complaint of absence familiar in the Petrarchan sonnets, in which Colin (so Cuddie says) has vowed to spend all the nights in plaints, "till safe and sound She home returne, whose voyces silver sound To cheerfull songs can chaunge my chereless cryes."¹

Besides "January" and "June," the references to the Colin-Rosalind story in the other eclogues are merely occasional. Even "December," which is again entirely devoted to a song by Colin, refers to the love for Rosalind in a wholly secondary manner: the real purpose of the poem, which is pretty closely imitative of Marot, is to compare the life of the shepherd to the seasons of the year; it fittingly closes the series of poems and gives very material help in binding them all together, but it can hardly be said to stress the love story. The references by the other shepherds to Colin, distributed through several poems, are purely conventional: in "April," Hobbinol says that Rosalind scorns her lover; in "August," Cuddie repeats one of the songs said to have been made by Colin, though this song, as has been pointed out, contradicts the situation detailed in "June"; in "October" we are told that Colin is an example of how love can spoil a good poet; and in "November" there is another casual reference. That the story has a basis in fact I do not in the least doubt, but it seems to me that the desire to find in the *Calender* records bearing

¹The fact that this song may have been an afterthought, since the combination of song and singing match is unusual, and since the gloss of E. K. does not extend to the song (Reissert, Herford) does not affect the inconsistency thus introduced into the story.

on the early life of Spenser has led to an undue exaggeration of its importance.

It is apparent, therefore, that the *Shepheards Calender* is something more than a series of experiments. Whether Spenser began by writing a group of eclogues, based on his Renaissance studies, in which he described poetically a love affair about as serious as the love of Romeo for Rosaline, surrounded it by some imitations of the dirge, the singing match, and the praise of a royal personage whose interest he hoped to win, and at a later time inserted a group of poems in which he addressed himself directly to the leaders of the Puritan cause; or whether the manner of development was the opposite, it is of course impossible to say. These five poems are sharply differentiated from the other seven by their close linking, their similarity of method and style, and their evidently serious purpose. That we have in them what was to Spenser the most important part of the *Calender* there seems not the least doubt. The young poet, just come into the court circle, was seeking to interest Leicester and Sidney, who led the Puritan faction. He was no idle dreamer, but a man of ambition and withal a patriot. It is noteworthy that his Puritanism was not doctrinal but political.¹ He realized clearly the great danger threatening England, and that this danger proceeded from the political ambitions of Rome. He saw that Burghley

¹ Like Milton, Spenser did not wholly sympathize with the Puritan zeal for plain and bare churches and a service devoid of dignity. In the prose tract on Ireland he says that one of the first things to do in reforming the country is to provide the people with beautiful places of worship, "for the outward shewe doth greatly drawe the rude people . . . what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye,—'there is nothing in the seemelye forme and comely orders of the churchē.'" (Globe ed. p. 680b).

was inclined to temporize, and that selfish ambition was blinding the Anglicans to the real issues. Quarrels among the Puritan leaders were encouraging their enemies, and already the foxes were stealing among the sheep. Beginning in "February" with a wistful tenderness for the old religion as it had been in the glorious days of the past, proceeding in "May" to an attack on the shepherds who, careless of their flocks, seek only worldly advantage, and in "July" to a more direct appeal to the Puritans to be cautious, the series of poems reaches its climax in the solemn warning in "September" that the quarrels among the leaders were opening the way for Rome to subvert England. It is thus a consistent and cumulative argument, following Chaucer in style and aim, set into a pastoral framework made up of Renaissance studies, and supplied with a gloss so artfully constructed as to minimize still further the danger such plain speaking threatened an unknown poet anxious to succeed at court.¹

The mystery surrounding the first publication of the *Calender* is, I think, now explicable. Spenser meditated a dedication to Leicester, as the letter of October

¹ That the danger in such writing was very real is shown by innumerable instances. Thynne, in his "Animadversions" tells of the difficulties attending the publication of the edition of Chaucer in 1542; I have already alluded to the fact that "Chaucer" would have been "called in" had it not been that his works were accounted "fables" (p. 444); Gascoigne protests "even by the hope of my salvation" that he did not mean "the scandalizing of some wortheie personages" in his story of Ferdinando Jeronimi (1574); Stubbes lost his right hand because of a tract he wrote on the subject of the Queen's marriage; Sidney, favorite as he was with the Queen, was disgraced because of a letter which he wrote on the same subject, and Spenser was sent to Ireland for similar activities.

fifth to Harvey proves, but at the last moment his courage failed, and Sidney, next to Leicester the most influential man in the Puritan camp, received the honor. But the publication was anonymous, and though the authorship was without doubt known in Spenser's immediate circle, there were good reasons why the fame of the work grew very slowly indeed. At the time of publication the interest in the Alençon intrigue was reaching its highest point. Late in 1579 or early in 1580 Spenser published the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, warning Leicester of the necessity of preventing the alliance. In the summer of 1580 Leicester himself was in very serious danger, and Spenser was sent to Ireland; he had taken too much interest in politics for his own good. So it is small wonder that both the *Calender* and the *Tale* were unappreciated, and that the authorship of the *Calender* was not recognized, at least in any public manner, until, England having been rescued from the grave dangers which threatened, the popularity of the *Faerie Queene* gave the collection of pastorals the place it deserved, and enabled Spenser to include the *Tale*, which had been "called in" after it had first appeared, in the volume of 1591. In these circumstances, also, we find explanation for the cold praise of Sidney, who wrote the *Defence* during the time when he was himself suffering from the displeasure of the Queen because of his letter on the very subject which is treated implicitly in the *Calender* and openly in the *Tale*; it would not have been politic for Sidney to praise too highly a work under suspicion in itself and written by a man whom it had been found expedient to send out of the country.

Thus the *Calender* is brought into interesting relations with *Mother Hubberds Tale* and with Spenser's bitter

complaint, in *Virgils Gnat*, for the harsh treatment that had followed his attempt to be of service to the great Earl. Thus, also, is found evidence that Spenser, like all the greater English poets, was intensely national. To think of him as merely a dreamer and experimenter in verse is as uncritical as to credit him with an intention to make over English poetry on new lines. The *Calender* owes much to foreign models; it owes quite as much to native elements. And if we review the first fruits of our chief poets, it would be hard to find two works, written at the very beginning of a career, that equal the *Shepheards Calendar* and the *Mother Hubberds Tale* in combining rare literary promise with keen grasp of questions at issue in a time of national peril.

EDWIN A. GREENLAW.

XVI.—A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE MYSTICISM :
SPENSER'S 'FOWRE HYMNES.'

It was probably during, or shortly after, his residence at Cambridge University that Edmund Spenser composed two 'hymnes,' or odes, in praise of love and beauty. The 'love' praised was 'platonic love'; the 'beauty' praised was 'intellectual' beauty.

These two poems were written, it seems certain, before 1580. Over twenty years later, perhaps twenty-five,—at any rate not long before 1596,—the poet, grown older, professes to condemn them as conspicuous among "the many lewd layes" that "in the greener times of his youth" he had made

In praise of that mad fit which fooles call love.

He declares also that one of two "most vertuous ladies,"—either Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, or Mary, Countess of Warwick,—had urged him to "call in" the two 'hymnes.' Unable to suppress them on account of their wide diffusion, Spenser resolved "to amend, and, by way of retractation, to reforme them, making, instead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie, two others of heavenly and celestially."

One might suppose that if Spenser were really so anxious about the moral effect of his two youthful 'hymnes,' he would not have republished them along with their "reformed" sisters. It is hardly wise to administer a dose of poison even if we hold an antidote in the other hand. In fact, however, Spenser is not very serious about that "lewdness" of the earlier poems. The word "lewd" means for him more often 'stupid' or 'ignorant' than anything worse. The real trouble about the first two 'hymnes' was that they

gave, by themselves, an incomplete account of love, describing only romantic love—the love of a man for a maid—and little more than hinting at religious love—the love of man for God. Romantic love, rightly understood, far from running counter to religious love, leads to it. The second two ‘hymnes,’ then, are not a “retractation” so much as a sequel and a complement.

There is, of course, a “lewd” kind of love which does work against religious love, which does poison the soul, and perhaps kill it. But Spenser, no less Puritan than Platonist, never in his life spoke of that kind of love but to inveigh against it. Indeed, although by temperament ardent, he was by conviction intolerant, almost ascetic. True love is for him not merely a purification, but a purgation, of passion. The true lover does not love so much the living, breathing woman, as the ideal image of her his own imagination has shaped. As he says, “they which love indeede,” draw

. . . out of the object of their eyes
A more refyned forme, which they present
Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment ;
Which [*their mind*] it reducting to her first perfection,

[i. e., considering the object of love as a pure idea]

Beholdeth free from fleshs frayle infection
And then conforming it unto the light,
Which in itselfe it [*the mind*] hath remaining still,
Of that first Sunne [*divine beauty*], yet sparckling in his sight,

[the mind still remembers in its earthly existence something of the divine beauty it used to behold when in heaven]

Thereof [*of that “refyned forme,” or mental image, of the loved object*]

Thereof he [*the lover*] fashions in his higher skill
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;
And, it embracing in his mind entyre,
The mirrour of his own thought doth admyre.

That is, not content with idealizing his lady, and worshipping

that inner ideal rather than the real woman, with all her human imperfections upon her head, Spenser's true lover 'refines' still further. Finding in that idealized woman 'reminiscences' of 'heavenly beautie'—the very attributes of God, in short, as they are mirrored in his own thought—he straightway thitherward turns his love and admiration. Assuredly, human passion has been quite purged away. Moreover, we may be inclined to ask, what has become of the woman in the case? Has she been 'purged away,' too?

In the first two 'hymnes' she has not. In them, still glorifying romantic love, Spenser makes it the true lover's object to obtain his lady's 'grace'—

T' approach more neare, till in her inmost brest
He may embosomd bee and loved best ;
And yet not best, but to be lov'd alone ;
For love cannot endure a Paragone.

And the poet intimates that he himself longs for such 'grace' from a certain lady. For the philosopher, however, this desire is illogical ; its object is an illusion. The naïve man thinks he loves a particular human being, and wants to be loved in return. He really doesn't, as Spenser has just proved to us. He really loves the ideal being which, more or less faintly, she reminds him of. Of course, as long as he cannot get at that ideal being in any other way, the lady is, and may continue to be, useful as a reminder. She is "useful,"—that is, he loves her not as an end, but as a means. What if a more efficient 'reminder' turned up,—another and more perfect woman, for instance? Or, the visible beauty of the universe, the majestic glory of earth, and sea, and air? Or, the invisible, but declared, beauty of the heaven beyond the heavens,

. . . in which doe raine
The soveraine Powres and mightie Potentates,

and still higher

And fayrer yet, whereas the royall Seates [*i. e.*, Thrones]
And heavenly Dominations are set,

and

Yet farre more faire . . . those bright Cherubins,
Which all with golden wings are overdight,
And those eternall burning Seraphins,
Which from their faces dart out fierie light . . .

and at last,

. . . . that Highest farre beyond all telling,
Fairer than all the rest which there appeare,
Though all their beauties joynd together were?

If beauty is the sole mover of love, how should the lover who has beheld the perfect beauty, turn away to seek again the imperfect beauty? To do so would be only the perversity of a mind stupid or depraved,—in a word, of a “lewd” mind.

We are in the philosophic atmosphere of the two ‘hymnes’ of heavenly love and beauty. Romantic passion, however purified, and the woman, however idealized, have been “purged away.” True love recognizes and seeks its real object, which is through godliness to know and see, to ‘possess,’ God. The *Hymne of Heavenly Love* is an invocation and invitation to godliness, the moral service of love. Fleshly man is unregenerate; man’s guilt can only be atoned for by man.

In flesh at first the guilt committed was,
Therefore in flesh it must be satisfyde;
Nor spirit, nor Angell, though they man surpas,
Could make amends to God for mans misguyde,
But onely man himselfe, who selfe did slyde:
So, taking flesh of sacred virgins wombe,
For mans deare sake he did a man become.¹

¹ Cf. the interestingly analogous argument in Dante, *Par.*, vii, 85–120.

Christ incarnate, the man-Christ, is for the true lover the great Exemplar.

With all thy hart, with all thy soule and mind,
Thou must him love, and his behests embrace.

Since love is jealous, and

cannot endure a Paragone,

All other loves, with which the world doth blind
Weake fancies, and stir up affections base,
Thou must renounce and utterly displace,
And give thyselfe unto him full and free,
That full and freely gave himselfe to thee.

If thou do so, even here on earth,

. . . . thy bright radiant eyes shall plainly see
Th' Idee of his pure glorie present still
Before thy face, that all thy spirits shall fill
With sweete enagement of celestiaall love,
Kindled through sight of those faire things above.

That is to say, the lover through moral service patterned upon the self-abnegation of the man-Christ, may in his mind, "the mirrour of his owne thought," lovingly contemplate "th' Idee of his the man-Christ's pure glorie," to wit, the God-Christ. The lover's yearning is now to 'possess,' to become one with the reality, the person, behind that Idea, to wit, with the God-Christ, with God Himself. In the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, this mystic reward of moral service and adoring contemplation is described and promised.

I use the term 'mystic reward' in no loose or general sense. Spenser combined Calvinism and Neo-Platonic mysticism as Dante had combined Scholastic Catholicism and Neo-Platonic mysticism,—though Dante's Neo-Platonism was more indirectly received. To "all his creatures vile and base," says Spenser, God doth "shew himselfe in th' image of his grace, as in a looking-glasse"; but only to

the Elect does He, as Calvin declared, reveal and give his inner, ineffable blessedness. To the justified Elect, to the true lover, he will give the gift of 'Heavenly Beauty.' 'Heavenly Beauty' the Neo-Platonists call the Venus Urania; Spenser, 'Sapience,' or Wisdom. The ideas are identical, however, in so far as both the Venus Urania and 'Sapience' represent Beauty Intellectual,—that is, such beauty as the mind may realize 'under the form of eternity.' While prisoned in the body, the human mind sees only the image, "as in a looking-glasse," of this eternal Wisdom. As St. Paul says:¹ "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ." Men, that is, possess not God's Wisdom as it is in itself, but as it is imaged through the temporal mind of the man-Christ. Or, in St. John's still more Neo-Platonic manner of speaking, men possess the Word, the *Logos*, which is the man-Christ, but not the Mind, the *Nous*, which is the God-Christ. Spenser's mystic reward of the true lover, the mind which has put off mortality, and taken on immortality,—the gift of Sapience,—means then that the beatified human mind shall, in St. Paul's words, "know the mind of the Lord." But, say the Platonists, what the mind truly knows, it possesses; therefore, truly knowing God's mind, or Wisdom, or Sapience, the true and faithful lover shall at last attain the object of love, which is possession; he shall possess, become one with God.

Thus, the *Hymne of Heavenly Love* promised the true lover "th' Idee of [Christ's] pure glorie;" the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* promises the divine reality behind that Idea, Christ's "pure glorie" as it is in itself. The Glorified Christ, as Origen had said, is the "bridegroom" to which the soul rises through its six stages of purification.

¹ I Cor. ii, 16.

Thus Spenser's 'Sapience' is a divine person, and no mere personified abstraction. It is of the utmost importance to remember this. The lesson of the 'Fowre Hymnes' is more than moral. It is mystical. The true lover is not merely to learn wisdom, even wisdom concerning "those faire things above"; he is eternally to live with the Wisdom, which is the very God.

But Spenser gives to this divine person, 'Sapience,' a singular character. 'Sapience' is a beautiful woman,

The soveraine dearling of the Deity, . . .
 The faire love of mightie heavens King, . . .
 Clad like a Queen in royall robes, . . .
 And all with gemmes and jewels gorgeously
 Adorn'd, . . .
 And on her head a crowne of purest gold, . . .
 And in her hand a scepter . . .
 Both heaven and earth obey unto her will . . .
 The faireness of her face no tongue can tell. . . .

. . . thrise happy man him hold,
 Of all on earth whom God doth so much grace,
 And lets his own Beloved to behold. . . .

. . . those whom shee
 Vouchsafeth to her presence to receave,
 . . . such wondrous pleasures they conceive,
 And sweet contentment, that it doth bereave
 Their soule of sense, through infinite delight,
 And them transport from flesh into the spright,
 In which they see such admirable things,
 As carries them into an extasy,—

an "extasy," that temporary release of the soul from the body when, as mystics always and everywhere believe, the soul has a foretaste of heavenly bliss.

We rub our eyes. We seem to have seen the familiar representation, heard the attributed powers and rewards, of the glorified Virgin Mary, gorgeous, hieratic, enthroned, here set by Spenser above Christ Himself as "the soveraine

dearling," "the faire love of heavens mightie King." Has the Calvinist suddenly relapsed, and turned Roman Catholic? succumbed to the allurements of his own fair-seeming 'Duessa'—fair outwardly, false inwardly—mistress of that 'House of Pride,' the Romish Church?

Indeed, the allurements to the allegorizing poet, the lover of picturesque analogies, were perilous. For his masters on one side, the Platonists, Venus was the mother of Love: is not love born of beauty? So might it be said, the Word is born of Wisdom, or Sapience; therefore, since Christ is the Word, his mother, Mary, is Wisdom or Sapience. Certainly, Spenser the poet yielded to the analogical allurements to the extent of portraying the Lady Sapience as the Romish 'Idolators' had portrayed their idol. But while the poet thus utilized the image, the Puritan theologian and mystic could not possibly have intended the same person behind the image. Indeed, it is noteworthy that he makes no mention of Christ as the son of 'Sapience,' whereas he spoke constantly in his earlier 'hymnes' of love as the son of Venus.¹

Who, then, is 'Sapience'? What person—since a *person* is called for—is intended by her,—this 'bride,' not 'bridegroom,' of the soul? Spenser has declared that "pure

¹ Spenser's attitude towards the Virgin Mary is probably that of his contemporary and fellow-Platonist, Sir John Davies, in 'Nosce teipsum' (1599). Davies says:

. . . God, being made Man, for man's own sake,
And being like man in all, except in sin:
His Body from the Virgin's womb did take;
But all agree, God formed His soul within.

Christ's "soul," that is, the Holy Spirit, or Ghost, is not born of Mary, but of God alone. In the same way, the Florentine Neo-Platonists conceived the Heavenly Venus as born, without a mother, immediately of God; while the earthly Venus has a dual parentage. Cf. Ficino, *Comm. Sympos.*, II, vii.

glorie" of Christ, the "Idea" of which the soul has seen in its own mind, to be its reward in heaven. It would be strange—would it not?—to represent this "pure glorie," which is Christ, as a woman? There is, however, another Person in the Christian heaven, seated in God's bosom,—co-eternal with God. "There are three," says St. John, "that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost." Christian writers from the earliest times have often identified the Holy Ghost with Wisdom. Theophilus of Antioch conceived the Trinity as *Theos*, *Logos*, *Sophia*—God, the Word, Wisdom. So Irenæus. So St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. So Athanasius, who says further that to possess the Holy Ghost, is to possess God. And St. Paul: "The Kingdom of God . . . is joy in the Holy Ghost."

To identify 'Sapience' with the Holy Ghost, then, follows Christian authority, and perfectly fulfills the need of Spenser's scheme. But, you exclaim, the Holy Ghost a woman? It would seem to make Spenser a forerunner of Mrs. Eddy. Well, at least he would not be the first so to do. In the early centuries of Christianity, the Gnostics, a school of mystics influenced by, and influencing, the Christians—St. John has himself been called a Gnostic, and St. Paul knew their doctrine—conceived the divinity, Christ, eternally "married" to *Pneuma*, the Holy Spirit, or Ghost. Precisely so, the Jewish Kabbalists conceived the Word, or *Logos*, as a male principle eternally mated with a female principle, which they called Intelligence, or Wisdom. Origen speaks of the Holy Ghost as his "mother,"¹—*ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*. Again, the Gnostics had recognized two divinities under the name of *Sophia*, or Wisdom, one heavenly, the other earthly, corresponding very closely to the Neo-Platonic Heavenly and Earthly Venuses.

¹ *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Vol. iv, p. 67.

The link between these early theosophists and Spenser is the Neo-Platonic Academy at Florence, which flourished under the guidance of Marsilio Ficino in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In his Commentary on Plato's Symposium, Ficino writes :¹ . . . "above our soul is a Sapience, which is not distributed through various doctrine, but is one ; and from its one truth springs the manifold truth of men. . . . This one light of the One Sapience is Angelic Beauty . . . is infinite Beauty." It is, as Spenser says,

that Sovereaine Light
From whose pure beames al perfect beauty springs.

This "infinite Beauty," continues Ficino, "is the desire of infinite Love." So Spenser,

That kindleth love in every godly spright.

But Ficino identifies this beautiful Sapience with the Heavenly Venus. "Since the Angelic Mind has being, life, and intelligence, they the Platonists call its Being, or Essence, Saturn ; its Life, Joy ; its Intelligence, Venus."² The analogy with the Christian Trinity is obvious : God the Father is the supreme Being ; God the Son is the perfect Life ; the Holy Ghost is the divine Intelligence, or Sapience. And on the analogy of the Neo-Platonic Venus, and possibly with the consciousness of the earlier usage—for the Florentine eclectics had revived and assimilated many such late Greek and Kabbalistic doctrines,—Spenser treats his 'Sapience,' the Holy Ghost, as a feminine principle—Goethe's *Ewig-Weibliche* raised to the stature of divinity,—the infinite desire of infinite love. That Sapience is one with God, one Person in the Triune Godhead, is further proved by Spenser's last stanza in the 'hymnes,' where he invites his souls to

¹ VI, xviii.

² II, vii.

... looke at last up to that Soveraine Light,
 From whose pure beames al perfect beauty springs,
 That kindleth love in every godly spright,
 Even the love of God . . .
 With whose sweete pleasures being so possest,
 Thy straying thoughts hence forth for ever rest.

The 'Fowre Hymnes,' then, are not two separate and antagonistic pairs, but one whole and progressive poem, representing a soul's conversion from

... that mad fit which fooles call love,

to "true love." In his youth, he—the poet: never mind about Spenser—had loved a mortal lady; had idealized her in his heart; constantly and faithfully had tried to be worthy of her love and favor. She, the mortal lady, had refused him her love and favor; and he had grieved. Then in his age, he had come to see his illusion. *Who*, after all, had refused him her love and favor? That mortal lady, yes. But was it she that he had really loved? Was it not rather his own ideal lady, of whom that hard-hearted lady had only reminded him? Did he not "admyre" really only the "mirrour of his owne thought?" Now at last he has discovered where dwells the model of the ideal his heart had fashioned, the true reality his mind had mirrored,—in the bosom of God. The Lady Sapience is not hard-hearted, but all-merciful: "to all those which worthy bee," to the "few chosen" of the "many called," she will give her peace. Joy in her, the Holy Ghost, is very blessedness, the Kingdom of God itself.

Even from this rapid analysis, it appears that the philosophical and literary ancestry of Spenser's 'Fowre Hymnes' must be a fairly complicated one. Even waiving the infusion of Calvinistic theology, and considering Spenser's Platonism alone, we must see that this renaissance Platonism—even as Spenser received it—is a very special product, owing per-

haps even more to late Greek and oriental theosophy and to Christian medieval mysticism than to Plato himself. In it Plato's doctrine of love is enormously magnified, and altered to imply romantic love, love between men and women. The physical and spiritual beauty of women is conceived as the power not themselves which makes for righteousness in men. It is, says Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*,¹

. . . gentle ladies, in whose souveraine powre
Love hath the glory of his kingdom left.

The real Plato would have been startled and amused at the idea. An English poet, Sir John Suckling, called this redeeming power of feminine beauty "the new religion in love." He spoke playfully, no doubt, but more truly than perhaps he knew. The renaissance in all seriousness did make a religion of "Platonic love"—as the renaissance conceived it. As a quintessence of the myriad professions of faith in this 'new religion,' I may quote a madrigal by one of its most finely sincere adherents, Michelangelo. At least, I may give the sense of the madrigal, for I cannot translate its beauty.

Mine eyes desirous of all fairest things,
And evenso my soul of her reward,
In having these adored,
Gain their one virtue that to heaven wings.
From the high stars there springs
A splendor, hither flowing,
Which thither desire brings,
And men call Love, unknowing.
Nor cometh Love, all-glowing,
Into the gentle heart, save from a face
Within whose eyes those stars have left their trace.

Such was the religion, the only religion, which Castiglione prescribed for the courtly society he pictured in his 'Book of the Courtier,' and gave us a model, not vainly, for all

¹ VI, viii, 1.

Europe. The Reformation, indeed, enforced a sterner, more masculine creed ; but as we have seen in Spenser, there was persistent effort by idealistic minds to graft the new Platonism upon the reformed Christianity, to warm the fraternal love, which Christ taught, with the ardency of the love which springs from beauty and sex.

The religion of beauty in woman of course antedates the renaissance. The antique world, indeed, would have smiled at such an idea : ancient philosophers—except one, and one only in one remarkable instance to be mentioned presently—regarded woman merely with contempt. But, you may object, medieval philosophers merely added to the antique contempt of woman, horror. She was for them a *confusio hominis*—a ‘confusion of man,’ a confused, unfinished man herself and a source of moral confusion to man. This is true,—true, I mean, for the middle ages ! And it is just this philosophical contempt and aversion towards woman that, combined with another idea, explains the medieval religion of love culminating in Dante. That other idea is the Platonic belief in the redeeming power of beauty. The middle ages got its Platonism at second hand, through such writers as Boethius, Dionysius, Augustine ; but they got it. Briefly speaking, the association of redeeming beauty with womanly beauty came about in two ways,—the religious worship of the Virgin Mary, and the chivalric homage paid to high-born ladies by the poets of Provence. These two glorifications of woman, however, prepare only the outward form of the ‘religion of love’ of Dante and his school. The worship of the Mother of Christ gave no sanction for the exaltation of any other woman. She was one preferred above women, miraculously elect, sacredly aloof. The homage paid to Provençal dames, on the other hand, was not religious at all, but a fashionable make-believe at best, at worst merely a gloss on sensuality. Dante’s master, Guido Guinicelli,

utilizing the poetic forms of Provence, and infused with the fervor of the praise of Mary, found a religion in the love of a woman, *his* lady, by conceiving her beauty to kindle in him the love of divine beauty. She was like a burning-glass held between him and God : it was not she, but the rays of the divine sun, focussed through her, that set him afire with holy love. She is the *illuminatio Dei*. Just so Beatrice—the real Beatrice—was valuable as a means, not as an end. Dante did not want *her* ; he wanted that which he conceived her name to mean, and her beauty to remind him of—blessedness. Once the tinder is ignited, the burning-glass may be thrown away. Dante did not exactly throw Beatrice away : she died. As a spirit purged of mortality, she ceased to be woman, and put on sainthood. But for her and Dante, there is no future of personal love such as Rossetti pictures for his Blessed Damosel and her lover. In Heaven, Beatrice is his sister, he her brother—in Christ. Romantic love is not purged away ; it never existed.

For the religion of beauty, the renaissance achieved three things. It rediscovered Plato, and—after its own fashion—reinterpreted him. It educated woman, and declared her, so educated, man's equal, if not—in matters æsthetic and spiritual—his superior. I may add, however, that this declaration prevailed rather in courts of princes than in courts of law. In the third place, the renaissance felt, and asserted against medieval asceticism its right to feel, sensuous beauty as a passion. Condemn the pleasures of sense ! exclaims a famous humanist of the fifteenth century. " Would that we had fifty senses, since we get so much enjoyment from five ! " But of every enjoyment of sense, he adds, the enjoyment of beauty is the best. Beauty in women is the highest gift of God. A century later, another Italian is more specifically rapturous. " For beauty," he says, " we see a man forget himself ; and on beholding a

face graced with this celestial gift, his limbs will quake, his hair stand on end, and he will sweat and shiver at the same time; just as one who, seeing on a sudden some heavenly vision, is possessed by the divine frenzy; and when he is come to himself worships it in his thoughts and bows down to it in his heart, and acknowledging it as it were a god, gives himself up as a victim and a sacrifice on the altar of that fair lady's heart." ~~You see~~, William James ought to have included looking at pretty women among his 'Varieties of Religious Experience'; it is really a conversion.

Now if you add to this somewhat extreme susceptibility on men's part to women's beauty, an intellectual training and social opportunity of the highest and freest kind, you will perceive how the aristocratic ladies of the renaissance were qualified to play the part of high priestesses in a religion of platonic love. But to describe that divine comedy, pseudo tragedy, or profane farce, as you please to regard it, is outside my present business. If we were concerned with Spenser's whole works, we might have to; for in one way or another he illustrates all its more serious incidents. In the 'Fowre Hymnes,' however, the Lady appears only for a moment, and by the way; the poet is rather concerned with the abstract doctrine than with personal or social application. The doctrine itself, and its expression in the form of 'hymnes'—'hymnes' in the Greek sense, really pæans, or laudatory odes—derive very directly, as I think, from a certain Italian poem, product and summary of that fifteenth century reinterpretation of Plato of which I just now spoke.¹ What the 'Ode on Love' of Girolamo Benivieni did for him was, I should say, to suggest emulation in form, and to supply a poetic, yet exact, compendium of doctrine. The interesting thing is, that the

¹For the text, a translation, and discussion of detailed relations of Benivieni's and the 'Fowre Hymnes' see *Modern Philology*, April, 1911.

English poet caps a series of doctrinal odes on love as a religion which begins with the ode on the "gentle heart" of Guinicelli, companioned by Dante's beginning "Ladies, that have intelligence of love," and Cavalcanti's "A lady besought me," and represented for the new renaissance creed by Benivieni's 'hymn.' These several odes are what I think of as the ancestry of the 'Fowre Hymnes.' They are connected as a chain, Spenser *perhaps* knowing only Benivieni; but Benivieni the rest; and the rest one another. In the remainder of my space I shall deal only with Benivieni, and the conditions which led to his ode.

The poet-philosopher, Girolamo Benivieni, was a prominent member of the Platonic Academy at Florence, which flourished under the patronage of the earlier Medici. These Platonists were concerned to harmonize the teachings of their master with the Christian religion. St. Augustine had already said that Platonists were almost Christians, 'near-Christians'; and for these fifteenth century Italians, worshippers of beauty, Plato's writings seemed a beautiful apotheosis of beauty. Aristotle and the Scholastics had, as they thought, syllogized the vision of God into a nightmare of repellant abstractions, and the love which should woo and win that vision, into a kind of senile and pusillanimous calculation. It was as if the aged Faust had thought to win Helena without first drinking the elixir of youth. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." How natural, how inevitable is such love for all who really have a heart, a soul, a mind, and strength, they said, is revealed by Plato in the *Symposium*. For there we learn from Diotima, the Wise Woman, how God, seen by the mortal eye in all things beautiful, awakens vague but ardent longings in the *heart*; how these longings move the *soul* instinctively to shape its life also in symmetry and harmony; and how

at last the seeing *mind* recognizes the heart's true object of longing in the true Beauty, Goodness, Truth, which is God. To have realized such love is indeed to love "with all thy strength."

So had taught Diotima, the Wise Woman; and Plato and Socrates had sat at her feet. So these masters of antiquity, scornful as they might be towards women in general, must nevertheless, as it seems, turn to a woman for the revelation of the deepest mysteries of their faith,—Beauty and Love. The renaissance 'religion' in romantic love is foreshadowed.

The kernel of the Florentine Neo-Platonism is Diotima's revelation. The philosophers of the school built up a huge system, interpreting and harmonizing by uncouth methods all knowledge concerning this and other worlds in the light of this central principle. By most historians of philosophy this system is shortly dismissed as a confused medley of at most half truths, of bad science, and of worse logic. It may be so; but Florentine Neo-Platonism was representative in and of its age, and for more than a century widely and deeply influential not only upon philosophical writings in the narrower sense, but upon literature at large, and upon life. The most adequate exposition, however, of the central principle of the system, to wit, the doctrine of Love and Beauty, is in a poem by one of the cenacle, Girolamo Benivieni. Benivieni's *Canzone d'Amore*, or 'Hymn of Love'—for it is precisely a 'hymn' in Spenser's sense—is no more than the *De Natura* of Lucretius, or the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, or the *Canzone d'Amore* of Cavalcanti, easy reading. These philosophical poets sail in deep waters; to follow, as Dante with rare humor warns, demands a stout heart and a sturdy ship:

Ye that have set out in a little skiff . . .
 Turn back, to see once more your native land;
 Venture not out to open sea; lest haply,
 Unable to follow me, ye might get lost.

Certainly, it would be as foolish a venture for me to attempt now any detailed exposition of Benivieni's 'hymn,' or even to read it in full. I—and my reader's patience—might be lost together. A few illustrative passages must suffice.

After a stanza of invocation, certainly very similar to that in Spenser's first 'hymn,' Benivieni announces his theme :

I tell how love from its celestial source
 In primal good flows to the world of sense ;
 When it had birth ; and whence ;
 How moves the heavens, refines the soul, gives laws
 To all ; in men's hearts taking residence,
 With what arms keen and ready in resource,
 It is the gracious force
 Which mortal minds from earth to heaven draws ;
 How it may light, warm, burn ; and what the cause
 One love may earthward bend, one heavenward bear,
 A third sustain midway 'twixt earth and heaven.

The primal good, or God, manifests itself in the universe under these forms of consciousness—*intelligence*, contemplative of the primal good itself ; *spirit*, actively seeking to realize in its own life the ideals held up before it by intelligence ; *sense*, blindly moved and drawn by the shadow cast on matter by the ideals reflected through the spirit. These three forms of consciousness exist both in the great, and in the little, universe,—in the macrocosm, or world as a whole, and in the microcosm man. The world as a whole has an intelligence, a world-mind ; and an active and creative spirit, a world-soul—Plato's 'demiurge' ; and a sensitive, moving and feeling body, a world-animal or the physical world. The one creative and moving force in this graduated universe is Love—*creative*, as each plane of consciousness is impelled to express after its kind the divine ideals, or patterns handed down to it ; *moving*, as each plane of consciousness yearns upward to fuller comprehension and posses-

the fond imagination of the lover, his inward vision, makes the loved one seem fairer than she is. He has stripped her fair image from its imperfect representation in clay, and remoulded it to his liking. But it is no longer the outward face, but the idealized portrait drawn by his own imagination, that he loved.

Hence it is decreed
That loving hearts on a sweet error feed.

In this love of an illusion, of a phantom-face—his fancy's bride—is the second stage of the soul's ascent.

However much loving imagination may have improved and glorified the beauty seen in the flesh, the glorified image is still one particular face. There are others. "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars"; and he that has seen but the glory of the sun only, has not seen all glory. Even so he that has loved and idealized one fair face only, has not loved all fairness. So the soul reaches out to new experiences of beauty, forms a mental 'composite photograph,' so to speak, from many fair faces; until, as Benivieni put it,—

. . . until from many fairs
The heart from matter tears,
Is shaped a type, wherein what nature rends
In all asunder, into one image blends.

Here in this third stage of its progress, the soul delights in this abstracted type. The soul has reason to be pleased; it is contemplating its own handiwork, for which nature gave but the raw materials. These the soul, as the sculptor his pieces of metal, has fused into a perfect form. In this generalized type furthermore,

long-sought truth the while
Is as a sun-ray under water seen.
For in that imaged fairness glimmers still,
Though darkly, something sacred that invites

By whose eternal, one
 Glory illumined, loving, are made fair
 The mind, the soul, the world, and all things there.

What this one true beauty is, which is in God and is God, mortal man may intuitively feel, but cannot declare. But to feel, and to desire, this true beauty, which is in God and is God, is the sixth and last stage of human love. So Benivieni halts his song.

O song of mine, I feel Love drawing rein
 On the rash ardors that my spirit move
 Beyond the path appointed to aspire.
 He applies the curb ; he checks the vain desire.

Desire of what ? we may ask. Is the goal of love not reached ? No, not fully ; for the final desire of love is possession. Possession of God, becoming one with Him, should be the sabbath of rest rewarding the six days' labor of love. If Benivieni cuts out this last act in the soul's dress, he has nevertheless alluded to it earlier in the poem :

By love the fire, through which its living grace
 Distils, in us is lit ; in flames whereof
 The heart consuming dies, yet dying lives.

This passing of the loving heart through death to life, is no mere rhetoric. Benivieni's friend and commentator, Pico della Mirandola, explains indeed that there are two deaths through which the heart may pass to life. In the first 'death,' the soul is released from the body, but not the body from the soul. The animal body lives on, while the soul goes on a heavenly excursion. As Milton puts it : leaving the body behind,

. . . the deep transported mind may soar
 Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
 Look in.

This is the Platonic 'ecstasy'—that state in which Spenser

spoke of seeing Lady Sapience. Mystics, generally, have experienced, or claim to have experienced, such trance-like communion with God. I need only remind you of Catherine of Siena, or St. Francis, or—perhaps—John Alexander Dowie. In ecstasy, in this first, or false, death, says Pico, the lover may see the celestial Venus face to face, and hear her speak,—but no more. So the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. But in the second, or perfect, death, when both soul and body are wholly released from one another, then shall the lover's soul embrace and kiss the celestial Venus; and in that kiss his soul and hers shall intermingle and become as one in perfect union. As Spenser says finally—if my interpretation be correct—

With whose [*i. e.*, God's] sweete pleasures [the gift
of the Holy Ghost] being so possest,
Thy straying thoughts hence forth forever rest.

And to that Sabbath of rest, after the six days of his soul's purgation and ascent, Spenser looks in the last line he probably ever wrote:

O that great Sabbaoth God graunt me that Sabaoth's sight!¹

In the light of these doctrinal 'Hymnes,' much of the allegory of the 'Faerie Queene' becomes clear. Thus, 'Gloriana,' queen of Faerie Land, means that "pure glorie," "great heavens Queene, Sapience," "th' Idee" of whom Englishmen may see through 'Gloriana' incarnate in "the most excellent person of their Soveraine the Queene" Elizabeth. England is 'Faerie Land,' that is, heaven on earth; its capital, London—Troynovant, third world-capital after Troy and Rome—is the earthly counterpart of the capital of the heavenly 'Faerie Land,' Cleopolis,

¹ It is evident that he confounds Sabaoth (hosts) with Sabbath (rest).—Child.

city of glory, city of God, the New Jerusalem. Prince Arthur, enamored of Gloriana seen in a vision, in "the mirrour of his owne mind," is the human soul enamored of the heavenly Sapience. He is, also, in human parallel, the Earl of Leicester, enamored of Queen Elizabeth. Thus, in the 'Faerie Queene,' mystic, patriot, courtier meet.

It is of the mystic, infusing into the dry bones of Calvinist theology the beautiful—though, if you like, fantastic—spirit of renaissance Platonism, that John Milton, at once Puritan and lover of beauty, thought, when he called the "sage and serious Spenser" "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." If in the 'Faerie Queene' we get the body of his teaching, gorgeously appareled, in the 'Fowre Hymnes' that teaching is given, *simplex munditiis*, unveiled. In some ways they are the most perfect, as well as the fourth, gospel—after Dante, Cavalcanti, Benivieni—of the medieval renaissance 'religion' of beauty and love.

JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER.

XVII.—INFLUENCE DES RÉCITS DE VOYAGES SUR LA PHILOSOPHIE DE J. J. ROUSSEAU

Contrairement à bien des écrivains et à bien des philosophes, Jean Jacques Rousseau semble avoir trouvé, dès le début de sa carrière, l'idée directrice qui devait le guider dans toute son œuvre. Contenue, déjà presque entière, dans le *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, la théorie sur la bonté originelle de l'homme est formulée avec netteté et développée dans le *Discours sur l'Inégalité* ; on la retrouve dans tous les ouvrages de Rousseau, c'est l'essential même de sa doctrine, le principe admis par lui comme absolu et incontestable, dont il ne se départira pas et qu'il défendra obstinément. Il est assez étonnant, au premier abord, de voir Rousseau prendre cette attitude dans la lutte philosophique à un moment où les idées de progrès ont gagné tellement de terrain, dans un des siècles les plus civilisés et les plus heureux de son raffinement que l'on ait connu. Ajoutons que Rousseau, en sa double qualité de Genevois et de protestant foncier, qu'il est toujours resté, aurait dû croire plus que tout autre à ce que Calvin appelle la "malice humain."¹ Suffit-il de dire que Rousseau "étant éminemment individualiste, toute sa doctrine sort de la constitution particulière de son moi," comme M. Lanson le déclare ? Il ne semble pas, et cette solution ne nous satisfait guère ; il y a pourtant là un problème psychologique autant que littéraire qui vaut d'être examiné.

Pour certains, M. Jules Lemaitre en particulier, Rousseau a pris le parti de la nature contre la civilisation par désir de singulariser, par amour du paradoxe ; encouragé dans cette

¹ Voir Gaberel, *Calvin et Rousseau*, Genève, 1878.

voie par Diderot et voyant le succès de son idée audacieuse, il aurait ensuite persisté par crainte de se désavouer et par orgueil.

Il suffit cependant de lire Rousseau, pour sentir sa parfaite sincérité ; il peut avoir tort, il est au moins convaincu, et à ce point que toute sa vie il ne cessera d'aspirer à la bienheureuse liberté de l'homme primitif ; c'est pour avoir cru enfin la trouver qu'il sera si heureux pendant les quelques mois de son séjour à l'île Saint-Pierre. Pour cette raison, qui nous paraît probante, et parce que nous ne pouvons admettre que Rousseau ait passé toute sa vie en un mensonge perpétuel, nous rejetterons l'explication de M. Jules Lemaitre, qui n'est au reste que l'explication assez malveillante donnée par Marmontel au livre VIII de ses *Mémoires*. Reste alors le récit où Rousseau raconte avoir été saisi d'une inspiration subite, d'un éblouissement à la lecture du programme de l'Académie de Dijon, un jour qu'il allait voir Diderot alors prisonnier à Vincennes.¹

C'est la version à laquelle nous nous arrêterons, en la complétant toutefois et en essayant de l'expliquer. Quelle que soit la valeur de notre hypothèse, elle nous semble, en effet, présenter l'avantage de replacer Rousseau dans son milieu et dans son temps, tout en tenant compte du récit qu'a priori nous n'avons aucun droit de mettre en doute. Ce que Rousseau a cru, de très bonne foi, trouver de lui-même et en lui-même, pourrait bien n'être en réalité qu'une réminiscence, un souvenir inconscient de lectures antérieurement faites. Si, en effet, l'idée de la bonté originelle de l'homme n'était pas courante chez les philosophes de 1750, elle était

¹ *Confession*, II^e part., Livre VIII.—Dans le même livre Rousseau raconte un peu plus loin comment il composa son second *Discours* dans des conditions analogues au cours de ses promenades à travers la forêt de Saint Germain. Dans les deux récits nous trouvons la même affirmation d'originalité et d'invention personnelle.

admise en fait dans toute une catégorie d'ouvrages que Rousseau ne pouvait pas ne pas avoir lus.¹ Sans vouloir rechercher les origines lointaines et antiques de cette théorie, nous voudrions montrer comment elle s'est développée, en quelque sorte en marge de la littérature, dans les récits de voyages en Amérique et chez les écrivains qui se sont inspirés d'eux. C'est là que Rousseau a trouvé sa doctrine pour ainsi dire toute prête, assez solidement établie par des faits pour qu'on pût élever dessus un système philosophique, et c'est lui-même qui va nous fournir les éléments de notre démonstration.

Pour définir ce qu'il entend par homme naturel, Rousseau prétend n'avoir fait usage que du raisonnement. "Laisant de côté tous les livres scientifiques qui ne nous apprennent qu'à voir les hommes tels qu'ils se sont faits, dit-il, et méditant sur les premières et plus simples opérations de l'âme humaine, j'y vois deux principes, qui sont l'instinct de la conservation et la répugnance à voir souffrir un être semblable à soi." Ainsi armé Rousseau commence à construire *in abstracto* son homme de la nature. Remarquons, en passant, le faux cartésianisme de cette proposition et le procédé dangereux employé par Rousseau ; le raisonnement cartésien ne pouvant en effet s'appliquer qu'à des opérations

¹ Dès 1720 de l'Isle avait fait jouer sur la scène de la Comédie Italienne un *Arlequin Sauvage*, où l'on voyait un Indien se moquer de notre civilisation ; la pièce eut du succès mais n'est qu'un aimable badinage. Quant à Montesquieu, son *Usbeck* est loin d'être "l'homme naturel" tel que l'a conçu Rousseau. L'auteur des *Lettres Persanes* connaissait parfaitement le *Voyage en Perse* de Chardin ; il n'est pas tombé dans l'erreur grossière de faire de son héros un barbare ou un sauvage, comme on disait alors. *Usbeck* est le représentant d'une civilisation moins avancée que la nôtre, il n'en est pas moins un civilisé. Ce n'est donc point là qu'il faut rechercher les origines précises du *Discours sur l'Inégalité* ; et en tout cas Montesquieu n'a voulu faire que le procès de quelques abus et de quelques travers et non point diriger une attaque systématique contre la civilisation.

de l'intelligence et non à des manifestations de la sensibilité. Il va arriver que, fatalement, Rousseau ne pourra demeurer dans le domaine de l'abstraction et qu'il sera forcé de citer des faits, d'avoir recours à des procédés empiriques, autrement dit de particulariser son "homme de la nature"; si bien que sans y penser il va nous peindre "l'homme sauvage" tel qu'il avait pu le trouver dans une foule de relations de voyages, et non l'homme tel qu'il est "sorti des mains de l'auteur des choses." Il exécute pourtant en peu de mots les voyageurs qui ont voulu décrire les mœurs des sauvages. La raison en est simple: "ils n'étaient points philosophes." Les particuliers ont beau aller et venir, "la philosophie ne voyage pas." Quels beaux récits nous aurions, au contraire, si "un Montesquieu, un Buffon, un Diderot, un Duclos, un d'Alembert, un Condillac ou des hommes de cette trempe" consentaient à explorer "le Mexique, le Pérou, le Chili, les Terres Magellaniques, sans oublier les Patagons vrais ou faux, le Brésil, enfin les Caraïbes, la Floride, et toutes les contrées sauvages, voyage le plus important de tous."¹

Où donc cependant sinon dans ces récits de "marins, de soldats ou des Missionnaires," qu'il affecte de tant dédaigner, Rousseau a-t-il pu prendre de quoi illustrer sa thèse? Un philosophe poète, comme Rousseau, qui cherche bien plus à peindre et à frapper l'imagination qu'à raisonner, ne saurait se passer de faits. Après avoir malmené si fort ces pauvres voyageurs qui n'avaient point surchargé de livres philosophiques leur mince bagage d'explorateur, il s'empresse de reconnaître ce qu'il leur doit et nous verrons qu'il leur doit encore plus qu'il ne pense. Il cite en effet non seulement Buffon qui a exercé sur lui une influence incontestable,

¹ *Discours sur l'Inégalité* (note j.)

mais encorse Kolben, Corréal, et surtout *l'Histoire Générale des Voyages* de l'abbé Prévost, avou précieux à retenir.¹

Le fait est donc nettement établi : Rousseau avant d'écrire le *Discours sur l'Inégalité* s'est documenté, et nul ne saurait songer à le lui reprocher. On peut critiquer davantage son assertion que la "philosophie ne voyage pas"; il y a là de sa part un oubli assez étrange. Bien avant lui d'autres qu'il avait très probablement lus, dont au moins il avait entendu parler, avaient songé à étudier les mœurs des sauvages de façon scientifique, comme nous dirions; bien d'autres surtout avaient institué entre l'homme moderne et "l'homme de la nature" tel qu'on croyait l'avoir trouvé dans les forêts américaines, un rapprochement destiné à couvrir de confusion les prétendus civilisés que nous sommes.

Montaigne me paraît avoir été le premier en France à rapprocher l'état de nature des mœurs de la société de son temps. Dans son fameux chapitre des *Cannibales* écrit d'après les récits d'un aventurier qui avait accompagné M. de Villegaignon dans son expédition de la France Antarctique,² il a établi entre les sauvages américains et les hommes de l'âge d'or ce faux parallélisme qui devait avoir une fortune si singulière.

¹*Discours sur l'Inégalité* (notes f, g, j.)—Le tome XII de la compilation de Prévost, qui traite spécialement de l'Amérique, a paru en 1754, trop tard pour que Rousseau ait pu utilement le consulter; mais le tome XI, qui contient déjà les voyages de Magellan, a pu lui-fournir quelques renseignements.

²Cette expédition a été racontée par André Thévet dans ses *Singularités de la France Antarctique*, Paris, 1556. Thévet, qui est loin d'être un philosophe, n'a vu dans les sauvages que des cannibales ou des pauvres êtres deshérités par la nature et condamnés à vivre de façon précaire sous un ciel affreux: voir surtout le chapitre "Comment ces pauvres gens se défendent du froid"; nous sommes bien loin de l'âge d'or. Il est à noter que Rabelais, qui lui aussi s'est occupé de l'Amérique, comme l'a montré Lefranc (*Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, Paris, 1905), a partagé l'opinion de Thévet sur ce point (*Pantagruel*, IV, 9). On s'est en effet tout d'abord demandé si les sauvages américains avaient une âme; le zèle des convertisseurs ne s'est éveillé qu'assez longtemps après la découverte.

“ Il me semble, dit-il, que ce que nous voyons par expérience en ces nations, surpasse non seulement les peintures de quoy la poésie a embelli l'âge doré, et toutes ses inventions à peindre une heureuse condition d'hommes, mais encore la conception et le désir même de la philosophie ; ni Platon, ni Lycurque n'ont pu imaginer une nayveté si pure et si simple comme nous la voyons par expérience : *Hos natura modos primum dedit.*” Si Montaigne insiste ainsi sur le mot “ expérience,” c'est qu'il eut l'occasion de voir de près trois de ces sauvages à Rouen “ du temps du feu roy Charles neuvième,” de les interroger sur leurs lois et coutumes. Un interprète traduisit leurs réponses et Montaigne apprit ainsi “ trois choses du plus haut intérêt ” ; de la troisième il ne se souvient plus ; heureusement pour nous et pour Rousseau il n'a point oublié les deux premières. “ Ils dirent qu'ils trouvaient en premier lieu fort étrange que tant de grands hommes portant barbe, forts et armez, qui étaient auprès du roy, se soubmissent à obéir à un enfant, et qu'on ne choisissait plutôt quelqu'un d'entre eux pour commander. Secondement qu'ils avaient aperçu qu'il y avait parmi nous des hommes pleins et gorgez de toutes sortes de commoditez et que leur moitiés (ils ont une façon de langage telle qu'ils nomment les hommes moitié les uns des aultres) estaient mendiants à leurs portes, descharnez de faim et de pauvreté ; et trouvaient estrange comme ces moitiés ici nécessaires pouvaient souffrir une telle injustice, qu'ils ne prinssent les autres à la gorge ou meissent le feu à leurs maisons.”¹

¹ *Essais*, Liv. I, Chap. xxx. On avait vu assez souvent de ces sauvages en France, et, en particulier, à Rouen. En 1551 une véritable colonie d'Indiens venus du Brésil campa sur les rives de la Seine et le roi Henri II prit grand intérêt à ce spectacle, “ duquel son œil fut joyeusement content.” (*Déduction du somptueux ordre, plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques spectacles . . . donnés par les citoiens de Rouen à la Sacrée Majesté du très christien Roy de France Henry second*, Rouen, 1551. Réimprimé à Paris chez Techener, 1850). Ces Indiens et les objets exotiques qu'ils avaient

N'est-il pas étrange de trouver déjà sous la plume de Montaigne la conclusion du *Discours sur l'Inégalité* : " il est manifestement contre la loi de nature de quelque manière qu'on la définisse qu'un enfant commande à un veillard, qu'un imbécile conduise un homme sage, et qu'une poignée de gens regorge de superfluités tandis que la multitude affamée manque du nécessaire " ? Cette conclusion, je le sais, prend une valeur toute particulière dans l'ouvrage de Rousseau, surtout si l'on songe aux événements qui devaient survenir en France quarante ans plus tard. On voit cependant que l'on aurait tort de voir une prophétie révolutionnaire dans ce qui n'est très probablement qu'un souvenir de Montaigne et une formule que nous aurons encore l'occasion de signaler bien souvent avant Rousseau.¹

Il reste qu'il faut retenir du chapitre de Montaigne deux idées principales ; les sauvages américains vivent selon la loi de nature, et, ce faisant, ils sont plus heureux que nous ; nous n'avons point de motifs de nous croire plus raisonnables qu'eux, leur simple bon sens vaut mieux que notre prétendue sagesse. Il est vrai qu'il termine par le mot bien connu : " Tout cela ne va pas trop mal, maisquoy, ils ne portent pas de hauts de Chausses ", — constatation où le sceptique et le douteur reparaît. Quelle que soit la valeur des idées de Montaigne, elles devaient faire un chemin

apportés avec eux inspirèrent même des artistes ; cf. un article du Dr. Hamy sur *l'Album des habitants du Nouveau monde d'Antoine Jacquard* qui contient un passage sur les sculptures de l'Hôtel du Brésil à Rouen (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, Nouvelle série, tome IV, no. 2, 1908).

¹ M. Edme Champion dans son livre si judicieux sur *J. J. Rousseau et la Révolution Française*, Paris, 1909, ne signale pas ce rapprochement, que je crois cependant décisif. Si le mot de Mde. de Stael : " Rousseau n'a rien inventé, mais il a tout enflammé, " nous paraît exact, il n'est peut-être pas inutile de le corroborer par des faits et des textes. — Mr. Paul Stapfer dans son volume sur Montaigne, Paris, 1895, ne fait qu'indiquer en passant la dette de Rousseau.

rapide ; nous les retrouvons bientôt, appuyées cette fois de considérations philosophiques, chez un voyageur en Amérique, l'avocat Lescarbot.¹

Dès le début de son livre Lescarbot proteste contre le nom de sauvages donné aux habitants du Nouveau Monde, "lesquels je nommeray de ce nom commun," dit-il, "quoy qu'ils soient sans comparaison autant humains que nous." Le premier, parmi les voyageurs, il entreprend la réhabilitation systématique des sauvages américains ; si barbares qu'ils puissent paraître, ils ont au moins sur nous l'avantage de ne pas connaître la torture légale, et pour la cruauté à la guerre "ny Hespagnols, ni Flamens, ny Français ne leur devons rien en ce regard. Je puis assurer," conclut-il, "qu'ils ont autant d'humanité et plus d'hospitalité que nous."² D'où vient donc qu'ils ne sont point "si brutaux, stupides ou lourdaux qu'on pourrait penser" ? D'où vient que "quoyque nuds ils ne laissent point d'avoir les vertus qui se trouvent ès hommes civilisés ? C'est qu'un chacun (dit Aristote) dès sa naissance a en soy les principes et semence des vertus. Prenant donc les quatre vertus par leurs chefs, nous trouvons qu'ils en participent beaucoup."³

¹ Montaigne n'est pas le seul au XVI^e siècle à avoir établi ce rapprochement ; Jodelle dans une ode dédiée à Thévet et publiée en tête de la *Relation de la France antarctique*, avait déjà dit :

Ces Barbares marchent tous nuds,
Et nous nous marchons incogneus
Fardez, masquez. Ce peuple estrange
A la pitié ne se range,
Nous la notre nous mesprisons

M. Laumonier a récemment signalé une curieuse ressemblance entre Ronsard et Rousseau (*Ronsard poète lyrique*, Paris, 1910, page 554). Mais personne autre au XVI^e siècle ne nous paraît avoir eu la hardiesse de Montaigne.

² *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* . . . par Marc Lescarbot, témoin oculaire des choses ici récitées, Paris, 1609, chap. II, page 2.

³ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, page 779. .

Ces vertus sont la Force ou le Courage, la Tempérance, la Libéralité, la Justice. Nous ne suivrons pas Lescarbot dans son analyse de l'esprit humain ; retenons seulement ce qu'il dit de la justice. "Pour ce qui est de la justice, ils n'ont aucune loy divine ny humaine, sinon celle que leur nature leur enseigne qu'il ne faut pas offenser autrui."¹ Rousseau étudiant la nature de l'homme primitif arrivera à la même constatation, quand il dira parlant de la pitié, qu'il considère comme un sentiment inné : "C'est elle qui au lieu de cette maxime sublime de justice raisonnée : Fais à autrui ce que tu veux qu'on te fasse, inspire à tous les hommes cette maxime de bonté naturelle bien moins parfaite, mais plus utile peut-être que la précédente : Fais ton bien avec le moindre mal d'autrui qu'il est possible."²

Sans doute le brave robin qu'est Lescarbot et qui écrit "pour employer utilement les heures qu'il peut avoir de loisir, pendant le temps appelé vacations," n'a pas songé qu'il faisait œuvre de précurseur et presque de révolutionnaire en rappelant après Aristote que tous les hommes se valent et ont en eux les mêmes possibilités. Avec Descartes,

¹ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, page 804.

² *Discours sur l'Inégalité*, 1ère partie.

Sans vouloir y insister autrement, je signalerai encore une coïncidence assez curieuse. Lescarbot décrivant les Tabagies ou festins des sauvages avait dit : "Je veux encore dire en passant que Lacédaemoniens avaient une certaine maniere de bal ou danse dont ils usaient en toutes leurs festes ou solemnités, laquelle représentait les trois temps, scavoir : le passé par les vieillards qui disaient en chantant ce refrain, Nous fûmes jadis valeureux ; le présent par les jeunes gens en fleur d'âge disant, Nous le sommes presentement ; l'avenir par les enfants qui disaient, Nous le serons à notre tour." (*Hist. de la N. F.*, p. 771). Quand 150 ans plus tard Rousseau voudra dépeindre une fête civique telle qu'il souhaiterait d'en voir établir à Genève, c'est le même passage de Plutarque qui se présentera à lui, il le citera presque dans les mêmes termes et conclura de façon triomphante : "Voilà, Monsieur, les divertissements qui conviennent à une république" (*Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles*, in fine). Il est du reste probable qu'Amyot est ici la source commune de Lescarbot et de Rousseau.

on va admettre que le “ bon sens est la chose du monde la mieux ^Ppartagée ”; proclamés égaux en raison, le temps viendra où tous les hommes voudront être égaux en droit, et ce sera '89. Rien de plus dangereux et, au fonds, de plus redoutable dans ses conséquences pour une monarchie absolue, que tous ces récits de voyages qui vont inonder le ^{VXII}^e et le ^{XVIII}^e siècles. Ils vont habituer le public à cette idée que les hommes peuvent vivre heureux et vertueux sans lois, sans rois et sans droit écrit; quand Rousseau publiera le *Discours sur l'Inégalité* il trouvera un terrain préparé de longue main.

Nous ne pouvons dans le cadre forcément très limité de cette étude passer en revue les récits de voyages du ^{XVII}^e siècle; presque tous ont été écrits par des missionnaires et offrent moins d'intérêt pour nous. Vivant parmi les sauvages, ayant, en bien des cas, à souffrir de leurs attaques, les voyageurs ecclésiastiques et surtout les Récollets avaient moins de propension à considérer l'homme de la nature comme l'idéal de toutes les vertus. Le cas des Jésuites est un peu différent, comme nous le verrons plus tard. Du reste, le ^{XVII}^e siècle prêtait peu à de telles spéculations qui s'accordent mal avec le dogme du péché originel et la royauté de droit divin. Aussi faut-il attendre à la fin du siècle et presque au commencement du ^{XVIII}^e pour voir reparaître la théorie de l'homme naturel, telle que l'avaient entrevue Montaigne et Lescarbot, pour ne citer que ceux-là. Chose assez surprenante, cette théorie se retrouve sous la plume d'un prêtre, de Fénelon. Je ne veux pas parler ici de l'établissement de Salente par Idoménée, mais de la description de la Bétique qui clôt le livre VII du *Télémaque*. Sans doute, Fénelon s'est souvenu de Strabon et surtout de Virgile;¹ il ne pouvait pas échapper aux réminiscences

¹ Strabon, III, 4, 155. Il est du reste impossible de trouver quelque chose de plus froid que cette description de Strabon indiquée habituellement comme la source du tableau de Fénelon.

classiques ; je me demande cependant s'il n'entre pas un élément plus moderne dans ce tableau idyllique. N'oublions pas que Fénelon avait eu un moment l'idée de se faire missionnaire, que Colbert ne cessait d'attirer l'attention sur la Nouvelle France, et que la double qualité d'homme bien en cour et d'archevêque de Mr. de Cambrai, l'avait mis forcément en relation avec des gens qui avaient fait le voyage d'Amérique.

Aussi, sans que rien nous permette de l'affirmer de façon absolue, nous semble-t-il que Fénelon a décrit un paysage plus exotique que classique, plus américain que Virgilien. Quel est, en effet, ce pays où les sentiers sont bordés d'arbres toujours en fleurs, où les champs donnent une double moisson, où les habitants font servir l'or et l'argent aux mêmes usages que le fer ? Est-ce la Bétique de Strabon, n'est-ce pas plutôt la Floride ou déjà l'Eldorado ? Quelles sont ces peuplades qui ne connaissent point la propriété, ont à peine l'idée de patrie, mais ne peuvent accepter la servitude ? Ne reconnaissons-nous là les sauvages de Montaigne et de Lescarbot ? “ Nous avons voulu leur apprendre la navigation, dit Adoam, mener les jeunes gens de leur pays dans la Phénicie ; mais ils n'ont pas voulu que leurs enfants apprirent à vivre comme nous. Ils apprendraient, nous disaient-ils, à avoir besoin de toutes les choses qui vous sont devenues nécessaires ; ils voudraient les avoir ; ils abandonneraient la vertu pour les obtenir par de mauvaises industries.” Ne nous y trompons pas, Télémaque ne pouvait découvrir l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb ; Fénelon, qui tenait à placer sous nos yeux un tableau de l'âge d'or, a transporté en Bétique “ l'aimable simplicité du monde naissant ” qu'il avait trouvée dans les récits de voyages. L'exclamation finale de Télémaque suffirait à lever nos doutes, c'est bien l'homme sauvage ou l'homme de la nature, si l'on préfère, que Fénelon a voulu peindre. “ Oh combien ces mœurs,

disait Télémaque, sont-elles éloignées des mœurs vaines et ambitieuses des peuples que l'on croit les plus sages ! Nous sommes tellement gâtés, qu'à peine pouvons-nous croire que cette simplicité si naturelle puisse être véritable. Nous regardons les mœurs de ces peuples comme un songe monstrueux." Dès ce moment la légende américaine est pour ainsi dire fixée ; à part quelques dissidences que nous ne pouvons examiner ici, la " belle fable " dont parle Fénelon est admise comme une réalité ; quelques traits encore et nous aurons le portrait de l'homme de la nature tel qu'il apparaîtra dans le *Discours*. Deux voyageurs de tempéraments bien différents, La Hontan et Lafitau, vont fournir à Rousseau les éléments nécessaires pour le compléter.

La Hontan, ancien officier, voyageur et colon, ennemi acharné des Jésuites par surcroît, est une figure des plus curieuses.¹ Dès le frontispice, nous sommes avertis du ton de son livre. On y voit un sauvage nu foulant aux pieds un code et une couronne flanquée d'une main de justice. " Et leges et sceptrum terit," lit-on en exergue, inscription d'une hardiesse révolutionnaire qui est quelque peu surprenante à cette date ; le livre, il est vrai, fut publié en Hollande. " J'envie le sort du pauvre sauvage qui leges et sceptrum terit," s'écrie La Hontan dans sa préface, " et je souhaiterais pouvoir passer le reste de ma vie dans sa cabane, afin de n'être plus exposé à fléchir le genou devant des gens qui sacrifient le bien public à leur intérêt particulier et qui sont nés pour faire enrager les honnêtes gens." Il y a du reste dans le cas de La Hontan bien plus de rancœurs personnelles contre M. de Pontchartrain, dont il a eu à se plaindre, que d'audace révolutionnaire.

Que le roi rende à M. le baron de la Hontan son grade dans l'armée et il ne songera guère à la cabane du sauvage.

¹ *Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ou la suite des Voyages de M. le baron de la Hontan*, La Haye, MDCCIII.

Le ton du livre n'en est pas moins intéressant. C'est la première fois que nous rencontrons sous la plume d'un écrivain le regret formel de la vie libre et insouciant de l'Indien du Nouveau Monde : nous aurons ensuite bien souvent l'occasion de retrouver la même exclamation chez Rousseau et surtout chez ces disciples romantiques. Un simple coup d'œil sur le livre de La Hontan suffit à nous faire voir qu'il est à n'en pas douter un précurseur de Jean Jacques. Les sauvages "se moquent des sciences et des arts." "Ils se raillent de nous et nous traitent d'esclaves, ils disent que nous sommes des misérables dont la vie ne tient à rien, que nous nous dégradons de notre condition, en nous réduisant à la servitude d'un seul homme qui peut tout et qui n'a d'autre loi que sa volonté." ¹ C'est encore la pensée exprimée par Montaigne, mais le ton est plus âpre, et cette fois il n'y a plus le sourire joliment douteur de l'auteur des *Essais*.

D'où vient donc que les Européens sont corrempus ? "C'est qu'ils ont un tien et un mien, des lois, des juges et des prêtres," en un mot qu'ils vivent en société organisée. "Or si cela est, on ne doit faire aucune difficulté de croire que ces peuples soient si sages et si raisonnables. Il me semble qu'il faut être aveugle pour ne pas voir que la propriété des biens, je ne dis pas celle des femmes, est la seule source de tous les désordres qui troublent la société des Européens." ² Cette fois il y a plus que du dépit dans le ton de l'écrivain, c'est déjà tout le *Contrat Social*, et Rousseau ne dira rien de plus fort.

Sans chef, vivant dans la communauté des biens, l'homme primitif ne connaît point de culte en commun, il n'a ni idoles, ni temples, ni prêtres : "Enfin tout ce que l'on conçoit est ce Dieu qui, subsistant sans bornes et sans limites et sans corps, ne doit pas être représenté sous la figure d'un

¹ *Voyages de Lahontan*, tome III.

² *Voyages de Lahontan*.

vieillard, ni de quelque autre que ce puisse être, quelque belle, vaste ou étendue qu'elle soit. Ce qui fait qu'ils l'adorent en tout ce qui paraît au monde. Cela est si vrai que dès qu'ils voient quelque chose de beau, de curieux ou de surprenant, surtout le soleil et les autres astres, ils s'écrient ainsi : O grand esprit ou de Maître de vie !"¹ Ainsi pour La Hontan, de la soumission aux lois de la nature résulte la religion naturelle ; par un processus analogue Rousseau arrivera à la *Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard* après le *Discours sur l'Inégalité* et le *Contrat Social*.

Pour offrir moins de ressemblances directes avec les théories de Rousseau, les récits des missionnaires n'en sont pas moins importants à consulter. On peut les diviser en deux classes : à la première appartiendraient les Récollets, à la seconde les Jésuites. Les Récollets offrent peu d'intérêt pour nous, déçus dans leurs espérances de missionnaires, irrités de la mauvaise volonté que les sauvages mettent à se convertir, ils les peignent comme des animaux stupides et abrutis. "Je pourrais encore grossir cette relation," s'écrie l'un d'eux, le P. Hennepin,² "mais voilà, ce me semble, les remarques les plus nécessaires pour connaître les Caraïbes ; il n'y a plus qu'un petit nombre de cette nation ; et outre qu'ils se détruisent tous les jours eux-mêmes, les Anglais travaillent à les exterminer entièrement. Dieu, je crois, le permet ainsi, parce qu'ils font une trop grande injure au Créateur par leur vie de bêtes, et qu'ils ne veulent point le reconnaître : quoi qu'on leur ait pu dire depuis vingt ans, ils s'en moquent : et s'il y avait lieu d'espérer de les faire chrétiens il faudrait premièrement les civiliser et les faire hommes."³

¹ La Hontan.

² *Voyages curieux et nouveaux de MM. Hennepin et de La Borde . . .*, Amsterdam, MDCCXI.

³ Hennepin, pp. 503-04.

Le ton est tout à fait différent avec les Jésuites. Plus souples, plus curieux de singularités, plus pénétrés aussi d'éducation classique, ils emportent avec eux leurs souvenirs de Virgile et de Plutarque et s'accordent pour reconnaître aux sauvages des vertus supérieures à celles des civilisés. Tous ou presque tous ont suivi la route indiquée par Montaigne et Lescarbot, tous ont cru de bonne foi retrouver l'âge d'or dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde. Un des exemples les plus frappants de cet état d'esprit tout spécial apparaît dans le livre du Père Lafitau.¹ Seul, un esprit imprégné d'antiquité classique pouvait songer à traiter "Des mœurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des anciens temps." Chez ces hommes que l'on croit des barbares le bon Père va retrouver "des hommes tels que si le monde ne faisait que naître pour eux et que s'ils ne faisaient que sortir du limon de la terre."² Mais ces sauvages, s'ils sont tels que le dit Lafitau, ne diffèrent guère "des hommes tels qu'ils sont sortis des mains de l'auteur des choses," que Rousseau voudra dépeindre. On ne saurait nier que cette ressemblance et cette coïncidence ne soient au moins singulières. Que devient alors, chez le Père jésuite, le péché originel, puisque ces hommes privés des lumières de la religion chrétienne "sont bons, affables, ont pour leurs égaux une déférence surprenante, exercent une hospitalité qui a de quoi confondre les nations de l'Europe et ont de plus une religion qui a une grande conformité avec celle des premiers temps"?³ Lafitau a senti le danger; il a voulu y remédier par avance en déclarant dans sa préface qu'il renonçait à ses théories sur tous les points où elles pourraient paraître contraires à la religion chrétienne, ce qui ne l'empêche pas un peu plus loin de commencer un chapitre par ces mots: "Les

¹ *Des Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des anciens temps.*

² Lafitau, p. 107.

³ Lafitau, p. 106.

hommes étant partout les mêmes et naissant avec les mêmes qualités bonnes ou mauvaises. . . .”¹ Nous ne nous chargeons pas de défendre l’orthodoxie du bon Père ; ce qu’il nous faut retenir de son ouvrages c’est le rapprochement constant entre les Indiens et les anciens, les souvenirs d’Homère, d’Hérodote et surtout de Plutarque, qui se mêlent à toutes ses descriptions de l’Amérique ; c’est ce faux parallélisme qui habitue à voir les sauvages comme on s’attend à les voir, qui empêche toute observation directe, et qu’on pourrait appeler la déformation d’un classicisme outrancier.²

Les ouvrages qui traitent de l’Amérique se multiplient à mesure que l’on approche de 1750 ; les étudier en détail serait toute l’histoire des doctrines philosophiques du XVIIIe siècle avant l’Encyclopédie. Nous voudrions simplement dégager quelques faits des textes que nous avons apportés.

Les théories de Rousseau ont une origine essentiellement classique, et venant en 1753 n’ont pas la hardiesse révolutionnaire que l’on se plaît à leur reconnaître. L’idée d’opposer les vertus de l’homme de la nature, l’innocence des temps passés aux vices contemporains est vieille comme le monde. C’est un procédé facile dont se sont servis les moralistes de tous les temps. Virgile dans son tableau de l’âge d’or, Tacite quand il peignait ses Germains primitifs, farouches et vertueux³ poursuivaient déjà le même but que Rousseau—rappeler leurs contemporains à la nature, c’est à dire à la simplicité ; et si les idées de Rousseau n’avaient point d’autre source, on pourrait leur attribuer cette source ancienne et classique. Quand au XVIe siècle la découverte

¹ Lafitau, p. 105.

² Lafitau, p. 484.

³ Tacite, *Germanie* : “. . . Beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris illaborare domus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset.”

de l'Amérique vient ébranler les imaginations, il se passe un fait curieux : de l'antiquité on a reçu la tradition de l'âge d'or, d'un temps où les hommes vivaient en paix, sans luxe, d'une existence pastorale et idyllique, et brusquement la conception de l'âge d'or d'antique qu'elle était devient contemporaine et exotique. Mais ceux là seuls qui connaissent Virgile retrouveront chez les sauvages américains l'innocence des temps primitifs ; ni les marins, ni les soldats, ni les Récollets ne nous ont laissé de ces beaux récits séduisants ; Montaigne, Lescarbot, les Jésuites sont responsables de cette légende, qui une fois établie va croître et embellir, non seulement jusqu'à Rousseau, mais jusqu'à Chateaubriand.¹ Reprise et appuyée sur des faits plus ou moins exacts par des voyageurs épris d'antiquité, la théorie de la bonté de l'homme sauvage est devenue un lieu commun dans les récits de voyages du XVIII^e siècle. Elle reste cependant confiné dans cette littérature un peu spéciale, noyée sous un fatras de détails oiseux jusqu'au jour où Rousseau croira la découvrir et la présentera toute simple et toute nue au grand public.²

Quand l'archevêque de Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, attaquera Rousseau, incriminant entre autres cette proposition d'*l'Emile* : " que les premiers mouvements de la nature sont

¹ Voltaire ne s'y est pas trompé quand dans *l'Essai sur les mœurs*, il consacre tout un chapitre à se moquer du pauvre Lafitau et de ses rapprochements. C'est en réalité Rousseau qu'il vise. Pour réfuter victorieusement Rousseau, il lui faut d'abord détruire l'illusion classique que Lafitau avait voulu confirmer et démontrer systématiquement.

² Nous indiquerons pour mémoire que le P. Buffier avait dès 1732 écrit un discours où il faisait le procès de notre civilisation et traçait un tableau charmant des plaisirs goûtés par les sauvages dans leurs libres forêts (*Cours de Science sur des principes nouveaux pour former le langage et le cœur dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie*, Paris, 1732.) Les rapports de Rousseau et du Père Buffier ne se bornent pas là et méritent une étude à part. On trouverait aisément des points communs entre le *Traité de la société civile* du Jésuite et le *Contrat Social*.

toujours bons et qu'il n'y a donc point de perversité originelle dans notre nature," il fera preuve de plus de malveillance que de bonnes lettres.¹ Si Rousseau avait consenti à rejeter sur d'autres la faute qu'on lui incriminait, il aurait eu beau jeu. Cette théorie dans laquelle l'archevêque déclarait ne pas reconnaître "la doctrine des Saintes Ecritures et de l'Eglise touchant la révolution qui s'est faite dans notre nature," avait déjà été soutenue par des écrivains dont on ne pouvait suspecter la foi, tels que Lescarbot, Lafitau, le P. Buffier, sans parler de Montaigne dont le témoignage aurait pu paraître plus douteux.

Rousseau avait-il donc lu les auteurs que nous venons de passer en revue? Pour quelques-uns, au moins, le fait me semble incontestable. S'il n'a pas connu Lescarbot ou Lafitau par leurs ouvrages, il avait dû au moins parcourir *l'Histoire de la Nouvelle France* du Père Charlevoix qui venait de paraître et qui n'est qu'un résumé assez bien fait des ouvrages des Jésuites sur l'Amérique. Il serait au moins étrange que Rousseau, qui tout jeune passait des nuits entières à dévorer tous les livres qui lui tombaient entre les mains, n'ait jamais parcouru quelques uns de ces récits de voyage.² L'Amérique en ce début du XVIII^e siècle était fort à la mode, les romans d'aventure comme le *Chevalier Bauchène* de Lesage, les *Aventures du Sieur Le Beau, avocat au parlement*, ouvrage qui fut traduit en Allemand, rendaient populaires les découvertes faites dans le Nouveau Monde. Rousseau n'a pas pu les ignorer tous. Du reste de bonne heure son attention avait dû être attirée vers l'Amérique; un de ses oncles y était allé et avait vécu à Charleston, et dès

¹ Mandement de Mr. L'archevêque de Paris portant condamnation d'un livre qui a pour titre *l'Emile ou de l'Education* par J. J. Rousseau, citoyen de Genève, 3^e paragraphe.

² Le seul livre qu'il admet dans la bibliothèque d'Emile est un récit de voyage, et le plus célèbre de tous : *Les Aventures de Robinson Crusé*.— Cf. *Emile*, Livre III.

1740 Rousseau lui-même écrit un *Christophe Colomb* que l'on a conservé et publié. De tous ces ouvrages sur l'Amérique, nous savons maintenant ce que Rousseau avait pu retirer, et nous comprenons mieux les récits des *Confessions* sur la composition des deux *Discours*. Quand Rousseau sur la route de Vincennes est saisi d'une illumination subite, quand plus tard il parcourt la forêt de Saint-Germain et qu'il y cherche et y trouve l'image des premiers temps, c'est en réalité le souvenir inconscient de lectures faites bien auparavant qui s'éveille en lui. On peut trouver dans une inspiration subite une formule, une expression ; il est plus difficile de construire d'un seul coup un système philosophique auquel on n'a jamais pensé auparavant. De plus la forêt de Saint-Germain ne peut offrir "l'image des premiers temps" que si l'on a en soi assez d'éléments acquis pour former cette image et la projeter au-dehors. S'ensuit-il que Rousseau pour avoir redit, et de façon plus éloquente, ce que tant d'autres avaient dit avant lui, soit diminué en aucune façon ? Rien n'est plus loin de notre pensée : nous avons voulu donner une explication historique d'un fait souvent mal interprété, montrer que l'on pouvait accepter le récit de Rousseau, et non pas dresser un acte d'accusation contre lui. Rousseau, en effet, n'avait pas besoin d'aller demander à Diderot une théorie qu'il pouvait trouver partout et qui de plus était contraire aux tendances encyclopédistes. Il n'a point pris le parti de la nature par simple désir de se singulariser, il l'a fait parce qu'il a trouvé dans ses souvenirs assez de faits qu'il avait lieu de croire exacts pour confirmer une idée qui était dans l'air. On comprend mieux, en même temps, comment l'Académie de Dijon a pu proposer les deux fameuses questions qui auraient été d'une hardiesse inouïe si ces braves gens de province n'avaient pas eu en leur bibliothèque quelques tomes de Lafitau, de Charlevoix ou de l'abbé Prévost. On rattache ainsi Rousseau à toute une

tradition au lieu de le considérer, comme on a trop de tendance à le faire, comme un génie obscur, monstrueux et isolé ;¹ du même coup on s'explique le succès qu'il rencontra, si l'on admet qu'il n'a fait que prêter son éloquence passionnée à des idées auxquelles les récits des voyageurs avaient préparé le public pendant de longues années.

GILBERT CHINARD.

¹ Tout le monde du reste ne s'y est pas trompé : du vivant même de Rousseau, un livre intitulé, *Les Plagiats de Mr. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'Education, par D. J. C. B. A la Haye, MDCCLXVI*, montrait que Jean Jacques s'était largement inspiré de ses devanciers, en particulier de Montaigne et de La Bruyère. Un des disciples les plus respectueux de Rousseau, Sébastien Mercier, dans son livre, *De J. J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des auteurs de la Révolution*, Paris, 1791, ne peut s'empêcher d'avouer que il faut reconnaître qu'il doit beaucoup à Montaigne et à Sénèque; le charmant écrivain que ce Montaigne ! et Rousseau l'avait bien lu dans sa jeunesse, il l'a souvent mis à profit sans trop le citer (tome I, p. 259).

XVIII.—FRENCH INFLUENCE ON THE BEGIN- NINGS OF ENGLISH CLASSICISM

It would appear, on investigation, that English classicism made itself firm roots in Elizabethan soil. Furthermore, that the plant was exotic, and came of French stock seems extremely probable. If this is our conclusion, it is necessary to premise the characteristics of an age possessing classic tendencies and show them to have appeared in sixteenth century English letters. Also we must trace interrelations of technique and theme between France and England, in order to support our latter deduction.

Controversy would hardly be aroused, surely, were an age with classic tendencies defined as an epoch when a body of critical theory grew up, concerned more especially with the technical and practical parts of literature, dealing with matters of language, vocabulary, prosody, and verb forms. As to prose, critics would concern themselves, as would authors, with style chiefly. It would naturally be an age when Greek and Latin were much studied, when they were imitated, when even the lesser breed of their imitators would stand as models to the enthusiast after form. Translations of the classics would abound, and adaptations from the remote and antique literatures rather than from the mediæval would be found in great numbers. There would be a natural struggle between rational literary instincts and the laws the classicists laid down. Discussions as to the value of the natural form and matter as contrasted with the prescribed material and technique would arouse antagonistic groups

of thinkers. Academies, or academic societies, devoted to the development of one or another theory of art might spring up. Codes of formal literary theory would be put forth; certain scholars and certain authors, as the humanists, as Horace or Aristotle, would be looked upon as general authorities, and as expressive of the ideals of the age, for individualism would be discountenanced. Definite theories as to the proprieties of the epic, the elegy, the ode, and other verse forms would be current. A definite meter would gain favor, that most regular taking prime place. Thus in England we should get the prevalence of the iamb. A set length of line, not too short for dignity, not long enough to admit of a rambling thought, would bind all artists with any claim to good form, as the decasyllabic finally did among English classic poets. A desire for regular endings to the lines, one that could be set by rule, would push forward the claims of rhyme, and a final development of these combining tendencies, in English poetry, would produce the heroic couplet. True classic tendencies would be shown also in an effort to regulate vocabulary and word combinations, in cultivating conceits, or turns, epigrammatic and antithetical bits of wit, balance of structure, and the pairing of alliterative word phrases. Periphrase, which was a Virgilian practice, and seemed less abrupt, less direct, and less crude, would be preferred to the ordinary, abbreviated, colloquial expression of an idea. Common, oral words would lose caste; a specialized diction, including a despotism in epithets, would finally grow up, containing much that was mannered and precious, and then would come disputes as to whether the same specialized diction were suitable for both prose and poetry alike. A classic age, or even an age combining elements of classicism

and of romanticism, must needs accompany a general awakening, a development of rational judgment, a popular hunger for the æsthetic, to satisfy which the ideas of the more dominant thinkers would tend to crystallize into a series of definite rules as to what was or was not truly beautiful and artistic, in form, in style, and in theme.

Even a cursory mental comparison of these qualities with the characteristics of much of the non-dramatic Elizabethan literature gives conclusive evidence of the fact that the seeker after the sources of English classicism must go back at least to sixteenth century works, if he is to make a thorough search.

Granting, however, that it is a facile task to prove the existence of classic tendencies in English literature as early as Elizabethan time, it still remains to show to what first cause the growth owes its life—a task to which the present article is devoted. The subject is one on which more and more research is being put, and about which the body of knowledge is rapidly increasing. The few scattered evidences of the strong influence of France on English tendencies in the sixteenth century which are here collated were traced as early as May, 1908. Had time allowed, many more evidences of the moving French factor in the growth of English classicism might probably have been found, but those which follow are enough to warrant, even though they be few, the putting forth of the latter half of that assertion with which this essay began.

The French mind tends to orderliness of idea and rule of procedure. It is the land of *convenance*. Hence it is not strange that the notion of developing literature on some definite and well-conceived plan appears early in France. That earliest group of her scholar-poets who

made the effort to establish a literary technique,—the Pléiade,—it is true, stole Italian thunder, for there is small doubt that Baïf took his notion of a literary academy from Tolomei's Accademia. Consequently in an ultimate analysis, any Pléiade influence on England must be traced to Italy. Yet the classic bias of non-dramatic Elizabethan literature was given directly by France.

The work of the Pléiade occurred in the third quarter of the sixteenth century (1549-1585). At the same time in England there had arisen a group of humanistic scholars of whom Ascham was one of the earliest and probably the greatest. He seems not to have owed much to France, however, probably borrowing from Castiglione's *Courtier*, but even he speaks of Italy's impulses reaching England through the medium of France, for in his *Scholemaster* (Ed. Arber, pp. 144, 145) he speaks of rhyme “. . . brought first into Italy by Gothes and Hunnes when all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them and after caryed into France and Germanie, and at last receyved into England.” The next of these English humanists to show work in any way suggesting French influence was Gascoigne. He prefixed to his *Steel Glas* (1575) some *Notes and Instructions*. These form an elementary theory of poetry. The document begins with a discussion of different poetic meters and forms, defining and evolving them. This suggests the similar listing in Du Bellay's *Deffence* (1549). In the *Notes and Instructions* many French forms of verse, as the rondelet, ballade, dizaine, sizaine, etc., are intimately discussed. Many echoes of Horace's *Ars Poetica* can be noted, also, as is true of the *Deffence*. Gascoigne is quoted by Blenerhasset as one of those who set themselves to imitate Marot. Yet we have seen above that, in several instances, he was

following in the footsteps of the Pléiade. It is thus evident that he was awake to French impulses of both romantic and classic import.

One of Gascoigne's friends was Gabriel Harvey. The latter refers to Gascoigne's critical work in his letters (*Letter Book*, Camden Society Pub., p. 86, p. 100). It is from this Harvey-Spenser correspondence that we hear also of the English cognate to the Pléiade—the Areopagus—and see the evidences of a closely related band of scholars who had joint hopes, enthusiasms, efforts, and literary principles. The humanists were classicists in their attention to technique; those of their descendants who made up the Areopagus extended the classic tendencies further.

It is known that Harvey was employed in Leicester's household when he was young; and, it is thought, he was sent by Leicester to France in 1578. Now Leicester's publicly avowed admiration of Ronsard may very well have influenced young Harvey to seek some acquaintance with the French poet, an acquaintance that could not well have lacked effect upon Harvey's literary opinions.

Judging from the example of Italy, Spain, and France, it was no uncommon thing that the scholars and poets of England did—banding themselves together for the sifting out of literary problems and theories. They were hardly adventurers, too,—it was an age of exploration,—and did not fear to put their beliefs to the test. We find Harvey and Spenser exchanging examples of English verse contrived upon their Latinized prosody and offering criticism of one another's work.¹ This appears from their correspondence to which reference has already been made. In these same letters,² Spenser writes: "The twoe worthy

¹ Spenser, Ed. Grosart, Vol. ix, pp. 263, 265, 270.

² Harvey, *Letter Book*, p. 101.

gentlemen, Mr. Sidney and Mr. Dyer, have me, I thanke them, in sum use of familiaritye; of whom and to whome what speache passeth for your creddite and estimation, I leave yourself to conceyve, havinge allwayes so well conceyved of my unfained affection and good will towards you. And now they have proclaymid in there *απειωπαγω*” A later reference by Harvey speaks of his estimation of the effort of these two in a letter written in April, 1580: “I cannot choose but thanke and honour the Good Aungell, whether it were Gabriell or some other, that put so good a notion in to the head of these two excellent Gentlemen, M. Sidney and M. Dyer, the two very diamonds of Her Majesties Courte for many speciall and rare qualities; as to helpe forward *our* new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Baldutum Rymes with Artificial verses.” The possessive in the last clause points to a union of Harvey and Spenser similar to that of Sidney and Dyer, and the quotation suggests the merging of the two groups on account of sympathetic purposes. The well-known friendship of Greville with Sidney has prompted many commentators to think him also a member of Sidney’s club, but although he attempts some curious tragedies modelled on the classic rules, and his efforts suggest unity of purpose with the Sidney-Dyer society, I can find no direct mention of him as an avowed literary reformer. A reference by Spenser to the “whole senate” ¹ of Sidney’s society suggests other members. In the selections from the Harvey-Spenser correspondence published by Grosart,² Spenser writing to Harvey says: “Your very entire friends, Preston and Still.” These friends may have been followers of Harvey’s reforms,

¹ Spenser, Ed. cit., ix, 263.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

Little is known of these men from a literary point of view, except that Still is supposed to be the author of the farce called *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, and Thomas Preston, to have tried his hand at tragedy. That the reformers expected to gain a following may be seen from their choice of name and the following quotation: "Your new-founded ἀρειοπαγον," said Harvey writing to Spenser, "I honoure more, than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the twoe worthy gentlemenne than of the 200 Dionysii Areopagitae or the verie notablest Senatours that ever Athens dydde affourde of that number."

Of later sympathizers with the Pembroke group, Stanyhurst must evidently be counted one, since he writes:

"Good God, what a frye of wooden rythmours dooth swarme in stacioners shops, who neaver enstructed in any Grammar schoole, not atayning too thee paaringes of thee Latin or Greeke tongue, yet like blind bayards rush on forward, fostring theyre vayne conceits wyth such overweening silly follyes as they reck not too bee condemned of thee learned for ignorant, so they bee commended of the ignorant for learned. Thee reddyest way, therefore, too flax theese droanes from the sweete senting hives of Poetrye, is for thee learned too applye theymselves wholye (yf they be delighted wyth that veyne) too thee true making of verses in such wise as thee Greekes and Latins, thee fathurs of knowledge, have done; and too leave too these doltish coystrets theyre rude rhythming and balductoom ballads." The curious last epithet smacks of Harvey. The quotation occurs in a preface to a translation of the first four books of the *Aeneid*, published in 1582. This translation attempts English hexameters, and it is amazing that it did not prevent all further

attempts in that line. This same Stanyhurst, it has been noted, attempted a phonetic reform of spelling in the same year that his own book was published!

Another apostle of the Areopagus was Thomas Watson, whose death Spenser laments in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. His *Passionate Century of Sonnets* (1582), on his own confession, is a collation of imitations of other authors, and each sonnet, which is really an eighteen-line poem of three stanzas, has a prose preface announcing who is imitated, what is aimed at, and giving a glossary of words or allusions. Among other acknowledgements of indebtedness are some four or five to Ronsard:

- (a) Watson: Arber, Sonnet xxvii—like one of Ronsard's in the 2d Book of the *Bocage*:—1st 6 ll:

“Unhappy is the wight, that voide of Love,
And yet unhappie he, whom Love torments,
But greatest griefe that man is forc't to prove,
Whose haughtie Love not for his love relents,
But hoysing up her sayle of prowde disdainie,
For service done makes no returne of gaine.”

This equals:

“Celui qui n'ayme est malheureux,
Et malheureux est l'amoureux,
Mais la Misère . . . etc.”

Last 6 ll:

“She hopes (perchance) to live and flourish still
Or els, when Charons boate hath felt her peaze,
By loving lookes to conquer Plutoes will;
But all in vaine; t'is not Proserpin's ease:
She never will permit, that any one
Shall ioy his Love, but she herself alone.”

This equals:

“En vens tu baiser Pluton
La bas, apres che Caron
T'aura mise en sa nacelle . . . etc.” In *Les Melanges*.

- (b) Watson: Sonnet XXVIII "doth busily imitate and augment a certaine Ode of Ronsard, which he writeth unto his Mistres" in the *Melanges*, viz.:

"Plusieurs de leurs cors denués
Se sont veuz en diverse terre
Miraculeusement mués
L'un en Serpent, et l'autre en Arbrisseau
L'un en Loup . . . etc." which Watson renders:

"Many have liv'd in countreys farre and ny,
Whose heartes by Love once quite consumed away,
Strangely their shapes were changed by and by
One to a Flow'r, an other to a Bay,
One to a Dove, another to a Stone.
But harke, my Deere; if wishing could prevaile,
I would become a Christall Mirrour I;
Wherein thou might'st behold what thing I aile:
Or els I would be chang'd to a Flie,
To tast thy cuppe, and being dayly ghest
At bord and bedde, to kiss thee mid'st thy rest;

"Or I would be Perfume for thee to burne;
That with my losse I might but please thy smell;
Or be some sacred spring, to serve thy turne,
By bathing that, wherein my heart doth dwell;
But woe is me, my wishing is but vaine,
Since fate bidds Love to work my endlesse paine."

- (c) Sonnet LIV. "In many choyse particulars of this Sonnet, he imitateth here and there a verse of Ronsardes in a certaine Elegie to Janet, peintre du Roy, which beginneth thus:

"Pein moi, Ianet, pein moi ie te supplie
Dans ce tableau les beautés de m'amie
De la facon . . . etc." rendered by Watson:

"What happie howre was that I lately past,
With her, in whome I sedde my senses all?
With one sure sealed kisse I pleased my tast;
Mine eares with woordes, which seemed musicall;
My smelling with her breath, like Civet sweete;
My touch in place where modestie thought meete.

But shall I say what obiectes held mine eye?
 Her curled Lockes of Golde, like Tagus sandes;
 Her Forehead smooth and white as Ivory,
 Where Glory, State and Bashfullnes held handes;
 Her Eyes, one making Pease, the other, Warres;
 By Venus one, the other rul'd by Mars;
 Her Egles nose; her Scarlate Cheekes half white;
 Her Teeth of Orient Pearle; her gracious smile;
 Her dimpled Chinne; her Breast as cleere as light;
 Her Hand like hers, who Tithon did beguile.
 For worldly ioyes who mlght compare with mee,
 While thus I sedde each sense in his degree?"

(d) Sonnet LXXXIII: ¹ "in this Sonnet the author hath imitated one of Ronsard's Odes; which beginneth thus:"

"Les muses lierent un iour
 De Chaisnes de roses Amour,
 Et pour le garder, le donnèrent
 Aus Grace et a la Beauté:
 Qui voyans sa desloyauté,
 Sur Parnase l'emprisonnèrent, etc."

Waller writes:—

"The muses not long since intrapping Love
 In chaines of roases linked all aroyl,
 Gave Beautie charge to watch in their behove
 With Graces three, lest he should wend awaye:
 Who fearing yet he would escape at last,
 On high Parnassus toope they clapt him fast.
 When Venus understood her Sonne was thrall,
 She made posthaste to have God Vulcan's ayde,
 Solde him her Gemmes, and Cestor therewithall,
 To ransome home her Sonne that was betraide;
 But all in vaine, the muses made no stoare
 Of gold, but bound him faster than before.

"Therefore, all you whom Love did ere abuse,
 Come clappe your handes with me, to see him thrall,
 Whose former deedes no reason can excuse,
 For killing those, which hurt him not at all:

¹ Vol. II, p. 285.

Myself by him was lately led awaye,
Though now at last I force my love to dye."

The prevalence of the rhymed couplet with its forecast of the more perfect heroic of later days is worthy of note here, as well as the close connection with Pléiade poetry.

But the most industrious and ambitious of the followers of the Areopagite reform movement was probably Webbe, who even went so far as to write an individual, critical document known as *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, published about 1589. His discussion of the purpose of poetry recalls Sidney. He treats of the comparative value of English and Latin as to expressiveness. This recalls Ascham, and he gives an interesting list of men whom he considers poets up to his day. The list speaks highly of the "new poet," Spenser. Founding his faith on Spenser, he expounds the proper meters for certain types of themes. Here we have an echo of Gascoigne. He comes to the same conclusion as the humanists that the iambic measure is best suited to the English genius. His attitude toward rhyme—"that it is derived from barbarism, but justified by usage," shows an advance over the humanistic cavilling, doubtless inspired by the success of Spenser's rhymed poems, which probably circulated privately for some time before their publication in 1591.

In considering the question of metre, he finds¹ that quantity is the stumbling block, and advises the remaking of classic rules to suit English words, as did Harvey. He appends a quantitative analysis. Having already discovered the iamb best suited to English, he yet advises imitation of other classic metres, especially the dactyllic hexameter—the same hopeless task proposed by Ascham,

¹ *Discourse*, Arber, p. 68.

attempted again and again by the early poets, including Blenerhasset in 1597 in his *Complaynt of Cadwallar*, where the failure is marked.¹ Webbe gives us some of Spenser's futile hexameters, mentions Harvey, and quotes two translations from Virgil's *Eclogues* by himself. These are a little worse than any of the others, with the exception of his rendering of Spenser's *Song to Eliza* in Sapphics! An appendix to his treatise gives fifty-four rules from Horace for the art of making poetry. Other members or followers of the group have been suggested by Upham.²

That the Areopagus had enemies is not to be wondered at. Many of their theories were extreme, and the pedantic Harvey often aroused antagonism even against wise suggestions, by his manner. This feeling is only just beginning to die out in the present day. How violent must it then have been, contemporaneously! Among these enemies were probably the Earl of Oxford,³ Hall,⁴ Nash,⁴ and Lodge.⁵ But the greatest enemy to the Areopagus's efforts to ingraft Latin verse, root and all, on English poetry, was the resultant poetry. The attempt died of inanition. Not so, however, the interest in literature as an art, stimulated most strongly by Sidney's *Defence* and his *Arcadia*, and by Spenser's *Poems*. The work of these two being most important of all in this investigation of Elizabethan literature, for classic practice and theory, I have left for final discussion.

¹ Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1908, p. 298.

² Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908, p. 26: Samuel Daniel, Abraham Fraunce, Countess of Pembroke.

³ Foxburne, *Life of Sidney*, Chapter on Areopagus.

⁴ Schelling, *Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth*, Philadelphia, 1891, p. 33.

⁵ Bullen, *Lyrics of Elizabethan Romances*, Introduction, p. 11.

In time of writing, there seems to be little difference between the *Arcadia* and the *Apologie*, the former of which was written to please his sister, the latter probably in response to Stephen Gosson's fling at the theatre, in which he incidentally decried poetry. This appeared between 1579 and 1581. The years of Spenser's personal intercourse with Sidney were 1578-1580,¹ and as the intimacy appeared to foster Sidney's literary ambitions, it is probable that these years were the time of the writing of both Sidney's chief works, although the *Defence* was not published till 1595. In fact, so great an influence did Spenser appear to have had on Sidney that the following of Drant's rules by both Sidney and Spenser in their quantitative verse is mentioned by Church² as a sign that Sidney's rules (the *Defence*?) were founded on Drant and revised by Mr. Immerito. Now Drant was the first translator of Horace's *Ars Poetica* in England (1567). Since he influenced, then, presumably, Sidney's critical theory, as well as the practice of both Sidney and Spenser, it is a fair deduction to assume that it was through Drant that Horace became for sixteenth century England the supreme authority.

The question arises as to the impulse that led Drant to translate Horace. A similar office had been performed for Italy in 1535 by Dolce³ and in France by Pelletier, 1545. Now no connection with Dolce appears contemporaneously with Drant, but interrelations with the Pléiade have been fairly proved,—hence it is an easy assumption to judge that this choice of authority was a piece of French influence. This adoption of Horace as guide

¹ Foxburne, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, New York, 1891.

² Church, *Life of Spenser*, Eng. Men of Letters Series, p. 24.

³ Spingarn, *op cit.*, p. 171.

would be satisfactory to both the humanistic and the poetic elements of the literary movement in England.

If not all of the impulsion was French, or Italian *via* France, it may have been that England, like France, followed Strabo, Minturno, Daniello, Scaliger and other Renaissance Italians whose doctrines, as Spingarn recounts them, bear close resemblance to Horace's rules. Though containing also some Aristotelian elements, Scaliger follows Horace in the high function he assigns to poetry, that it should write of *pleasant* and *profitable* things; Minturno, in his directions for the treatment of poetic matter, that it should have unity, proportion, and magnitude. Strabo, in the first Book of his *Geography*, defines poetry as a kind of elementary philosophy which introduces us early to life and gives us *pleasurable instruction* in reference to character, emotion, and action. Tasso makes Horace's demand for versimilitude; Palingenus's idea of the purpose of poetry repeats Horace. Direct dependence of the *Pléiade* on Horace, as well as indirect leaning through these media, can be displayed. Du Bellay in the *Deffence* shows his acceptance of Horace's dogma that art develops, by admitting that all literature must have beginnings,¹ that even Greek literature must once have been less than Homer (Ascham echoed this thought); by praising free translations and adaptations or imitations of classic themes and forms." Of this last point, he says:

"Les Romains imitant les meilleurs auteurs grecs, se transformant en eux, les dévorant, et après les avoir bien digerez, les convertissant en sang et nourriture . . ." In Ronsard's³ seventy-second sonnet in the *Cassandre*

¹ *Deffence*, ed. cit., p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ Ed. Blanchemain, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1857, Vol. I.

Cycle, is definitely admitted a copying of Horace; the two hundred and twenty-third shows his belief in his own worth, a Horatian doctrine. Ronsard writes in the *Préface* to the *Franciade*:¹ "J'atteste les Muses que je ne suis point ignorant, et ne crie point en langage vulgaire, comme ces nouveaux venus qui veulent corriger le magnificat." This elevation of the poet on account of knowledge is in accord with Horace's dictum that a poet should have a wide experience in many fields and should use exquisite care in his words, suiting them to the matter and cultivating a vocabulary as great as an orator's. Ronsard's distinction between a versifier and a poet² is however, an Aristotelian doctrine.

Pelletier, the French translator of the *Ars Poetica*, agrees with Horace that the Poet is fashioned by art and nature.³ Thus it has been shown that Renaissance Italy and France and England depended on a general authority—Horace chiefly; Aristotle to a degree. It is interesting to note that following the translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* in each country there sprang up within a few years a literary society—as Baïf's in France, Tolomei's in Italy, and Sidney's in England. So close a parallel in development argues more than a mere coincidence, and the French reform, coming nearer to England by some ten years than the Italian, (Tolomei, 1539; Pléiade, 1549) may be supposed to have had the stronger influence of the two. Sidney's *Defence*, moreover, was written in answer to Gosson's treatise, as Du Bellay's was to that of Sibilet. This is another analogue.

¹ Ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 35.

² Ronsard, "Tous ceux qui escrivent en carmes, tant doctes puissent-ils estre, ne sont pas poetes. Il y a autant de différence entre un poëte et un versificateur. . ." Ed. cit., III, 19; VII, 310.

³ Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.

The *Apologie*, after a general discussion of the contempt into which poetry had fallen.¹ deals with special kinds of poetry—the pastoral, the elegy, the iambic, the satirical, the comic, the tragic, the lyric, and the heroic. These types include those recommended in the *Deffence* by Du Bellay for the poet's practice, as well as some not there mentioned. The attitude toward the divine inspiration is Horatian—platonian, and is in accord with Ronsard² and Du Bartas.³ The remarks in the *Apologie* concerning comedy, which so easily falls into license, and tragedy, which is more serious and worthy of cultivation, have the Horatian earmarks.

Although in the *Apologie* Sidney establishes what Saintsbury calls the heresy of prose poetry, and later invents a pestilent prose style in his *Arcadia*, he in the same document criticises Lyly harshly for his over-conceit in words and sound figures; saying, among prose writers as well as poets these things, with animal references, are too many. He agrees with Harvey and Ascham that literature has fallen into its low estate because good men would rather hide themselves than be numbered with such foolish writers. Lyly's *Euphues* appeared in 1598—monotonously antithesized, with endless, strained similes, founded on nature references, chiefly to animals and es-

¹ Cf. Horace again.

² *Vide* also an agreement between Sidney and Ronsard on the comparative worth of History and Poetry, showing one to present verity, the other verisimilitude. Preface to the *Franciade*, Vol. III, pp. 7 ff.

³ Du Bartas says in his *Uranie*: "The poet *sans art, sans sçavoir* creates works of divine beauty." Cf. Spenser in later discussion. Later, he says: "Usage makes art, then art perfects and regulates." Cf. Horace.

pecially to the fauna and flora of the realm of fancy.¹ This smells of the lamp and is reminiscent of those references of Ronsard's to medicinal and magical herbs, such as the bay; and to the conceited and precious language of such French writers as Chastelain, Robertet, Crétin (whose work was translated² by Lord Berner, who had been a student of French and the governor of Calais). These translations doubtless helped to induce Euphuism and must have had their effect on Sidney also. The *Arcadia* followed closely on Lyly's production. Milton once characterized Sidney's romance as a vain and amatorious poem, and it does affect a poetic transposition often. It is comparatively free from the antithesis of Lyly, but creates a new and equally intolerable prose style. Its sentences are so long, loosely put together, and transposed as to order, so lacking in syntax, that one loses the sense and falls into an *ennui* in reading it. Perhaps the following example will show both his effort and his failure to establish artificially a literary prose style:—

“But the truth is, that they both being sore hurt, the incomparable Musidorus finished the combat by the death of both the giants and the taking of Otanus prisoner, to whom he gave his life, so he got a noble friend, for so he gave his word to be, and he is well known to think himself greater in being subject to that, than in the greatness of his principality.”

Spenser's attempts were wholly confined to poetry (with the exception of some clear and natural political prose, and the last *English Poet*) and his poetical theories, aside from his enthusiasm for the introduction of classic

¹ Saintsbury, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

metres into English verse, already treated in connection with the discussion of Harvey's work, are chiefly voiced through the medium of E. K., the commentator whose gloss (after the fashion of Italy and Spain) accompanies the *Shepherd's Calendar*. In the argument to the *October Eclogue*, Cuddie complaineth of the contempt of poetry (like Horace, like Sidney, like Du Bellay and Ronsard) and thinks the cause (the reason, too, is Horace's) is that poets write of the wrong things. He recalls that poetry has in all ages, even the most barbarous, been held in singular account and honour,—as does Sidney; and speaks of the divine inspiration of poetry,—as do both Sidney and Ronsard. This last theory E. K. quotes from the yet unpublished *English Poet* which the author of the calendar is soon to give out. He mentions that the general public do not value poetry—but so does Horace. He announces that Spenser has imitated Theocritus in this eclogue. This classic imitation is but putting Horace into practice. Recalling the history of the world's literature, he shows that poets were called *vates* when writing of serious things, and in their lighter verse, poets or makers. Here the close analogy to Sidney once more thrusts itself on one's notice, as it does again when he quotes historic examples of men such as Alexander who were deeply influenced by poetry. This echoes Ascham as well.

That poets used to be, and should now be, valued because they can lend immortality to a name, sounds like Ronsard's boasts to his ladies of the everlasting memory he will gain for them and his urging of this as a plea in his wooing. Here too, Spenser anticipates Sidney. Here E. K. declares in his Gloss to the *December Eclogue* that he follows the example of Horace and Ovid. In

the *Epistle to Gabriel Harvey* prefixed to the *Calendar*, E. K. speaks of Spenser's archaism indulgently and even laudatorially, as contrasted with the practice of some who have endeavored to patch holes in the English tongue "with pieces of rags of other languages, borrowing here of French, there of the Italian, everywhere of the Latin. . . ." He accompanies his support of Spenser on this point with a spirited defense of the vernacular. It is curious that Sidney in the *Defence* disapproved of these same archaisms as a whole, saying such were never used by Virgil or Sannazaro.

Spenser's interest in the vernacular may have been due to Mulcaster, who must have been a man of remarkable personality and versatile talents. He was greatly interested in French and Italian as well as in his mother tongue, and encouraged his students to translations. It was doubtless on his recommendation to Van der Noodt that Spenser obtained the opportunity to translate for the *Theatre of Worldlings* the *Visions* of Petrarch (from Marot's version), and Du Bellay's *Ruins of Rome*, afterwards included in his volume of *Complaints*. On account of this linguistic trend in his schooling, Spenser had many interests in foreign literatures. That he felt the influence of Ariosto and Tasso, he confesses in the prefatory epistle to his works addressed to Raleigh, and indeed he once told Harvey¹ that he started to imitate Ariosto as an epic model. This, as it happens, is a procedure advised by Du Bellay in his *Deffence*. Tasso was a later and probably a stronger influence,—it may be, indirectly, on account of Spenser's attention to Pléiade poetry and theories; for Ronsard's admiration for Tasso

¹ Ed. Grosart, p. 95, Vol. IX.

was frequently expressed, and the latter is said to have submitted his *Jerusalem* to Ronsard for approval.¹

Perhaps another reason for Spenser's changing from Ariosto to Tasso as a model was Harvey's intense scorn of romantic writing. Of the two, Ariosto was the less classic. That Harvey attempted to dissuade Spenser from writing the *Faerie Queene* is seen in their correspondence.² This was doubtless because of the great amount of romantic, mediæval matter it contained and the irregular Italian form (rather than the classic type) of epic which it followed. Ariosto, himself, had a Harvey-like critic on this very same point in Bembo, as did Tasso in Salviati.³ A work on the excellence of Italian as a literary instrument appeared from the hand of Salviati in 1564, and Estienne, friend of Sidney and follower of the Pléiade, wrote a similar eulogy for

¹ Phillips, *Popular Manual of Eng. Lit.*, p. 117.

² Spenser, *ed. cit.*, pp. 277 ff. Harvey writing to Spenser: "In good faith, I had once again nigh forgotten your Faerie Queene, howbeit by good chance, I have now sent hir home at the laste, neither in better or worse case than I found hir. And must you of necessity have my judgment, of hir indeede? To be plaine, I am voyde of all judgement, if your nine comoedies whereunto in imitation of Herodotus you give the names of the nine Muses (and to one man's fansie not unworthily) come not neerer Ariostoes Comoedies eyther for the finenesse of plausible Elocution, or the rarenesse of Poeticall Invention, then that Elvish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso which notwithstanding you will needes seeme to emulate and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last Letters . . . But I will not stand greatly with you in your owne matters. If so be the Faerye and Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from Apollo. Marke what I saye, and yet i will not say what I thought, but there an End for this once, and fare you well, till God or some good Aungell putte you in a better minde."

³ Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 117, and p. 305.

the French language in 1580,¹ at the time of the Harvey-Spenser correspondence. This may have been yet another influence leading Spenser to exalt his own vernacular.

This theory of the epic seems to be a composite of dogmas from Tasso, Minturno, and Du Bellay, with a dash of Ariosto in it. Tasso's definition of an epic is that it should be a story derived from some event in the history of Christian peoples, intrinsically noble and illustrious, but not of so sacred a character as to be fixed and immutable, and neither contemporary nor very remote. He believed in an allegorical twist to the narrative, as did Ariosto.² Du Bellay advised condensation of sources. Spenser obeys this dictum in respect to the material from Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he uses for one of the cantos of the *Faerie Queene*; Ronsard himself does this in his *Franciade*. Minturno, antagonistically to Aristotle's theory, sets one year as the time unity of an epic,³ as did Virgil. Ronsard adopts this in the *Franciade*, Ariosto in the *Orlando*, Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*.

Another English critical essay, the *Arte of English Poesie*, appearing about 1589, and since ascribed to George Puttenham, agrees substantially with those already quoted—speaking of a poet as a maker, an imitator, one who gets his power by divine inspiration; in pleading the excellent capacity of the vernacular; in making poetry the cause of civilization, and poets the *vates* of olden times; in raising it above other forms of writing. He differs from the others, with the exception of Webbe, in extolling rhyme, attempting to justify it as ancient and as a national substitute for quantity. In his discussion

¹ Spingarn, *op. cit.* p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

of the vernacular, he copies Du Bellay's statement (from the *Deffence*) that all literature must have begun small, as in Greece there was once something less than Homer.¹

It is well known indeed that Ronsard was a favorite with Elizabeth, with Mary, and with the Earl of Leicester. It is not strange, therefore, that so many parallels between the theories of Sidney's coterie and Ronsard's literary principles should become apparent, nor is it at all unlikely that such high and royal interest in the ambitious French poet made possible much sooner on English soil a real literary art. This interest, however, was not by any means the only, or even the chief interrelation between England and France at this time. Mr. Upham, in his interesting and admirable book on the *French Influence in English Literature*,—which appeared some four months after the bulk of the present investigation was made, has devoted his preliminary chapter to an exhaustive survey of all the links binding the two countries at this time. It only remains for me to point out a few minor evidences of literary borrowings, imitations, and admirations between the poets of these two nations. Aside from Ronsard, chief interest seems to have fastened on Du Bellay and Du Bartas. Howell mentions these two poets in his *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, saying: "There be some French poets who afford excellent entertainment, especially Du Bellay and Du Bartas." Spenser eulogizes them both in the Envoy to his translation of Du Bellay's *Ruins of Rome*, which he made over, from its first blank-verse form, into regular sonnet stanzas, with a final rhyming couplet. It has been claimed that this is a free and careless rendering, but a word for

¹ *Arte of English Poesie*, Arber, p. 21.

word translation of Du Bellay reveals only such freedoms in Spenser as the exigencies of the rhyme demand. Not only, however, does Spenser translate Du Bellay literally, as in this and in the *Visions*, but he imitates the type of poem in his *Ruins of Time* and the *Tears of the Muses*. He evidently accepts, also, Du Bellay's statement that Marot's pastorals are worthy of imitation, and, in the *November Eclogue* of the *Calendar*, translates Marot's Queen Mother sonnets, though E. K. takes pains in the Gloss to say it far surpasses the reach of Marot. This is doubtless because an admiration for so romantic a poet was countenanced neither by the French nor the English literary society. The Pléiade writers, though mostly Catholic, mix their religion curiously with paganism, and this same mixture of Christianity and Paganism is visible in Spenser's *Four Hymns*. The later following of Du Bartas, the religious trend of their literature to of Pléiade theories in France deflected, by the influence Protestantism, which England paralleled,—as in Milton, for example.

Sidney's visit to France in 1572 made him friends with a follower of Pléiade theories, Henri Estienne, whose critical work has already been referred to, and with Languet, the humanist. He also corresponded with Pibrac, who revived Baïf's academy in 1576. Spenser, too, may have made a visit to France, as he notes such an intention in the *December Eclogue* of the *Calendar* (1579). It is probable that if he went, he too made friends among the Pléiade group. But literary men of England, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, had been traveling, studying or soldiering in France: Skelton at Louvaine; Gascoigne as a soldier; Raleigh, spending six years in France; and More, two.

Besides this very probable personal acquaintance of the great literary lights of both countries, there was the study at the English Universities of French literature. Skelton ranks the influences upon himself from his studies in this order: Pagius, Petrarch, the French humanists, and the classics. Harvey in his correspondence with Spenser speaks of the reading pursued at Cambridge, in which French literature figures very prominently. Harvey's *Musarum Lachrymae*,¹ Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, and Ronsard's *Dialogue entre les Muses Deslogées et Ronsard* are all on the same theme.²

Sidney notes in his *Defence* that France and England, as distinct from Italy and Spain, employ the cæsura. He practised the Virgilian circumlocution admired and advised by Ronsard,³ but this is a common Renaissance habit, and would be a meaningless parallel unaccompanied by other agreements.

Similarity of themes, also, may be traced in Spenser to Marot, Ronsard, and Du Bellay. One theme, evidently a Renaissance convention, occurs in Marot, Ronsard and Spenser, all three, in varying degrees of elaboration: this is, the Temple of Cupid idea. Marot's *Temple de Cupidon* is doubtless founded on the chivalric side of the *Roman de la Rose*.⁴ Spenser treats of this theme in the *Faerie Queene*, Bk. III, 12; 5, 6 ff., Ronsard mentions such a temple-to-Cupid idea twice, once in the Cassandra cycle, once in the Marie cycle.⁵ In the translation of

¹ Vide also Fletcher, J. B., Article on Spenser in *American Encyclopædia*.

² Nash and Lodge show interest, if mocking interest, in this Gallic theme by their *Muse out of Purgatory*.

³ *Ed. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 17.

⁴ Courthope, *Hist. of English Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 40.

⁵ *Ed. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 137, p. 229.

Du Bellay's *Ruins of Rome*, is brought out noticeably in stanza 3 the inconstancy of the world; in stanza 9, the passing of everything; in stanza 20, that all shall fade. In Spenser's *Ruins of Time*, in the introductory stanza before the last part, occurs: "All is vanity"; an earlier passage in the same poem suggests not only Du Bellay's inconstancy of the world, but Milton's passage on fame in *Lycidas*. It goes:

"What booteth it to have been rich alive?
 What to be great? What to be gracious
 When after death no token doth survive
 Of former being in this mortal house,
 But sleeps in dust, dead and inglorious,
 Like beast, whose breath but in his nostrils is,
 And hath no hope of happiness or bliss?"

The series of pageants concluding this poem are in clear imitation of a series in Du Bellay's *Visions*. In the *Tears of the Muses*, still another imitation of the melancholy theme from Du Bellay appears:

"For all man's life me seems a tragedy,
 Full of sad sights and sore catastrophes;
 First coming to the world with weeping eye,
 Where all his days, like dolorous, sad trophies,
 Are heap with spoils of Fortune and of fear
 And he at last laid forth on baleful bier."

Ronsard echoes this theme also in the Madrigal of the Cassandre Cycle (Vol. I, p. 90), "Time that passes never comes again," and the *Építaphe de Marie* (Vol. I, p. 248),

"Unhappy he who trusts in this mortal world."

An effort to establish a connection between Du Bellay's *Sonnets de l'Honnête Amour* and Spenser's *Hymns to*

Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty resulted in nothing. They are apparently quite independent efforts. More success is, however, obtained by comparing the *motifs* of Spenser's *Amoretti* with those of Ronsard's *Amours*. A few references to the *Faerie Queene* will be included. References throughout to Ronsard will be to the Blanche-main Edition, Vol. I.

The 148th Sonnet to Cassandre wishes away night for the day that will bring her. A parallelism will be found in the *Faerie Queene*, Bk. III, 4, 55. On the immortality of poetry, Spenser talks in the 27th, 48th, 69th and 75th sonnets, and in the *Ruins of Time* writes:

"Because they living cared not to cherish
No gentle wits, through pride or covetise,
Which might their names forever memorise,"

which seems an indirect repetition of this theme. Ronsard expects his praise of Cassandre to live on to posterity and be engraved in Memory's most sacred temple (Cassandre Cycle, 193, and *Elégie*, p. 124). The Marie Cycle, *Elégie*, p. 228, and *Stances*, p. 233, show this even more plainly.

The comparisons, in both poets, of love to war are frequent: Spenser, *F. Q.*, Bk. II, 2, 26; Bk. II, 4, 35; *Sonnets* 10, 11, 12, 14, 52, 57, 67. In Ronsard, there are two references to the wounding power of love in the Cassandre Cycle (59, 210) and two in the Marie Cycle (p. 175, and *Chanson* on p. 225). Sonnets bearing on personal appearance of the fair agree as to golden hair and powerful eyes. On the former detail, see Spenser, *Sonnets* 37 and 81; and Ronsard, *Cassandre*, 41. On the beautiful and powerful eyes, see Spenser, 9; Ronsard, *Cassandre*, 41, 59, 210, *Marie*, p. 175. Spenser deals more

largely in classic reference (*vide Sonnets* 1, 4, 23, 24, 28, 35, 38, 39); though, as in *Astrée*, p. 268, Ronsard does resort to this device.

Spenser finds his lady more cruel, as he notes in *Sonnets* 18, 25, 31, 32, 41, 49, 27, 51, 54, 36. Ronsard complains a little of Cassandre on p. 90, where he curses the mirror that renders her so haughty proud. Spenser's almost endless series of comparisons of lovers to all things else in the universe is hardly equalled by Ronsard, though some of his comparisons, as in *Cassandre*, 61, 216, and *Marie*, p. 233, are quaint and conceited.

Though this investigation is only partial, certainly enough has been evidenced to show intimate relations between early Elizabethan writers and that school of French poets who made classicism possible in their own land and in England, too, through their influence on the Areopagus.

It must not be supposed, however, that the present writer is attempting to rob Italy of all claim to influence—only to show how large a share France played, despite the big debt England owes to the Italian Renaissance. Nor does the establishment of Horace as chief influence and authority for sixteenth century writers preclude Aristotelian guidance, which was perhaps most evident in England on Sidney.

Spingarn's remark¹ that the humanistic effect in England was distinctly classic, states a truth that challenges no controversy, but it was not only the early humanists who put this stamp on English Literature, it was the later school of the Elizabethan age, of which the Areopagus seems nearly, if not absolutely, the greatest nucleus.

¹ Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

The Areopagites and their following, both in practice and in theory, compare well with the efforts of the Pléiade, the distinctly classic nature of which has recently come to be regarded by French critics.¹ The English writers, urged on doubtless by the popularity of the *Courtier*, which was translated by Hoby, 1561, betook themselves to the writing of conduct books, a mark of classic artificiality in life—such is Spenser's *Faerie Queene* on his own statement in the introductory epistle to Raleigh; such was Sidney's *Arcadia*, indirectly.

This enthusiasm for rule and authority extended to their notions of tragedy also, except among the actor-playwrights, probably helped on by Horace's dispraise of comedy on account of its tendency to drop into licentious writing, and his elevation of tragedy on Greek models in which the Choruses were to be preserved and to take a moral tone. In his *Defence*, Sidney, praising whatsoever was of good repute in the literature of his day, puts in the forefront Sackville's *Gorboduc*, though he criticises it for not strictly observing the unity of time, and being faulty in circumstance—whereupon he takes the opportunity to give some rules for the preservation of the unities, and to inveigh against tragi-comedy or the romantic drama. He also puts in his word against farce. Now *Gorboduc* follows the Senecan model of play which was becoming so popular in France. A volume of translations from Seneca had been published in England by Heywood between 1560 and 1580, and aside from Sackville's attempts, there were the classic tragedies of Sidney's great companion, Fulke Greville (*Alaham, Mustapha*), and

¹ *Vide* previous note from Pellissier; and preliminary notices in Crepet's *Recueil des Poetes Français* to Ronsard and Du Bellay, Vol. II, pp. 55 ff., and pp. 9 ff.

the translation by the Countess of Pembroke of Garnier's *Marc-Antoine*. Daniel, also, a follower of the Areopagus, wrote two plays of this sort, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas*. He also wrote an enthusiastic *Defence of Rhyme*, showing the increase of favor for that element of classicism.

While decrying farce, Horace had suggested as a substitute, satire, which, on his decree, was a type of wit that should be kept within the bounds of decency. It is not strange, therefore, that some satire should have been attempted by the Areopagite following. Perhaps the best example is Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. Oddly enough, this is written in heroic couplets, of which the following may be taken as typical examples:

I. "But if perhaps into their noble sprights
Desire of honour or brave thoughts of arms
Did ever creep, then with his wicked charms
And strong conceits he would it drive away,
Ne suffer it to house there half a day."

II. "One joyous hour in blissful happiness,
I choose before a life of wretchedness."

III. "To every sound that under heaven blew,
Now went, now slept, now crept, now backward drew."

"So did he good to none, to many ill,
So did he all the Kingdom rob and pill."

V. "That on his head he wore, and in his hand
He took Caduceus his snaky wand."

VI. "And bade him fly with never resting speed
Unto the forest, where wild beasts do breed."

VII. "Through due deserts and comely carriage
In whatso please employ his personage."

The first example was chosen simply to show the decasyllabic rhyming couplet, though it also predicts by its peppering of adjectives the later epithet craze, as do II and VII. The couplet numbered seven also illustrates the paired alliterative groups which the school of Pope was later to pursue to the point of monotony. All of the lines show central cæsura; and some few, subsidiary pauses. Balanced structure with repetition can be seen by reference to III. Antithesis, though faint, and the classic references soon to be ridden to death by Milton and Dryden, such as the one which appears in V, could be multiplied many times from this one poem. The diction is not so strained as in later classicists, but it is precise and cold. Satiric elements appear also in Virgil's *Gnat*. Spenser chose the couplet ending even to his sonnets also.

Among the lyrics scattered through the *Arcadia*, the eclogue in the second book contains some stiff and jerky couplets.

R "We are too strong; but Reason seeks no blood,
P Who to be weak do feign they be too good.
R Though we cannot o'ercome, our cause is just.
P Let us o'ercome and let us be unjust.
R Yet Passions yield at length to Reason's stroke.
P What shall we win by taking Reason's Yoke?"

Here we have antithesis, and an evidence of central cæsura, though weak. And others of these lyrics are evidently attempts at classical metres, doubtless written under Harvey's influence.

Constable's sonnets appearing in 1592 also end with the rhyming couplet, as:—

"The rain wherewith she watereth the flowers,
Falls from mine eyes, which she dissolves in showers."

And so do those of Daniell:

“Still let me sleep, embracing clouds in vain,
And never wake to feel the day’s disdain.”

In the last quotation, appear the strain of the world’s vanity, so prevalent in Spenser and Du Bellay, and a forecast of antithetical arrangement of idea in the elaborate couplet of later years. This same poetic device, according to Saintsbury,¹ was made evident as early as the miscellany known as Tottel’s, where the authors showed “a desire to use a rejuvenated heroic, either in couplets or in various combinations such as the elegy or the sonnet.”

Fairfax’s translation of Tasso’s *Jerusalem*, in the edition of 1600, bears on the title page the inscription: “Done into English heroicall verse.” The stanzas are eight-lined, the last two lines, the rhyming couplet, with central cæsura showing. Epithet, antithesis, and balanced structure, less developed and less well managed than in later work, but still evidencing a feeling for a definite artificial form, may be traced. The Renaissance belief that every epic should be allegorical, shows in the appended “Account of the Allegory of the Poem.” A few citations may not be amiss:—

I. “Both fair, both rich, both won, both conquered stand.”

II. “Some praised, some paid, some counselled, all pleased.”

III. “And Star fit time which will betide ere long
To increase thy glory and revenge our wrong.”

IV. “I will, I will, if your courageous force
Dareth so much as it can well perform,

¹ Saintsbury, *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

Tear out his cursed heart without remorse,
The nest of treason false and guile enorm;
Thus spake the angry knight; with headlong course
The rest him followed with a furious storm;
We reaped naught but travel for our toil;
Theirs was the praise, the realms, the gold, the spoil."

- V. "And therefore, loud their jarring trumpets sound,
Their yelling cries to heaven upheaved been
The horses thundered on the solid ground,
The mountains roared and the valley green. . . ."

The heroic couplet, or the alternating rhymed decasyllables were a minor detail as compared with the fondness for classic forms,—as the epic, the pastoral,—and the use of conceits, such as the naming of the lady praised in their verse as Diana, Phillis, Licia, Delia, Idea. It seems fairly evidenced even by these disjointed proofs that England had in her sixteenth century literature a distinctively classic strain struggling with the more prominent and popularly recognized romanticism, and also that this tendency owed itself in great measure to that early school of French critics, the *Pléiade*, working upon the closely following writings of the English humanists and the *Areopagites*. How much stronger than they knew did these early French critics build, when thinking but to defend poetry they made for her an æsthetic code! And to what a vast literature these may be accounted as first parents when we reckon among their descendants that great and honorable assembly, the classic writers of France and England!

ELIZABETH JELLIFFE MACINTIRE.

XIX.—A SUGGESTION FOR A NEW EDITION OF
BUTLER'S *HUDIBRAS*

Butler's *Hudibras* has been edited many times, and much erudition has been shown in explaining the wit of that remarkable burlesque. Yet, curiously enough, the most obvious method of annotation has hitherto been entirely overlooked. This would have been to utilize the abundant material bequeathed to us by Butler himself in the form of prose "characters," which were published only after his death—material that throws a most interesting light upon the poet's method, and at the same time clears up many obscurities in the mock-epic. These "characters" were written between 1667 and 1669—five or six years after the appearance of the first part of *Hudibras*, but were not collected and published till 1759. Even then, only 121 out of 187 were printed in Thyer's edition of *The Genuine Remains in Prose and Verse of Mr. Samuel Butler*. The remaining 60 have lain undisturbed in the British Museum as "Addition No. 32625-6," till the industry of a modern scholar has at last unearthed and published them.¹ The whole collection conforms closely to the fashion of writing "characters" that was prevalent all through the seventeenth century.² The character-sketch, or "character" as it came to be called in that age, was a short account, usually in

¹ Samuel Butler: *Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, edited by A. E. Waller, M. A., Cambridge University Press, 1908.

² E. C. Baldwin, *Ben Jonson's Indebtedness to the Greek Character-Sketch*, in *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1901; *The Relation of the English Character to its Greek Prototype*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xviii, No. 3; *La Bruyère's Influence upon Addison*, *ibid.*, Vol. xii, No. 4; *The Relation of the Seventeenth Century Character to the Periodical Essay*, *ibid.*, Vol. xix, No. 1.

prose, of the properties, qualities, or peculiarities, that serve to individualize a type. And such these of Butler are. Moreover, the style in which they were written was that already fixed by tradition—a style that combined in the fullest possible degree wit with brevity. The special significance of Butler's contribution to the literature of character-writing lies in the fact that in these *Characters* Butler in a leisurely way and in prose portrayed the same types that he had previously in *Hudibras* satirized in a more condensed form, and in verse. Each of the objects of the satire in *Hudibras* appears among the *Characters*, but of course dissociated from its surroundings, and separated from the narrative. In this way the objects of the satire are more clearly brought before us in the prose than in the poetry. It is as if the actors in a burlesque had one by one left the stage and obligingly posed for a photographer. And as such a series of pictures would serve to emphasize certain details of costume and of gesture that might escape the notice of a spectator at the play, so these statuesque delineations of the types Butler had in mind reveal more clearly than does the mock-epic the particular objects of the author's satire.

They prove, among other things, that the popular conception of *Hudibras* is a mistaken one. The poem is ordinarily described as a kind of versified *Don Quixote*, satirizing the Presbyterians. As a matter of fact, Butler borrowed very little from Cervantes except the general framework of the story, and the satire is far more than ridicule of the Presbyterian party. It is a satire upon the society of the age. The age deserved it. With all due respect for the Puritans, with a full recognition of the incalculable value of their service to the cause of civil liberty, espoused though it was because to them it was the cause of religion, we must recognize also that the Commonwealth period had toward its close degenerated into one of shameless hypocrisy. The

forms of godliness had become fashionable. Indeed they were more than fashionable, they became obligatory. One of the first resolutions of the "Barebones Parliament" was that no man should hold office till the House should be satisfied of his real godliness. The forms of this godliness were easy to counterfeit. The dark clothes, the nasal twang, the biblical language, the abhorrence of art, and the contempt for learning that were characteristic of "the Saints" were only too easily imitated by men to whom the power of godliness that had made the earlier Puritans invincible on the battle field and in the hall of debate was unknown. The result was that by the middle of the seventeenth century hypocrisy had become a national vice.

Hardly less vicious were the excesses of fanaticism that appeared among those new sects which toward the close of the Commonwealth period seemed more intent upon proving their zeal than their sanity. There were, to mention only a few, the Quakers who believed it a violation of Christian sincerity to designate a single person by a plural pronoun.¹ There were the Fifth Monarchy men, who believed and taught that the four great monarchies mentioned in the book of Daniel were immediately to be succeeded by a fifth, when Christ should reign temporally on the earth. There were the Muggletonians, or disciples of Ludovic Muggleton, the tipsy tailor, who went about denouncing eternal torments against those who refused to credit his assertion that God was just six feet high, and that the sun was exactly four miles from the earth. There were also the Seekers, who thought themselves so sure of salvation that they deemed it

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"Their gospel is an accidence,
By which they construe conscience,
And hold no sin so deeply red
As that of breaking Priscian's head."

Hudibras, P. II., C. 2, ll. 221-4.

needless for them to conform to ordinances either human or divine, who thought it

“ ridiculous and nonsense
A saint should be a slave to conscience,
That ought to be above such fancies,
As far as above ordinances.”¹

Against religious hypocrisy and sectarian fanaticism alike Butler waged relentless war. Upon Presbyterians, and all that

“ various rout
Of petulant capricious sects ”

into which the Presbyterian party came to be divided Butler poured his merciless ridicule. Nor was it against hypocrisy in religion alone that he exercised his wit. He scourged hypocrisy in every form, though putting into the most prominent place what he regarded as the worst hypocrisy of all. Among the shams that he lashed were false learning, masquerading as the true ; charlatans, posing as physicians ; politicians, hiding their self-seeking under an ostentatious display of public spirit ; plagiarists, parading as their own their thefts from other men's books ; cowards, hiding their timidity beneath a show of bravado ; the pretensions and pedantries of learning ; the sham dignities of ambassadors ; the sophistries of lawyers ; the quackeries of astrologers—all these he ridiculed. And perhaps it is not too much to say that by ridicule “ he laughed a frantic nation into sense.”²

¹ *Hudibras*, P. II., C. 2, ll. 247-250.

² “ Unrival'd Butler ! Blest with happy skill
To heal by comic verse each serious ill,
By wit's strong lashes Reason's light dispense,
And laugh a frantic nation into sense ! ”
An Essay on Epic Poetry, William Hayley, 1782, Ep. III.

By revealing hypocrisy as the single theme of Butler's satire, the *Characters* emphasize the essential unity of the epic—a unity somewhat obscured by the discursive treatment, and by the fact that the narrative is scarcely sufficient to hold the attention of the reader. They show that in spite of the apparent lack of unity in the poem, Butler really did follow the method of the Latin satirists in choosing for his theme some one vice and subordinating everything else to it.¹ Naturally, the resultant picture, as a representation of life, is a distorted likeness. But Gilfillan is quite unfair in his censure of Butler² for a failure to recognize beneath the ludicrous religious fopperies of the Parliamentarians their splendid courage and their noble faith. To blame Butler for not presenting a true picture of the Puritans of his time is as unjust as it would be to condemn Juvenal for his arraignment of women in his sixth satire, for it is to be presumed that there were in Rome in the first century A. D. some good women, though Juvenal takes no account of them in his attack upon the general frivolity of the sex during the age of Roman decadence. By the very nature of the literary form that the satirist adopts as his medium of expression, he is limited to presenting a series of pictures that shall exemplify some particular folly or vice, and only that. The satire must always be like a series of family portraits, the faces all revealing some hereditary and persistent character-

¹ Dryden, who derived the rules governing the construction of satire from the practice of the Latin satirists Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, says in his *Discourse concerning the Origin and Progress of Satire*: "The poet is bound, and that *ex officio*, to give his reader some one precept of moral virtue, and to caution him against some one particular vice or folly. Other virtues, subordinate to the first, may be recommended under that chief head; and other vices or follies may be scourged, besides that which he principally intends. But he is chiefly to inculcate one virtue, and insist on that."

² In the Introduction to his edition of Butler's *Poetical Works*.

istic, or like a rogues' gallery, where all the pictures show the same criminal taint. That the *Hudibras* is a satire upon hypocrisy exemplified in typical representatives of the society of the seventeenth century, rather than merely an attack upon an already vanquished political party, is clearly shown by even a casual reading of the *Characters*.

What Butler did when he wrote the *Characters* was to separate the constituent elements of the satire of *Hudibras*, and develop each independently in prose. Often he paraphrased the lines of the epic, and in a few instances he quoted from the poem a particularly neat couplet in which he felt a pardonable pride, as when he ends the character of a Zealot with this sentence :

"He is very severe to other Men's sins, that his own may pass unsuspected, as those, that were engaged in the Conspiracy against Nero, were most cruel to their own Confederates, or as one says,

Compound for Sins he is inclin'd to
By damning those he has no mind to."¹

By such a dismembering of the epic he revealed more clearly the parts of which it was composed, just as wrecking a building reveals its construction much more clearly than does any superficial examination of the edifice in its integrity. He shows clearly that in its construction he had adopted a method which was a combination of the methods of the two classes of satirists that flourished in the seventeenth century. As has been pointed out,² there was the political satire closely connected with the political and religious controversies of the age, full of partisan witticisms, and of bitter

¹ Quoted with a slight variation from *Hudibras*, P. I., C. 1, ll. 215-16.

² Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England under Classical Influence*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1899.

attacks upon individuals. Secondly, there was the phenomenal development of the satiric character-sketch with its emphasis upon character analysis, and its portrayal of human types. By adapting the prose character-sketch to the purposes of political satire, Butler anticipated Dryden. By combining the methods of the writer of characters with that of the political satirist Butler contributed to the permanency of his work, avoiding the ephemeralness that belongs almost inevitably to all political satire, by making the appeal depend in part at least upon the universal and timeless interest in human character, rather than upon transient phases of national politics. Had he acquired also the compactness and the reflective manner of the Latin satirists, had he reproduced the manner of Juvenal, for example, as he reproduced in some degree his spirit, he might have written a satire with all the classical dignity, which was lacking in *Hudibras*, but which we find in *Absalom and Achitophel*.

Besides their usefulness in explaining Butler's satiric method, the *Characters* possess a value to the modern editor in elucidating the text of *Hudibras*. No poetry of the seventeenth century calls for so much annotation, because no poetry of that age has become so unintelligible. Though the satire, because it was directed against shams, and because shams were not peculiar to that age, does possess a certain permanence of appeal, still it shares to a considerable extent the limitations of all satiric writing. The satire is directed against a vice in which the society of the seventeenth century had no monopoly, it is true; but that vice manifested itself in ways that are now obsolete and forgotten. Doctor Johnson in his *Lives of the English Poets* says of Butler's *Hudibras*:

"Much therefore of that humour which transported the last century with merriment is lost to us, who do not know the sour solemnity, the sullen superstition, the gloomy moroseness, and the stubborn scruples of

the ancient Puritans; or, if we knew them, derive our information only from books, or from tradition, have never had them before our eyes, and cannot but by recollection and study understand the lines in which they are satirized. Our grandfathers knew the picture from the life; we judge of the life by the picture."

The picture needs an explanation like those pictorial keys that used to accompany engravings that were popular in the last century.¹

Such a key to the understanding of *Hudibras* is furnished by the *Characters*.² Here practically all the types that are described, and even those briefly referred to by seemingly casual allusions in the poem, are found classified and ticketed with their proper designations. Ralph, for example, who is ordinarily said to represent the Independents, is clearly seen, when we examine the passages in which he figures, to be composed of characteristics taken from eight types, which in the *Characters* are drawn at full length and labeled. Thus the *Characters* show Ralph to be an ex-tailor turned politician; as regards his religious beliefs, an hypocritical Anabaptist; with a loquacious bent, hence an haranguer and a ranter, and finally, because of his superstitious ignorance coupled with his pretensions to mystically acquired knowledge, an astrologer and a Rosycrucian philosopher.

To show the relation of the *Characters* to *Hudibras*, I excerpt from the epic certain lines descriptive of the charac-

¹ These engravings most of us recall as having formed a part of the parlor splendors of some New England homestead. They represented a group of people, who, perhaps, had never met in the body, and who seemed even in the picture a little awkward and ill at ease, standing or sitting in angular attitudes, apparently for the express purpose of showing their faces. For the identification of the faces there hung beside the engraving a small outline sketch in which were numbers corresponding to a numbered list of the persons represented.

² That the *Characters* furnish a complete explanation of all the obscurities in the poem, like the "Key to the Scriptures" in use among some of our Christian brethren is not, of course, meant to be implied.

teristics and opinions of Ralph,¹ placing at the foot of the pages in the form of notes the passages from the *Characters* that are significant.

A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph,
That in th' adventure went his half.
Though writers, for more stately tone,
Do call him Ralpho, 'tis all one ;
And when we can, with metre safe,
We'll call him so, if not, plain Ralph ;
For rhyme the rudder is of verses,
With which, like ships, they steer their courses.²
An equal stock of wit and valour
He had laid in ; by birth a tailor ;
Thy mighty Tyrian queen that gained,
With subtle shreds, a tract of land,
Did leave it, with a castle fair,
To his great ancestor, her heir ;
From him descended cross-legged knights,
Famed for their faith³ and warlike fights
Against the bloody Cannibal,
Whom they destroyed both great and small.
This sturdy squire had, as well
As the bold Trojan knight seen hell,⁴

¹ Ralph was selected, not because he alone exemplifies the usefulness of the *Characters* as a source for notes on the text of *Hudibras*, but because he serves as well as any of the others would, and because to treat in this way all the persons that figure in the epic would require too much space.

² "When he writes *Anagrams*, he uses to lay the Outsides of his Verses even (like a Bricklayer) by a line of Ryme and Acrostic, and fill the Middle with Rubbish.—In this he imitates *Ben Jonson*, but in nothing else."—*A Small Poet*.

"When he writes, he commonly steers the Sense of his Lines by the Rhyme that is at the End of them, as Butchers do Calves by the Tail. For when he has made one Line, which is easy enough ; and has found out some sturdy hard Word, that will but rhyme, he will hammer the Sense upon it, like a Piece of hot Iron upon an Anvil, into what Form he Pleases."—*Ibid*.

³ "He lives much more by his Faith than good Works ; for he gains more by trusting and believing in one that pays him at long running, than six that he works for, upon an even accompt, for ready money."—*A Taylor*.

⁴ "He calls Stealing *damning*, by a Figure in Rhetoric called the Effect for the Efficient, and the Place where he lodges all his Thieveries *Hell*, to put him in mind of his latter End."—*Ibid*.

Not with a counterfeited pass
 Of golden bough,¹ but true gold lace.
 His knowledge was not far behind
 The knight's, but of another kind,
 And he another way came by 't ;
 Some call it Gifts, and some New-light ;
 A lib'ral art that costs no pains
 Of study, industry, or brains.

P. I., C. 1, ll. 457-484.

Quoth Ralpho, ' Nothing but th' abuse
 Of human learning you produce ;
 Learning, that cobweb of the brain,
 Profane, erroneous, and vain ;
 A trade of knowledge as replete,
 As others are with fraud and cheat ;
 An art t' incumber gifts and wit,
 And render both for nothing fit ;²

P. I., C. 3, 1337-1344.

His wits were sent him for a token,
 But in the carriage crack'd and broken.
 Like commendation nine-pence, crook't
 With—to and from my love—it Look't.

¹ " *The great Secret*, which they can prove to be the golden Bough, that served Æneas for a pass to go to Hell with."—*An Hermetic Philosopher*.

² "He cries down Learning, as he does the World, because it is not within his Reach, and gives unjust Judgment upon that, which he understands nothing of The prodigious Height of Confidence, he has arrived to, is not possible to be attained without an equally impregnable Ignorance."—*An Anabaptist*.

"He calls his supposed Abilities *Gifts* He owes all his Gifts to his Ignorance, as Beggars do the Alms they receive to their Poverty."—*A Fanatic*.

"And this he finds useful to many Purposes ; for it does not only save him the Labour of Study, which he disdains as below his Gifts, but exempts him from many other Duties, and gives his idle Infirmities a greater Reputation among his Followers than the greatest Abilities of the most Industrious."—*An Hypocritical Nonconformist*.

" . . . he and his Brethren have with long and diligent Practice found out an Expedient to make that Dullness, which would become intolerable if it did not pretend to something above Nature, pass for *Dispensations, Light, Grace, and Gifts*."—*Ibid*.

He ne'er consider'd it, as loth
 To look a gift-horse in the mouth ;
 And very wisely would lay forth
 No more upon it than 'twas worth.
 But as he got it freely, so
 He spent it frank and freely too.
 For saints themselves will sometimes be,
 Of gifts that cost them nothing, free.¹
 By means of this, with hem and cough,
 Prolongers to enlighten snuff,
 He could deep mysteries unriddle,
 As easily as thread a needle :²

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P. I., C. 1, ll. 485-500.

'Tis a dark-lanthorn of the spirit,
 Which none see but those that bear it :
 A light that falls down from on high,
 For spiritual trades to cozen by :
 An ignis fatuus, that bewitches,
 And leads men into pools and ditches,
 To make them dip themselves, and sound
 For Christendom in dirty pond ;
 To dive like wild fowl, for salvation,
 And fish to catch regeneration.³

¹ "He is very free of his faith because he comes easily by it ; for it costs him no *consideration* at all, and he is sure he can hardly part with it, for less than it is worth."—*A Credulous Man*.

² "He gathers Churches on the Sunday, as the *Jews* did Sticks on their Sabbath, to set the State on Fire. He humms and hahs high Treason, and calls upon it, as Gamesters do on the Cast they would throw. He groans Sedition, and, like the *Pharisee*, rails, when he gives Thanks."—*A Fifth-Monarchy-Man*.

³ "He controuls his fellow Labourers in the Fire with as much Empire and authority, as if he were sole Overseer of the *great Work*, to which he lights his Reader like an *ignis fatuus*, which uses to mislead Men into Sloughs and Ditches ; . . ."—*An Hermetic Philosopher*.

"He finds out Sloughs and Ditches, that are aptest for launching of an Anabaptist ; for he does not christen, but launch his Vessel."—*An Anabaptist*.

"He does not like the use of Water in his Baptism, as it falls from Heaven in Drops, but as it runs out of the Bowels of the Earth, or stands putrefying in a dirty Pond."—*Ibid*.

This light inspires and plays upon
 The nose of saint, like bagpipe drone,¹
 And speaks through hollow empty soul,
 As through a trunk or whisp'ring hole,
 Such language as no mortal ear
 But spiritual eaves-droppers can hear.

P. I., C. 1, ll. 505-520.

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 Have they invented tones to win
 The women, and make them draw in
 The men, as Indians with a female
 Tame elephant inveigle the male?²

P. I., C. 2, ll. 585-8.

Thus Ralph became infallible,
 As three or four legg'd oracle,
 The ancient cup or modern chair;
 Spoke truth point blank, though unaware.
 For mystic learning wondrous able
 In magic talisman, and cabal,³
 Whose primitive tradition reaches,

¹ "His Tongue is like a Bagpipe Drone, that has no Stop, but makes a continual ugly Noise, as long as he can squeeze any Wind out of himself."—*An Haranguer*.

² "The pity of his suppos'd sufferings works much on the tender sex the sisters, and their benevolence is as duly paid as the husbands; for whatsoever they are to their spouses, they are sure to be his helpers, and he as sure to plow with their heifers."—*A Silenc'd Presbyterian*.

"And the better to set this off, he uses more artificial Tricks to improve his Spirit of Utterance either into Volubility or Dullness, that it may seem to go of itself, without his Study or Direction, than the old Heathen Orators knew, that used to liquor their Throats, and harangue to Pipes. For he has fantastic and extravagant Tones, as well as Phrases, . . . in a Kind of stilo recitativo between singing and braying; . . ."—*An Hypocritical Nonconformist*.

³ "For they will undertake to teach any Kind of mysterious Learning in the World by Way of Diet; and therefore have admirable Receipts, to make several Dishes for Talisman, Magic, and Cabal, in which Sciences a Man of an ingenious Stomach may eat himself into more Knowledge at a Meal, than he could possibly arrive at by seven Years Study."—*An Hermetic Philosopher*.

As far as Adam's first green breeches.¹
 Deep-sighted in intelligences,
 Ideas, atoms, influences ;
 And much of terra incognita,
 Th' intelligible world could say ;²
 A deep occult philosopher.
 As learn'd as the wild Irish are,
 Or Sir Agrippa, for profound
 And solid lying much renown'd :³
 He Anthroposophus⁴ and Floud,
 And Jacob Behmen⁵ understood ;
 Knew many an amulet and charm,
 That would do neither good nor harm ;
 In Rosicrucian love as learned,
 As he that *verè adeptus* earned.⁶

¹ "(He) derives the Pedigree of Magic from Adam's first green Britches because Fig-leaves being the first Cloaths, that Mankind wore, were only used for Covering, and therefore are the most ancient Monuments of concealed Mysteries."—*Ibid.*

² "They are better acquainted with the intelligible World, than they are with this ; and understand more of Ideas than they do of Things. This intelligible World is a kind of *Terra incognita*, a *Psittacorum Regio*, of which Men talk what they do not understand. They would have us believe that it is but the Counterpart of the elementary World ; and that there is not so much as an individual Beard upon the Face of the Earth, that has not another there perfectly of the same Colour and Cut to match it."—*Ibid.*

"Democracy is but the Effect of a crazy Brain ; 'tis like the intelligible World, where the Models and Ideas of all Things are, but no Things ; and 'twill never go further."—*Ibid.*

³ "He adores *Cornelius Agrippa* as an Oracle, yet believes he understands more of his Writings than he did himself ; for he will not take his own Testimony concerning his three books of occult Philosophy, which he confesses to have written without Wit or Judgment."—*An Hermetic Philosopher.*

⁴ "No doubt a very strange Landscape, and not unlike that, which *Anthroposophus* has made of the *invisible Mountain of the Philosophers.*"—*Ibid.*

⁵ "They have made Spectacles to read *Jacob Boehmen* and *Ben Israel* with, which, like those Glasses that revert the Object, will turn the wrong End of their Sentences upwards, and make them look like Sense."—*Ibid.*

⁶ "The best you may suppose is laid up carefully ; for he always tells you what he could tell you, whereby it appears the Purpose of his Writing

He understood the speech of birds
 As well as they themselves do words ;
 Could tell what subtlest parrots mean,
 That speak and think contrary clean ;
 When they cry Rope—and Walk, Knave, Walk.¹
 He'd extract numbers out of matter,
 And keep them in a glass, like water,²
 Of sov'reign power to make men wise ;
 For dropt in blear thick-sighted eyes,
 They'd make them see in darkest night,
 Like owls, tho' purblind in the light.³
 By help of these, as he profest,
 He had first matter seen undrest :
 He took her naked, all alone,
 Before one rag of form was on.
 The chaos too he had descry'd,
 And seen quite thro', or else he lied :
 Not that of pasteboard, which men shew
 For groats, at fair of Barthol'mew ;

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P. I., C. 1, ll. 525-566.

is but to let you know that he knows, which if you can but attain to, you are sufficiently learned, and may pass for *verè adeptus* though otherwise he will not allow any Man to be free of the *Philosophers*, that has not only served out his Time to a Furnace, but can cant and spit Fire like a Jugler."—*Ibid.*

¹ " . . for they profess to understand the Language of Beasts and Birds, as they say *Solomon* did, else he never would have said—*The Fowls of the Air can discover Treason against Princes.*"—*Ibid.*

² "Though they believe their own Senses base and unworthy of their Notice (like that delicate *Roman*, who being put in his Litter by his Servants, asked, whether he sat or no) yet they never apply themselves to any Thing abstruse or subtile, but with much Caution ; and commonly resolve all Questions of that Nature by Numbers—*Monades*, *Triades*, and *Decades*, are with them a kind of philosophical *Fulhams*, with which, like cunning Gamesters, they can throw what they please, and be sure to win, for no Body can disprove them."—*Ibid.*

"These Numbers they believe to be the better sort of Spirits, by the Largeness of their Dominion, which extends from beyond the intelligible World, through all the inferior Worlds, to the Center, which is the uttermost bound of their Empire that Way."—*Ibid.*

³ " . . they are very sovereign to clear the Eyes of the Mind, and make a bleared Intellect see like a Cat in the Dark, though it be stark blind in the Light."—*Ibid.*

All this without th' eclipse of th' sun,
 Or dreadful comet, he hath done
 By inward light,¹ a way as good,
 And easy to be understood :
 But with more lucky hit than those
 That use to make the stars depose,
 Like Knights o' th' Post,² and falsely charge
 Upon themselves what others forge ;
 As if they were consenting to
 All mischiefs in the world men do :

¹ "But after so many Precepts and Rules delivered with the greatest Confidence and Presumption of Certainty, they will tell you, that this Art is not to be attained but by divine Revelation, and only to be expected by holy and sanctified Persons, that have left behind them all the Concernments of this World ; whereby it seems, *this Shadow of Art follows those that fly it, and flies from those that follow it.*"—*Ibid.*

² "He keeps as many Knights of the Post to swear for him, as the King does poor Knights at Windsor to pray for him."—*A Litigious Man.*

"A Knight of the Post

Is a retailer of Oaths, a Deposition-Monger, an Evidence-Maker that lives by the Labour of his Conscience. He takes Money to kiss the Gospel, as Judas did Christ, when he betrayed him. *As a good conscience is a continual Feast* ; so an ill one is with him his daily Food. He plys at a Court of Justice, as Porters do at a Market ; and his Business is to bear Witness, as they do Burthens, for any man that will pay them for it. He will swear his Ears through an Inch-Board, and wears them merely by Favour of the Court ; for being *Amicus curiæ*, they are willing to let him keep the Pillory out of Possession, though he has forfeited his Right never so often ; For when he is once outed of his Ears, he is past his Labour, and can do the Commonwealth of Practisers no more Service. He is a false Weight in the Ballance of Justice ; and as a Lawyer's Tongue is the Tongue of the Ballance, that inclines either Way, according as the Weight of the Bribe inclines it, so does his. He lays one Hand on the Book, and the other in the Plaintiff's or Defendant's Pocket. He feeds upon His Conscience, as a Monkey eats his Tail. He kisses the Book to show he renounces, and takes his leave of it—Many a parting Kiss has he given the Gospel. He pollutes it with his Lips oftener than a Hypocrite. He is a sworn Officer of every Court, and a great Practiser ; is admitted within the Bar, and makes good what the rest of the Council say. The Attorney and Solicitor fee and instruct him in the Case ; and he ventures as far for his Client, as any Man, to be laid by the Ears : He speaks more to the Point than any other, yet gives false Ground to his Brethren of the

Or, like the devil, did tempt and sway 'em¹
 To rogueries, and then betray 'em.
 They'll search a planet's house, to know
 Who broke and robbed a house below ;
 Examine Venus and the Moon,
 Who stole a thimble or a spoon ;
 And though they nothing will confess,
 Yet by their very looks can guess,²
 And tell what guilty aspect bodes,
 Who stole, and who received the goods :
 They'll question Mars, and, by his look,
 Detect who 'twas that nimmed a cloak ;
 Make Mercury confess, and 'peach
 Those thieves which he himself did teach.
 They'll find, i' th' physiognomies
 O' th' planets, all men's destinies ;
 Like him that took the doctor's bill,
 And swallow'd it instead o' th' pill.

Jury, that they seldom come near the Jack. His Oaths are so brittle, that not one in twenty of them will hold the Taking, but fly as soon as they are out. He is worse than an ill Conscience ; for that bears true Witness, but his is always false, and though his own Conscience be said to be a thousand Witnesses, he will out-swear and out-face them all. He believes it no Sin to bear false Witness for his Neighbour, that pays him for it, because it is not forbidden, but only to bear false Witness against his Neighbour."

¹ "These Influences, they would make us believe, are a Kind of little invisible Midwives, which the Stars employ at the Nativities of Men, to swathe and bind up their Spirits . . . And yet it should seem, these Influences are but a kind of *Mock-destinies*, whose Business it is to tamper with all Men, but compel none.—This the learned call *inclining* not *necessitating*. They have a small precarious Empire, wholly at the Will of the Subject ; they can raise no Men but only Volunteers, for their Power does not extend to press any. Their Jurisdiction is only to invite Men to the Gallows, or the Pillory in a civil Way, but force none so much as to a Whipping, unless, like Catholic Penitents, they have a mind to it, and will lay it on themselves. They are very like, if not the same, to the Temptations of the Devil . . ."—*An Hermetic Philosopher*.

² "He talks with them by dumb Signs, and can tell what they mean by their twinkling and squinting upon one another, as well as they themselves. He is a Spy upon the Stars, and can tell what they are doing by the Company they keep, and the Houses they frequent."—*An Astrologer*.

Cast the nativity of the question,
 And from positions to be guest on,
 As sure as if they knew the moment
 Of Native's birth, tell what will come on 't.¹
 They'll feel the pulses of the stars,
 To find out agues, coughs, catarrhs;
 And tell what crisis does divine
 The rot in sheep, or mange in swine;
 What gains, or loses, hangs, or saves,
 What makes mén great, what fools, or knaves;
 But not what wise, for only 'f those
 The stars, they say, cannot dispose,
 No more than can the astrologians:
 There they say right, and like true Trojans.²

P. I., C. 1, ll. 577-620.

Synods are mystical bear-gardens,
 Where elders, deputies, church-wardens,³
 And other members of the court,
 Manage the Babylonish sport.

P. I., C. 3, ll. 1095-8.

¹ "They have found out an admirable Way to decide all Controversaries, and resolve Doubts of the greatest Difficulty by Way of *horary Questions*, for as the learned Astrologers, observing the Impossibility of knowing the exact Moment of any Man's Birth, do use very prudently to *cast the Nativity of the Question* (like him, that swallowed the Doctor's bill instead of the Medicine) and find the Answer as certain and infallible, as if they had known the very Instant, in which the Native, as they call him, crept into the World."—*An Hermetic Philosopher*.

² "As little Good as Hurt can they do any Man against his Will—they cannot make a private Man a Prince, unless he have a very strong Desire to be so; nor make any Man happy in any Condition whatsoever, unless his own Liking concur. . . . As for the Wise, the Learned tell us, they have nothing to do with them; and if they make any Attempt upon them, it is to no Purpose: for when they *incline* a Man to be a Knave, and prevail upon him, he must be a Fool (for they have no Power over the Wise) and so all their Labour is lost."—*Ibid*.

³

"A Church-Warden

Is a public Officer, intrusted to rob the Church by Virtue of his Place, as long as he is in it. He has a very great Care to eat and drink well upon all public Occasions, that concern the Parish: for a *good Conscience being a perpetual Feast*, he believes, the better he feeds, the more Conscience he uses in the Discharge of his Trust; and as long as there is no Dry-money-cheat used, all others are allowed, according to the Tradition and Practice

That Saints may claim a dispensation
 To swear and forswear on occasion,
 I doubt not but it will appear
 With pregnant light : the point is clear.
 Oaths are but words, and words but wind,¹
 Too feeble instruments to bind ;
 And hold with deeds proportion so
 As shadows to a substance do.

P. II., C. 2, ll. 103-110.

But they are weak, and little know
 What free-born consciences may do.
 'Tis the temptation of the devil
 That makes all human actions evil :
 For saints may do the same thing by
 The spirit, in sincerity,

of the Church in the purest Times. When he lays a tax upon the Parish he commonly raises it a fourth Part above the Accompt, to supply the Default of Houses that may be burnt, or stand empty ; or Men that may break and run away ; and if none of these happen, his Fortune is the greater, and his Hazard never the less ; and therefore he divides the Overplus between himself and his Colleagues, who were engaged to pay the whole, if all the Parish had run away, or hanged themselves. He over-reckons the Parish in his Accompts, as the Taverns do him, and keeps the odd Money himself, instead of giving it to the Drawers. He eats up the Bell-ropes like the Ass in the Emblem, and converts the broken Glass-Windows into whole Beer-Glasses of Sack ; and before his Year is out, if he be but as good a Fellow as the drinking Bishop was, pledges a whole Pulpit full. If the Church happen to fall to decay in his Time, it proves a Deodand to him ; for he is Lord of the Manor, and does not make only make what he pleases of it, but has his Name recorded on the Walls among Texts of Scripture and leathern Buckets, with the Year of his Office, that the Memory of the Unjust, as well as the Just may last as long as so transitory a Thing may. He interprets his Oath as *Catholics* do the Scripture, not according to the Sense and Meaning of the Words, but the Tradition and Practice of his Predecessors ; who have always been observed to swear what other please, and do what they please themselves."

¹ "And therefore promises ought to oblige those only to whom they are made, not those who make them ; for he that expects a Man should bind himself is worse than a thief, who does that Service for him, after he has robbed him on the High-way. Promises are but Words, and Words Air, which no Man can claim a Propriety in, but is equally free to all and incapable of being confined ; . . ."—*A Modern Politician*.

Which other men are tempted to,
 And at the devil's instance do ;
 And yet the actions be contrary,
 Just as the saints and wicked vary.
 For as on land there is no beast
 But in some fish at sea's exprest ;
 So in the wicked there's no vice,
 Of which the saints have not a spice ;
 And yet that thing that's pious in
 The one, in th' other is a sin.¹

P. II., C. 2, ll. 231-246.

Synods are whelps o' th' Inquisition,
 A mongrel breed of like pernicion,
 And growing up, became the sires
 Of scribes, commissioners, and triers ;
 Whose business is, by cunning sleight,
 To cast a figure for men's light ;
 To find, in lines of beard and face,
 The physiognomy of grace ;
 And by the sound and twang of nose,
 If all be sound within, disclose,
 Free from a crack, or flaw of sinning,
 As men try pipkins by the ringing ;
 By black caps underlaid with white,

¹ "For as strong Bodies may freely venture to do and suffer that, without any Hurt to themselves, which would destroy those that are feeble : so a Saint, that is strong in Grace, may boldly engage himself in those great Sins and Iniquities, that would easily damn a weak brother, and yet come off never the worse."—*A Ranter*.

"He preaches the Gospel in despite of itself ; for though there can be no Character so true and plain of him, as that which is there copied from the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, yet he is not so weak a brother to apply any Thing to himself, that is not perfectly agreeable to his own Purposes ; nor so mean an Interpreter of Scripture, that he cannot relieve himself, when he is prest home with a Text, especially where his own Conscience is Judge : For what Privilege have the *Saints* more than the *Wicked*, if they cannot dispense with themselves in such Cases ?"—*An Hypocritical Non-conformist*.

"He canonises himself a Saint in his own Life-time, as *Domitian* made himself a God ; and enters his Name in the Rubric of his Church by Virtue of a Pick-lock, which he has invented, and believes will serve his Turn, as well as St. Peter's Keys."—*An Anabaptist*.

Give certain guess at inward light ;
 Which serjeants at the Gospel wear,
 To make the sp'ritual calling clear.
 The handkerchief about the neck—¹
 Canonical cravat of smeck,
 From whom the institution came,
 When church and state they set on flame,
 And worn by them as badges then
 Of spiritual warfaring-men—
 Judge rightly if regeneration
 Be of the newest cut in fashion :
 Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion,
 That grace is founded in dominion.
 Great piety consists in pride ;
 To rule is to be sanctified :
 To domineer, and to control
 Both o'er the body and the soul,
 Is the most perfect discipline
 Of church-rule, and by right divine.
 Bell and the Dragon's chaplains were,
 More moderate than those by far :
 For they, poor knaves, were glad to cheat,
 To get their wives and children meat ;
 But these will not be fobb's off so,
 They must have wealth and power too ;
 Or else with blood and desolation,
 They'll tear it out o' th' heart o' th' nation.²

P. I., C. 3, ll. 1154-1188.

¹ "The handkerchief, he wore about his neck at the institution of his order here, was a type, that in process of time, he should be troubled with a sore throat, and since it is fulfill'd."—*A Silent Presbyterian*.

² "He never forsook him in his greatest Extremities, but eat and drunk truly and faithfully upon him, when he knew not how to do so anywhere else : for all the service he was capable of doing his Master was the very same with that of *Bel* and the *Dragon's* Clerks, to eat up his meat, and drink up his Drink for him."—*A Risker*.

"David was eaten up with the Zeal of God's House ; but his Zeal quite contrary eats up God's House ; and as the words seem to intimate, that David fed and maintained the Priests ; so he makes the Priests feed and maintain him"—*A Zealot*.

" . . . for he thinks that no man ought to be much concerned in it (religion) but Hypocrites, and such as make it their Calling and Pro-

This zealot
 Is of a mungrel diverse kind,
 Cleric before, and lay behind;
 A lawless linsey-woolsey brother,
 Half of one order, half another;
 A creature of amphibious nature,
 On land a beast, a fish in water;¹
 That always preys on grace, or sin;
 A sheep without, a wolf within.

P. I., C. 3, ll. 1224-1232.

Partly because Butler was a Royalist, and because the Royalists seem to us now to have been on the wrong side of the politics of the seventeenth century; partly, also, because *Hudibras* has suffered from being classed as a political satire, the poem seems in danger of becoming a neglected, if not a forgotten book. To rescue from the neglect and oblivion into which it seems in danger of falling the wittiest poem in the language, and really the only work of sustained poetical genius that the Cavaliers had to offset the Puritan epic of *Paradise Lost*, would be indeed a worthy task. In such an undertaking the possible uses of the prose *Characters* in revealing the author's satiric method, and in explaining allusions to the life of the time, should be considered. Since the *Characters* are now in print; and since, upon even a hasty examination, they seem to furnish an illuminating commentary upon the text of *Hudibras*, there appears no reason why they should not be utilized at once in the preparation of a new edition of the poem.

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN.

fession; who, though they do not live by their Faith, like the Righteous, do that which is nearest to it, get their living by it; . . ."—*A Modern Politician*.

¹ "An Anabaptist is a Water-Saint, that like a Crocodile, sees clearly in the Water, but Dully on Land."—*An Anabaptist*.

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XX.—WILHELM HAUFF'S SPECIFIC RELATION TO
WALTER SCOTT

I

INTRODUCTION

In 1899 Dr. C. W. Eastman read a paper before the Modern Language Association, in which he maintained that of all Scott's novels *Ivanhoe* served Hauff most completely as the source of his historical romance, *Lichtenstein*. In 1903 this claim was disputed by Dr. W. H. Carruth, who thro the same channel advanced his reasons for believing that *Waverley* and not *Ivanhoe* was the model in question. A year later Max Schuster in a monograph¹ discussed Hauff's relation to his historical sources; and almost simultaneously the whole problem of his historical and literary dependence was treated by Max Drescher.² Incisive and scholarly as these inquiries are, it has seemed to us in the light of our own studies that one phase of the matter still

¹ *Der geschichtliche kern von Hauffs Lichtenstein.*

² *Die Quellen zu Hauffs Lichtenstein.*

offered opportunity for further investigation. The evidence of Hauff's attitude toward Walter Scott is by no means meagre or indirect; and we have never been able to persuade ourselves that this specific relation has been adequately determined. In any case it is insufficient merely to ask whether *Waverley* or *Ivanhoe* was the prototype, or, as Drescher did, arbitrarily to choose only six of Scott's novels for comparison. The situation demanded rather a most careful study of all the works to which Hauff had access, and an equally careful analysis of the evidence thus obtained.

We know from Hauff's own statements that he definitely decided to write an historical novel and carried the idea about in his mind for some time; that Scott's immense popularity in German revealed to him how and in what form he could best please the reading public; that Walter Scott was the only model he ever had definitely in mind. We know furthermore that his acquaintance with the latter's works and technique was intimate. As he himself says: "Freilich kamen mir bei diesen Gedanken noch allerlei Zweifel. Ich müsste die Werke dieses grossen Meisters nicht nur lesen, sondern auch studiren, um sie zu meinem Zweck zu benützen."¹ As the result of this conviction he analysed critically twelve of Scott's novels in his *Studien* and makes elsewhere special mention of *Quentin Durward*. Ernst Müller (*Euphorion*, 4, 319) says of him: "Es steht fest, dass er Scott zum Vorbild hat in Lichtenstein." When we consider in addition that during Hauff's literary activity Scott wielded a most intensive and extensive influence in Germany; that Hauff openly admired and avowed him as a master novelist, pays a glowing tribute to him in the introduction to *Lichtenstein* and defends him against German criticism; when we consider also that his studies of Scott

¹ *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt.*

immediately preceded the composition of *Lichtenstein*, we are prepared to find a close relationship between the two authors, and indeed a much closer relationship than has hitherto been asseverated.

II

THE PLOT OF *Lichtenstein*

George Sturmfeder, a young soldier of fortune whose political preferences are not yet fixed, comes to the city of Ulm, where the army of the Swabian League is concentrating to prevent the Duke of Württemberg from regaining his throne. Here George meets his beloved, Marie von Lichtenstein, whose father is supposed to be in sympathy with the League. Strong pressure is exerted on the young man to join the government forces, but an attempt to assign him duty as a spy and Marie's efforts to draw him to the Duke, whom her father loves, induce him to reject the cause of the Allies. Accompanied by a peasant-guide, who is also devoted to the Duke, he leaves Ulm under parole but is attacked *en route* and wounded by the enemy, who mistake him for the Duke. He is rescued, attended, and healed by the family of the peasant-guide at their cottage, and resumes his journey to Lichtenstein, whither he has decided to go for a last interview with Marie. Made jealous at an inn by the hostess's story of Marie's nightly *entente* with a supposed lover, George resolves to attack him that night as he leaves the castle. The duel is stopped by the peasant-guide, who recognizes George, and the latter after due explanation spends the night in a cave with the reputed lover, who is of course the Duke incognito. George lingers some time at Lichtenstein, during which the Duke visits the castle nightly to learn the movements of his friends and enemies. The fall of Tübingen, Ulrich's chief stronghold,

brings him to the edge of ruin ; accompanied, therefore, by his devotees (including George) he flees to a safer point of refuge at Mömpelgard. Profiting by the misrule of the League in Württemberg, the Duke recuperates his shattered forces and effects a sudden but peaceful occupation of Stuttgart, his capital city. But his own political blunders and the reconcentration of the hostile army soon drive him to battle, where he is defeated and escapes by the aid of George, who has distinguished himself at arms and together with others is made prisoner. The captives are paroled, and George, who had already married Marie in Stuttgart, retires with her to the customary happy life at the castle of Lichtenstein.

III

WALTER SCOTT'S NOVELISTIC TECHNIQUE

The novels of Walter Scott are not developed by an unvarying law of technique. Beneath the structural elements we find strong undercurrents which greatly complicate the evolution of the plots and affect in consequence the relationships of the characters. The political and religious differences of the English and Scotch ; the struggle between catholicism and protestantism, the local feuds of the Border chiefs, the intrigues of aristocracy involve issues which, historical as they are, exhibit such partisan fierceness, bitterness, and intricacy that the idea of any uniformity in literary methods would seem at first to be interrogative. And, too, we have in many cases to deal with Scott's favorite counter-themes of dispossessed heirships, mysteries of birth, and the practice of witchcraft, all of which make it difficult to believe that amid such varied issues and situations there is any organic progress toward a definite end.

But much of the confusion respecting Scott's plots arises

from his persistent tendency to give disproportionate extension to individual scenes ; and after all there are recurrent types and functions, a certain framework, a structural background which may be grouped together under the generic name of technique. Common thus to nineteen of the twenty-one novels under discussion is the following plot system : A young hero seeks fortune and ultimate happiness. His career involves difficulties and a wide variety of experience. Associated with him are a heroine and a secondary lady, also a baron (or barons) whose operations form no small part of the action. There is also a prince motive which overshadows historically that of the hero, and the latter's triumph has in most cases its identity in the *dénouement* of actual events. The hero is generally poor and destitute of influential relatives, circumstances which naturally and cleverly throw his success into the balance of the prince's fortunes.

Scott became much interested in the development of the romantic literature which sprang up in Germany. But, as Lockhart says, it seemed a style of literature which his friends regarded with wonder, and, like Wordsworth, he was even half-ashamed of his early romantic studies. *Goetz von Berlichingen* made him perhaps ask whether he could not do for his own country what Goethe had done for the ancient feudalism of the Rhine. And he may have found thus a vehicle for Border manners in the historical romance. But it is not true that Scott's tendency to paint horrors was developed under Storm and Stress influences. In the introductions to *Peveril* and *Nigel* he cites historical chronicles to prove that his own methods of portraiture were milder than the facts themselves, and in other places he speaks apologetically of describing such horrors, as if his duties as a historian demanded a *modus operandi* which his better taste would not otherwise justify. That Scott's influence over the

development of German literature did not contain such gruesome elements is demonstrated clearly and candidly in Mielke's characterisation of him (*Der deutsche Roman des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, 91 seq.).

IV

HAUFF'S HISTORICAL SOURCES

As the actual historical materials of *Lichtenstein* could not have been drawn from the Waverley series, they do not belong to our present inquiry. His fidelity to his own sources has been investigated by Max Schuster, as we have already pointed out. He discusses how far Hauff followed fact and fiction, and ascribes the deviations from historical record to ignorance and a superficial attitude on the author's part. He says: "Wo er (Hauff) am schroffsten der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit widerspricht, in der Darstellung des Huttenschen Falls und der Schlacht bei Türkheim, tat er es in gutem Glauben an die Richtigkeit seiner Auffassung. Was ihm anzuwerfen ist, ist nicht so wohl eine unerlaubte Willkür, eine Misshandlung der ihm bewussten, historischen Tatsachen, sondern der Mangel an gründlicherem Eindringen in die geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und Entwicklungen, das ihn zu einer tieferen Auffassung vom Charakter seines Helden hätte führen können."¹ Drescher finds Hauff historically correct in his general purpose and explains discrepancies as well as inaccuracies by the great haste in which the novel was written. This historical material Hauff gives partly as supplementary data in the form of notes and annotations, partly as narrative with maximum brevity, partly by word of mouth, partly in actual scenes. So little of it enters into the novel itself

¹ P. 61.

that we shall consider it in connection with the nature and structure of the plot.

V

THE CHARACTERS

When Hauff had consulted his historical and legendary sources, the problem of using these materials, combining them with his own inventions was no small one. He must have asked himself three questions: What characters should he select? How should he construct his plot with reference to them? How should this structure be filled in with such situations and embellishments as would enhance the attractiveness of the novel as a work of literary art?

As characters who carry on the action we have Georg von Sturmfeder, the hero; a prince, Duke Ulrich von Württemberg; a baron, Herr von Lichtenstein, devoted to the Duke; a heroine, Marie, the Baron's daughter; a secondary lady, Bertha von Besserer; a secondary baron, Dietrich von Kraft, who loves Bertha; an unprincipled counselor, Ambrosius Volland; two generals, Georg von Frondsberg and Truchsess Waldburg, the former of whom befriends, the latter dislikes, the hero; a peasant-guide, Pfeiffer von Hardt, with wife and daughter (Bärbele). The Duke, the Counselor, and the two Generals are historical, the others fictitious. As the remaining characters, tho many of them are historical, have no organic connection with the plot, they do not claim our attention. The two Generals were officers in the Swabian army which opposed the Duke of Württemberg in 1519; as, however, they receive no characterisation at the hands of their biographers, Hauff's treatment of them in relation to his hero-plot is an invention. The physical deformity, the caricature and ridiculous aspect which Hauff assigns to Volland are likewise unconfirmed by the latter's biographers.

The Chancellor took office after the Armer Konrad rebellion ; he accompanied the Duke on both exiles, but was not responsible for the abrogation of the Tübingen Compact, so that here again Hauff took liberties with historical facts in the interest of his plot. His carefully detailed explanation of his purpose to present the Duke's character in a subdued light prepares us for the variations which we actually find, and obviates the necessity of seeking reasons for the freedom which Hauff's own view-point justifies. He states that doubtless public opinion was too much influenced against Ulrich by the prejudicial bitterness of Ulrich von Hutten, who attacked him with great vigor ; that he (Hauff) in all his investigations had not found one writer who condemned the Duke entirely ; that the latter was affected by bad influences and environment : that his youth and indiscretions were against him ; that the harshness of his character was offset by his more elevated traits, by his strength of soul and his indomitable courage. Pfaff also says : "Über seine Denk- und Gemütsart haben Mit- und Nachwelt gar verschiedene Urteile gefällt, man hat ihn bald zu schlimm, bald zu gut geschildert."¹

If, then, Hauff emphasizes the Don Juan and chivalrous aspects of Ulrich's character, ascribing his cruelty and unwise statesmanship to evil influences, his procedure is sufficiently motivated to escape the charge of having trifled with his sources.

The Scottian hero is prevailingly a young man, poor, of good birth, who, being uncertain as to his future, seeks and wins fortune thro the aid of a prince. In his *Studien* Hauff strongly defends this wavering type of hero. He says : "Wirft man aber die Frage auf, was ist höher im Roman, das Leben des Helden oder die Personen und Gegenstände,

¹ Pfaff, *Gesch. Württembergs*, I, 386.

mit welchen letzterer in Berührung kommt, so ist es offenbar das letztere. Fragt man aber, zu was dann noch ein solcher Nichtheld, wenn die objective Darstellung der mannigfachen Erscheinungen des Lebens die Hauptsache im Roman ausmacht? man kann antworten, der Held . . . muss den Faden der Erzählung, an welchen sich einzelne Begebenheiten und Erscheinungen anreihen, abgeben. . . . Im Helden des Romans liegt der Spiegel, welcher uns die Gegenstände, denen er begegnet, klar zeigt." Among the hero types of his native literature Hauff found the wandering artist, the roaming adventurer, the subjective dreamer. Of these he says: "Man wollte unter Roman nicht mehr die Lebensbegebenheiten des Helden verstehen, sondern die Aufstellung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Ansicht über Kunst oder sonst ein Thema des geistigen Lebens, die sogenannte Geschichte war Nebensache."¹ Against this form of novel he further declares himself: "Der Roman war auch in der That ursprünglich nichts anders als getreuer Bericht über das Stilleben und die Handlungen des Helden. Die Wahrheit lag nicht im getreuen Bericht, sondern in Aufstellung der Motive zu Handlungen, in Darstellung seiner Gefühle. Diese Darstellung der Gefühle des Helden fordert aber eine genaue Darstellung der Gegenstände und Aussen-dinge die den Helden afficiren."² When we realize that Hauff expresses himself thus in defense of Scott's and in exposition of his own type of hero, and finds such a hero developed in sixteen of the Waverley novels which he read, there is every indication of a close relationship between the two authors.

Hauff's acquaintance with Scott's characters was intimate. In his *Studien* he reviews in detail fifty-six of them and accords several others an intelligent word of comment. His

¹ *Studien*.

² *Ibid*.

general judgment, if favorable, is that they are natural; if unfavorable, that they are merely sketched and therefore undeveloped. He bestows most attention upon *The Antiquary*, *Waverley*, *Ochiltree*, and *Mannering* in the order named. The characters which impressed him most are MacIvor, the Antiquary, Ochiltree, Elspeth, Rassleigh and Robin, Mary Stuart (in particular), John and Richard, Elisabeth and Varney. He regards *Rob Roy* as Scott's best novel on account of its vivid pictures and deep characters (Rassleigh, Diana, etc.); he extols *Old Mortality* for its great objectivity and fine gradation of character-types.

It is significant also that Hauff uses in *Lichtenstein* precisely those characters which are most common and most frequently recurrent in the Scottian technique. In inventing Herr von Lichtenstein as baron, Bertha as secondary lady, Dietrich von Kraft as secondary baron, Pfeiffer von Hardt as peasant-guide, etc., Hauff considered them, not as individuals capable of psychological differentiation, but as types whose functions were necessary to the evolution of the plot. The relation was everything, the name nothing. We have already seen how Hauff in the case of his historical characters made such arbitrary modifications as would best suit his purposes; it is evident, then, that he did not aim at accurate delineation of historical character. In the use of such compromises and the adoption of Scottian types he clearly worked in the interests of his plot, and that, too, of a plot in which fiction predominated. As to the origin of these created types Hofmann¹ suggests that Herr von Lichtenstein and Frondsberg were modeled after Hauff's grandfather, and George Sturmfeder after Hauff himself; that Marie's prototype was to be found in his own bride and also in his elder sister; that his grandfather's housekeeper was reflected in Marie's

¹ *Wilhelm Hauff*, p. 77.

maid, Rosa, the peasant's wife, and Kraft's *Haushälterin*; that the peasant's daughter resembled Hauff's younger sister in *naïveté*. We present our own view later.

VI

THE PLOT STRUCTURE OF *Lichtenstein*

In his *Studien* Hauff insists that the novel, as offspring of the epic, must concern itself with the external fortunes of the hero; that these must have an organic nexus and unity; that they follow the law of an inner truth; that they offer not allegorical representations but a poetical picture of real life. He furthermore maintains that Scott's novels reveal the power of simple truth. "Welcher Dichter gibt wohl ein besseres Zeugnis dafür dass der Zauber der schlichten Wahrheit der grösste sei als Walter Scott?"¹ "In him," continues Hauff, "the unusual, the accidental, the irrelevant are absent, and the action follows the natural law of logic. The characters are true to themselves and our interest lies in knowing what they will and must do, while our suspense is maintained not by crass effects and exaggerations but by truly dramatic scenes and situations."² Following these Scottian principles of realism and organic unity, Hauff developed a fictitious plot in which the hero's career is the central action. The Duke figures historically in the occupation of Stuttgart and the battle of Türkheim, but here, as in all other scenes, his services are subordinated to the interests of the hero. In the hero plot the element of love is conspicuously predominant and the organic necessity of this relation converges every other issue toward the destiny of the lovers.

¹ *Studien*.

² *Ibid*.

Of the 36 chapters of *Lichtenstein*, 29 are devoted to the love-interest; of all the principal scenes of the novel only one does not concern itself with this interest—that which describes the organization of the Duke's forces for the seizure of Stuttgart; of all the festivities which attended the occupation of Stuttgart, George's wedding is the only one which Hauff describes in detail, 22 pages being devoted to it and five lines to a mere notice that the other events occurred; even in the naturally solemn scene where Schweinsberg reports the fall of Tübingen, Ulrich's greatest stronghold, and the latter stands on the brink of utter ruin—a scene where the hero's love-interest would seem to have no legitimate place—it reaches on the contrary its critical stage when the Duke in person urges Marie's father to ratify her union with George and demands in a decidedly bantering manner a kiss from the bride, which was to be delivered on her wedding day in Stuttgart.

Hauff wrote the love relation of *Lichtenstein* from his own heart. He was sentimental by nature, much given to *Schwärmerei* and susceptible to feminine charms; he had a strong youthful passion for his little neighbor Amalia, and in 1823 met his cousin Louise, whom he afterward married. From this very happy association arose many love lyrics (*Stille Liebe, Sehnsucht, Ihr Auge*, etc.), and during the three years which elapsed between the beginning of this love and the publication of *Lichtenstein* he passed thro the whole intense experience of engagement and separation, acquiring thus naturally a personal preparation for at least one portion of the task before him. As he essayed to develop an historical romance, he found himself at once familiar with the love relation of the hero and heroine, and, drawing readily from his own life, he followed the line of least resistance, gave unconscious pre-

dominance to this motive, and then, not without skill, wove the residue of his material about the one relation he most clearly understood. Moreover, the atmosphere of the love interest is thoroughly modern; its language and vocabulary are expressed in the plain, earnest, straightforward manner of the 19th century; it is set forth in an unromantic zeal which reflects Hauff's own feelings rather than the mode of 1519; it contains an emphasized sentimentality which too greatly humanizes and therefore modernizes the lovers of a romantic novel of the 16th century; it describes the physical, not the intellectual and spiritual aspects of love; it involves quarrels, misunderstandings, and reconciliations which are often juvenile in their *naïveté* and mark the course of unsophisticated affection rather than the dignified procedure of a formal work of literature. Numerous instances of this over-emphasis will be found in our discussion under "Diction." Its motive can be found only in the conclusion that Hauff wrote the major part of *Lichtenstein* from his own experience and therefore gave the prince-interest a minor place as well as importance in the evolution of the plot. And, indeed, in his *Studien* he calls attention to the fact that the prince is purposely subordinated to the hero in both *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*; he censures the *Abbot* on the other hand for undue prominence of the prince idea,—facts which also would seem to indicate Hauff's disproportionate valuation of heroes and princes. Of Scottian influence in the treatment of the love relation there can be no question. As to German sources, Drescher says: "Hauff arbeitet in der Darstellung des liebenden Paares Georg und Maria völlig selbständig." ¹

¹ P. 136.

In comparison with the Waverley novels we shall now consider the plot arrangement of *Lichtenstein*, the motives which operate within the action, and the movements which are necessitated by the character relations. The Prince enters comparatively late into the action and at a time when the hero interest needs his assistance, as in thirteen of Scott's novels; the Prince aids the hero, pre-vaillingly in the love interest, as in thirteen of Scott; the hero enters the action at the outset, being lukewarm toward the political side to which he is attached, and as the plot advances he leaves his first allegiance, joining the Prince, whose waning cause promotes the success of the hero's love interest and political fortunes, as in seven of Scott (in two the political sides are reversed); the Prince is dispossessed and seeks restoration without results, as in eight of Scott (in one the Prince regains the throne); the heroine and her father operate on the Prince's side, as in ten of Scott; the love of the hero and heroine antedates the beginning of the story, as in six of Scott; the Prince enters actively and extensively into the plot, i. e., into the fortunes of the hero, as in seven of Scott; the love interest dominates the initial scene of the book; a long separation of the lovers ensues followed by a reunion, which, tho clouded by its own uncertainties and the Prince's misfortunes leads to the ultimate happiness of the couple, as in six of Scott (and with modifications in others); a secondary lady serves the heroine's interests particularly in love, as in twelve of Scott; a baron related to the heroine by active participation in the plot welds the mutual interests of the hero, heroine, and Prince, as in fifteen of Scott; a peasant-guide operates widely and effects even more directly the organic unity of these same three interests, as in twelve of Scott; the peasant is aided

by a wife, as in four of Scott; he is also assisted by a daughter, as in eight of Scott; an evil counselor acts against the hero and to the ultimate disadvantage of the Prince as in eleven of Scott; the hero is befriended (saved) by persons of the other side as in sixteen of Scott; the hero befriends (saves) persons of the other side, as in nine of Scott; a battle is used to decide the Prince's fate as in twelve of Scott.

The foregoing comparisons include not only the whole plot arrangement of *Lichtenstein* but also all the movements and character relations by which the action is carried on. We have already shown that the four historical characters are modified to fit Hauff's fictitious plot; that the invented personages conform in their functions accurately to Scottian types; that the hero interest and (in him) the love element preponderate. The comprehensiveness of the above analogies makes it clear that inside the plot the distribution of the action, interplay of motives, the relationships of the characters, the general scheme of development are duplicated manifold in the Waverley series.

VII

ANALOGOUS SCENES, EVENTS, AND SITUATIONS WHICH FILL IN THE PLOT

When Hauff had determined the nature and scope of his plot and the general movements by which the action was to be carried on, it became necessary for him to fill in the structure with such concrete material as would vivify this plot and enhance the attractiveness of its content. To this end he was obliged to borrow or invent many scenes, events, and situations, and to adorn the

intercourse of his characters by such devices as would make them not only real but interesting. That in so doing he leaned most heavily on Scott the accompanying evidence will show. In comparing the Waverley novels and *Lichtenstein* we find a total of 748 analogies, all of which are close, many striking, and none far-fetched. Taking into account those which are duplicated in the Scottian works themselves, we still have 453 as common to the two authors. As far as any single novel is concerned, *Quentin Durward* has the largest number of analogies, 98, the next being *Old Mortality* with 83. As it would be impossible to present this voluminous evidence in detail, the following examples will illustrate the nature and scope of imitation: Prison cell with haunted associations (murder, etc.); hero and prince meet in a cave; banquet with quarrel scene affecting the hero; ball where hero and heroine meet and have important interview; hero attacked, wounded, and healed in a cottage by women in 8 days; military procession viewed by hero and heroine; castle burns in sight of hero and prince; duel fought by the hero thro jealousy and stopped by the peasant-guide; a disguised spy on the prince's side passes thro the enemy's lines to friends in a stronghold to secure information; a high personage's garb assumed by a friend to effect the former's escape; escape of high personage by plunging into the water; messages sent in poetic or metaphorical form from heroine to hero; secondary lady brings about a meeting of the hero and heroine, cleverly keeping away her own lover, whose presence is necessary to effect the meeting; a high personage visits the heroine's father's castle by night under mysterious circumstances which arouse jealousy in the hero, and anger, because the heroine refuses to divulge the secret; the hero saves the

life of a hostile officer and is himself rescued in a similar manner. It is impossible in a mere citation to reproduce the striking correspondence of the majority of these situations; still, the few quoted above and the really astonishing total will further attest how completely Hauff absorbed the subject matter of the Waverley novels.

But there are a few incidents in *Lichtenstein* for which Hauff could have found models in his historical or legendary sources; it would therefore seem ill-considered to claim for them a Scottian origin without further examination. Historical are the occupation of Ulm by the Swabian army, certain facts relating to the general military situation (merely stated and discussed by the characters and therefore isolated from the active plot), the fall of Tübingen (also related by one of the characters), the taking of Stuttgart and the Duke's regency, the battle of Türkheim with its strategic hill position and the burning of a distant castle. There are also legendary sources for the Duke's nocturnal visit to Lichtenstein, his refuge in the cave, and his leap from the K^önger bridge into the Neckar to escape his enemies. Only the occupation of Stuttgart, the battle, and the three legendary events enter actively into the plot.

On the other hand, Hauff found in Scott four instances where escape was effected by plunging into the water; nine cave scenes, in one of which the hero meets the prince; three instances where the prince stays at the castle of the heroine's father; one where a mysterious stranger visits the heroine's castle nocturnally amid circumstances which correspond remarkably to the situation at Lichtenstein; four where a castle burns in the sight of the hero; four where a capital city is occupied; two where a stronghold of the prince is lost thro treachery

of those within; three where the occupation of a city is attended with festivities; more than a dozen battles where a strategic point is to be gained.

It would be impossible to determine beyond a doubt whether Hauff derived his ideas of these scenes from the historical sources or from Scott. There are, however, many evidences of Scottian influence, if not origin. The capture of the hill position is assigned to the hero; the scenes at Ulm are altogether in his interest; the reported fall of Tübingen draws the Duke and hero more closely together; Ulrich's sojourn in the cave and his visits at castle Lichtenstein aid directly the hero plot; at the Klinger bridge engagement the hero by exchanging cloaks with Ulrich saves his life and enables him to escape. In reading the Waverley novels Hauff noted how effectively Scott has used these scenes, and thus he could view them from a literary as well as an aesthetic standpoint, whereas the historical sources gave him only the bare facts. The repeated occurrence of these scenes, moreover, in Scott, and the fact that Hauff was weaving his into a plot thoroughly Scottian would argue for English influence. The psychological argument would also be in favor of Scott. But even if we should remove these scenes from our list of analogies their absence would not lessen materially the value of the evidence we have thus far offered.

Is there a particular novel of the Waverley series after which Hauff modelled his *Lichtenstein*? It must be borne in mind that the love interest is the key to the plot of *Lichtenstein* and that the prince motive is subordinated to the weal of the lovers. Consequently all discussions of a single model must be made from such a viewpoint. For this reason the claims of Dr. Carruth for *Waverley* are less convincing. The hero, never warmly

attached to the Pretender, practically renounces him and achieves his own fortune without the former's assistance; Waverley's fickle love-relation to Cecilia, Flora, and Rose is a sorry exhibition of wooing as compared with the single-hearted devotion of George and Marie. And, too, the Highland chiefs present so many and such strong personalities that neither the lady nor the baron motive comes to its own in the Hauffian sense. We quote Dr. Carruth's statement of the scope of *Lichtenstein*: "*Lichtenstein* is a tale of military adventure and love, being the fortunes of a young knight errant resulting from renouncing the cause of a strong government to espouse that of an exiled prince attempting to regain his heritage, the failure of the prince's cause with the pardon and marriage of the hero." If for the politics of *Waverley* we substitute the intrigue of *Quentin Durward* or the religious fanaticism of *Old Mortality* as the dominant issue, the scope and plot of either novel would match those of *Lichtenstein* with as few modifications as are necessary in the case of *Waverley*. And even *Ivanhoe*, with all its varied pictures of knight errantry and adventure, stands closer than *Waverley* to the Hauffian idea of organic unity thro' the interdependence of the hero and prince plots, since the love relation is established at the very outset, and, after many vicissitudes and separations, is woven into the prince's career, while young Waverley, at heart, leaves the prince's cause before the action of the plot reaches its end. The fickleness of the love interest and the shallow as well as transient relation of the hero and prince would militate determinatively against the choice of *Waverley* as the individual model of *Lichtenstein*. Of *Ivanhoe* Hauff says in his *Studien*: "Zwar ist die Fabel abgerundet, einige Scenen trefflich, gleicht aber

mit ihren Episoden und dem Schmuck etwas zu sehr den Ritterromanen der verflossenen Dezennien; die Scenen stehen oft auch so steif nebeneinander als die getrennten Volksstämme. Das Studium der Geschichte blickt auch oft zu schroff hervor. Sehr zu loben ist übrigens: die grossartigen Charaktere und die auffallend scharfe Individualisirung derselben." But for the superlative extension of individual scenes much could be urged in favor of the claims of *Ivanhoe*.

Considering Mary Stuart as representative of the prince-motive we find that *The Abbot* in its scope and plot resembles *Lichtenstein* more accurately than any other single Scottian novel. The scope of *Lichtenstein* as given above by Dr. Carruth fits that of *The Abbot* exactly. As to the plot: the hero joins the government with no great enthusiasm; is suspected of being a spy; joins the prince's side thro a sense of wrong, the fascination of the prince, and the influence of the heroine, whose father is also on the prince's side; spends some time at a castle with the heroine and prince; fights in the losing battle of the prince; the prince flees *her* native land; the hero is pardoned (with others), marries the heroine, and retires to an hereditary castle. This action is identical with that of *Lichtenstein* and the general analogies of the two novels are uniformly impressive. Nowhere in literature is Mary Stuart portrayed more fascinatingly; her detention at the castle corresponds to the Duke's refuge at Lichtenstein; the heroine serves her in domestic as well as patriotic capacity, as is also true of Marie in *Lichtenstein*; there is only one love relation in the plot, which is naturally less earnest than that of *Lichtenstein*, where the lovers were engaged before the commencement of the action; the historical importance of Mary's per-

sonality inevitably overshadows the plot, but her functional relation to the interests of the hero and heroine corresponds accurately to the situation in *Lichtenstein*. The 41 analogous scenes and situations are among the most remarkable; and in the historical setting, in the interrelationship of the hero-heroine-prince motives, in the similar treatment of plot unity, in their parallel course of action the two novels exhibit an intimate relationship.

In seeking originals for Hauff's invented characters, Scottian types are abundantly in evidence; in seeking individual models, however, we should never be able to push beyond the marks of general resemblance. Such analogies have little value either in themselves or for our present purpose; they are as elusive as they are inconclusive. Waldburg's dislike of George closely resembles the feeling of Bois-Guilbert for Ivanhoe; Crève-cœur's sarcastic contempt for young Durward is also reflected in Waldburg; and, indeed, other analogies could be cited from the Waverley series. The evil influence of Fitzurse over Prince John suggests Chancellor Volland's relation to the Duke, but the dislike and ridicule which the latter vents on his adviser are clearly reproduced in the attitude of Louis XI toward Cardinal Balue in *Quentin Durward*. For Volland's shrewd villany and physical deformity Hauff doubtless used Rassleigh as a model, especially since the latter receives in Hauff's *Studien* a special characterization. The roguish heartlessness of Bertha toward her suitor, with its banter and apparent indifference, is strikingly analogous to the attitude of Catherine Seyton (*The Abbot*) and Jenny (*Old Mortality*) toward their lovers. Lady Margaret's (*Old Mortality*) penchant for recalling the memorable occa-

sion when she entertained the King at breakfast matches Dame Rosa's equally chronic tendency to speak in proverbs. The fact that both Ulrich and Richard (*Ivanhoe*) were daring princes, tyrannical, regardless of long-established customs dear to the people, and yet sat deep in the affections of the popular heart, is one which proves that Hauff was no stranger to the English Knight. On the other hand, Pfeiffer von Hardt is a strange composite of Scottian functions. In him we find a guide, spy, messenger, soldier, friend, musician, and general utility man for the hero-heroine-prince interest. In Scott these services are assigned distributively to gypsies, strolling musicians, dwarfs, fools, outlaws, freebooters and peasants. Both authors agree in giving to this highly important personage a marked degree of fidelity and an air of mystery in origin, manner, and movements. Hauff thus speaks of Robin: "Robin der Räuber würde nicht die Hälfte von dem Eindruck auf uns machen, wenn wir ihn von Anfang bis zu Ende verfolgen müssten. So aber steht er, so oft er uns erscheint, immer wieder neu und frisch vor dem Auge."¹

We put the above in evidence to show that Hauff's characters cannot be traced to individual sources. No amount of investigation could discover more than general characteristics, and these at best would be widely distributed. There is, however, no doubt that Hauff borrowed types and functions freely and completely from his master, and wrote at all times from a Waverley standpoint.

¹ *Studien.*

VIII

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

There are many general characteristics common to the practice of the two authors which, taken in connection with the inner analogies already noted, reveal how closely Hauff followed his master in all that pertained to the making of an historical novel. We give them in the accompanying list.

(1) Introductions which give the historical setting in condensed form, into which also the personal note of the author enters in explanation, self-defense, etc. (2) Poetical captions for the chapters, the poems being taken mostly from the past. (3) Explanatory footnotes. (4) Historical annotations at the end of parts. (5) Division into parts. (6) Use of dialect. (7) Inlaid poems. (8) Latin quotations. (9) Proverbs put into mouths of characters. (10) Use of oaths in the name of saints, St. Hubertus employed by both. (11) Breaks in the story to "bring up" different lines of development. (12) Breaks in the action caused by the use and discussion of general truths at the beginning of chapters (common in both). (13) Events carried over to the next chapter by such words as: "We will describe in the following chapter, etc." (rarer in Hauff). (14) Reference to "In those days" and "now." (15) Both authors' descriptions made in the order of the plot evolution and therefore organic in their relation to the whole. (16) Both employ group scenes; and Scott's favorite use of dialog and situations where two are involved is also found in Hauff. (17) Authors' reflections avoided. (18) Absence of subjectivity very characteristic. (19) Reader addressed, as: "Gentle

reader," "geneigter Leser," etc. (20) Reference to old customs in comparison with modern usage. (21) Reference to sources as authority for facts for which the writers assumed no personal responsibility. (22) Scott in *Waverley* gives dates and sequences, "In the memorable year 1715," "Arrival of summer," etc.; Hauff follows this method in *Lichtenstein*. (23) Names of persons suited to their characters and occupations (Sturmfeder, Dryasdust, Mailsetter, etc.). (24) In expressing the vernacular of the common people Hauff maintains the natural and wholesome level of Scott as against the lower standard of his German contemporaries. (25) Both authors fond of describing characters and revealing their identity later with the words: "For it was he," "For the reader will recognize," etc. (26) Both give to certain persons a characteristic and recurrent form of expression. Lady Margaret (*Old Mortality*) refers persistently to a former visit of the King, and Hauff's Rosalie speaks habitually in proverbs. (27) Scott frequently closes chapters with a situation which leads into the next chapter, with such expressions as: "The door opened and," etc. This occurs once in *Lichtenstein*. (28) Both remark frequently on the general nature of love and jealousy, as applicable to the hero and less directly to the heroine. (29) Soliloquy rare in both authors. (30) Reports and stories narrated by persons often interrupted by hearers. (31) Both authors use approximately the same number of chapters in each part. (32) Both use the form of dream which is interrupted by and ends in realities, where real persons are involved. (33) Both use the epic form of dialog, and avoid the dramatic method whereby (as in the case of many of the German *Ritter- und Räuberromane*, taken as they were from corresponding stage literature) designa-

tions of the speakers, asides, stage directions, etc., appeared in the novels. (39) Both refer informally to the "Chronicles." (35) Both defend their Prince in the introduction. (36) Both use poetry as an organic part of paragraphs (once in *Lichtenstein*). (37) Mysterious past of persons told late in the story. (38) Cults introduced and discussed (Dancing in Hauff, Euphuism and Astrology in Scott). (39) Curses used, many from foreign languages in corrupted form. (40) Latin expressions used by characters as an organic part of their statements (common in Scott). (41) "Jacta est(o) alea" used by both authors, once in English by Scott (*The Pirates*). (42) Both use such self-inclusive expressions as: "we," "let us," etc. (43) Personal references rare in both authors. (44) Both employ a clearing up which acquaints the reader with the fate or fortune of the principal characters. (45) Poetic quotations woven into the grammatical construction of the narrative (once in Hauff, common in Scott). (46) General truths common in both authors. (47) French expressions, few in Hauff, copious in Scott. (48) Influence of verses and songs a marked characteristic of both authors. (49) Both make objective presentation, not psychological analysis, of the characters. (50) Both agree in making disguises, changes of garb, attacks, and travels an organic part of the plot. (51) In both authors the element of fidelity in the peasant-guide is a peculiar characteristic. (52) Scott's simplicity of plot and method was not merely shared by Hauff, but in his *Studien* the latter cites *Waverley* as a proof that simplicity is the greatest art. Heinrich Heine also characterizes the form of *Waverley* as incomparable in simplicity.¹ (53) Both authors refer at the beginning of the chapter to the sentiment of

¹ *Kritik einer Biographie* von Th. Reynold (Nov., 1841).

the poetical caption. (54) Hero's nationality recognized by his dialect. (55) Both assemble the characters in a scene at the close of the story. (56) Both authors (Scott in most cases) possessed the great advantage of having traversed the geographical area of their stories and being thus personally familiar with the types, scenes, and nature of what they were attempting to describe. (57) In his *Studien* Hauff justifies the criticism that Scott often ends his novels too abruptly. But he imitates him also in this respect. After the defeat and escape of the Duke, the characters are assembled and then hurried from the stage of action quite as suddenly as Scott would have done under similar circumstances. (58) In *Lichtenstein* Hauff drops the moralizing and particularly the satirical elements which are characteristic of his other works, and substitutes a plainly realistic mode of treatment. This substitution could take place only under strong influences, for it is radical, and no such influences were at hand in German literature. They must be Scottian. (59) Both set forth historical truth. It is true that Hauff gives more exact and numerous dates and a closer nexus of events, while Scott makes chronological skips which seem to argue for a looser historical causality. But Scott covers larger areas and develops so many lines of action,—while Hauff's plot and action are strikingly simple,—that after all the apparent difference is one of extent and not intent. Hauff states specifically that Scott's truth is that of presenting a faithful picture of the times and avows his own purpose to offer the same sort of pictures to his readers. (60) The national and patriotic element is very strong in both authors. Scott, and Hauff in imitation of him, showed that national character, national dialect, national characteristics could be a major element in the interest

of fiction and not implements of burlesque and interlude as the stage had made them. (61) Scott (and herein he influenced Hauff) added to the gallery of imaginary personages more and greater figures than anyone except Shakespere. He gave a complete *milieu* of landscape and interior setting such as not even Shakespere could do with the limitations of the stage. He showed the possibilities of novels different from the ones he wrote. He lifted a class of literature from a condition half-despised, poorly-explored, popular in a bad sense, to repute and profit. He infused into it the tradition of moral and intellectual growth, health, manliness, truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. (62) Objective truth and realism very characteristic of both authors. (63) The "kulturgeschichtliche" element so brilliantly developed in Scott is reflected with fainter hue in Hauff, tho here also the latter stands in conscious relation to his master. Drescher speaks thus of Hauff's efforts: "Zusammenfassend lässt sich über die kulturgeschichtlichen Elemente im 'Lichtenstein' sagen, dass Hauff hierfür zwar keine besonders tiefen Studien angestellt hat, dass es ihm aber dank seines Gedächtnisses, seiner scharfen Beobachtungsgabe und seines historischen Sinnes gelungen ist, das entsprechende Zeitkolorit zu wahren."¹

IX

DICTION

In the general matters which we group under the head of Diction Hauff is least related to Scott. If he read the latter's novels in German translations, the absence of literary analogies would be a matter of course; if he read

¹P. 48.

them in the original, with his confessedly meagre knowledge of English, his ability and opportunities to borrow would be seriously limited. The style of language in *Lichtenstein* as compared with Scott's is plain, unchivalric, and unromantic. As Hofman says: "Der Lichtenstein ist nichts weniger als romantisch erzählt, er ist weit mehr in der Weise der Vorromantiker gehalten."¹ We therefore miss that romantic atmosphere whose presence is attested not so much by prisons, armor, and the clash of conflict as by the glamorous and (in our modern sense) exaggerated language in which Scott was so able to clothe imaginative situations.

In *Lichtenstein*, where the hero before the Council refuses to go as a spy, a scene of great dramatic possibilities, we read the following:

"Der Truchsess rückte ungeduldig hin und her auf seinem Stuhle, als der junge Mann so lange mit seiner Antwort zögerte. 'Nun? wird's bald? warum besinnt ihr euch so lange?' rief er ihm zu. 'Verschonet mich mit diesem Auftrag' sagte Georg nicht ohne Zagen. 'Ich kann, ich darf nicht.' 'Ihr dürft, ihr könnt nicht' wiederholte Truchsess langsam, und eine dunkle Röte, der Vorbote seines aufsteigenden Zornes, lagerte sich auf seine Stirne und um seine Augen. (George then gives his reasons calmly.) Der Truchsess zog die dicken buschigen Augenbrauen zusammen und schoss einen durchdringenden Blick auf den Jüngling, der so kühn war, anderer Meinung zu sein als er. 'Was fällt euch ein, Junker?' rief er. 'Eure Reden helfen euch jetzt nichts, es handelt sich um Gehorsam, wir wollen es, und ihr müsst.' 'Und ich will nicht,' entgegnete Georg mit fester Stimme. 'Ja,

¹ P. 64.

freilich,' lachte Waldburg in bitterm Grimm. 'Das Ding hat Gefahr so in Feindesland zu reiten.'"

The rest of the scene is portrayed in matter-of-fact language, without description of the emotions which must have been keenly alive in so passionate a temperament as Waldburg's.

In *Ivanhoe* Cedric's wrath is thus described:

"Cedric darted at the speakers one of those hasty and impatient glances which comparisons between the two rival nations seldom failed to call forth; but recollecting the duties of hospitality he suppressed further show of resentment. . . . While the attendant hastened to obey Cedric's commands his eye distinguished Gurth the swineherd, who with his companion Wamba had just entered the hall. 'Send these villains, these loitering knaves up hither,' said the Saxon impatiently. . . . 'How comes it, villains, that ye have loitered abroad so late as this?'"

Wamba explains that the dog Fangs was hurt.

"'And who dared to lame an animal which belonged to my bondsman?' said the Saxon, kindling in wrath. 'Marry, that did old Hubert, Sir Philip de Malvoisin's keeper of the chase' . . . 'The foul fiend take Malvoisin,' answered the Saxon, 'and the keeper both . . . Go to thy place, knave, and thou, Gurth, get thee another dog; should the keeper dare to touch it I will mar his archery, the curse of a coward be upon my head if I strike not off the forefinger of his right hand.'"

Another example of Scott's diction:

"'But father,' said Rebecca, 'you seemed to give the gold willingly to Prince John.' 'Willingly? the blotch of Egypt upon him! Willingly, saidst thou? Ay, as willingly as when in the Gulf of Lyons I flung over my

merchandise to lighten the ship while she labored in the tempest, robed the seething billows in my choice silks, perfumed their briny foam with myrrh and aloes, enriched their caverns with gold and silver work.' ”

Such language cannot be found in *Lichtenstein*.

In *Lichtenstein*, where George meets his future guide but at first supposes him to be a villain, his words are: “ ‘ Was willst du da ? ’ ” and “ ‘ Halt, was hast du da mit dem Pferd zu schaffen ? ’ ” These expressions sound weak and commonplace when contrasted with similar usages in Scott. With the latter such exclamations as: *dog, knave, Saint Mary, in faith, by Saint Grizzel, Grammercy, gods and fiends, by my halidome*, etc., are extremely frequent, and on the other hand strikingly rare in Hauff. Scott employs them naturally as reflecting the spirit of the times while Hauff's sparser use and plainer style of diction make them stand out in a more forced and somewhat vulgar light. When the Duke entertains George in the cave the conversation is carried on in the tone of Hauff's own times without a suggestion of the sixteenth century, while in the cell-scene with Richard and the Friar, and later with Cedric's party, we find the fullest range of banter, play, song, and repartee, and that too in a thoroughly mediæval and romantic spirit.

Hauff's style is plain and straightforward. The narrative portions are told for the most part in unfigured prose. The book contains 49 similes and 21 metaphors. Relatively compared, Scott uses ten times as many similes and five times as many metaphors. In detailed descriptions of scenes and objects, as well as in his characterization of persons Hauff avoids the use of figures and sets forth details with literal fidelity. The following citation shows one of his highest moments: “ ‘ Ja, ich wollte

lieber noch hundert Faden tief hinabsteigen, wo die Brust keine Luft mehr zu atmen findet, als in die Hände meiner Feinde fallen und ihr Gespötte werden; und wenn sie dahin mir nachkämen, die blutgierigen Hunde des Bundes, so wollte ich mich mit meinen Nageln weiter hineinscharren in die härtesten Felsen, ich wollte hinabsteigen tiefer und immer tiefer, bis wo der Mittelpunkt der Erde ist. Und kämen sie auch dorthin, so wollte ich die Heiligen lästern, die mich verlassen haben, und wollte dem Teufel rufen, dass er die Pforten der Finsternis aufreisse und mich berge gegen die Verfolgung dieses übermütigen Gesindels.' Der Mann sah in diesem Augenblick so furchtbar, dass Georg unwillkürlich zurückbebte." This passage is powerful and imaginative, but it is not figuratively expressed (excepting "Hunde"). And no other passage in *Lichtenstein*, be it remembered, reaches this height of literary treatment. We deem it unnecessary to parallel the above with examples of Scott's uniformly more pictorial style. Let this excerpt from a letter in *The Heart of Midlothian* suffice: " 'There is a woman in your jail, fallen under the edge of a law so cruel that it has hung by the wall like unscoured armor for twenty years, and is now brought and whetted to spill the blood of the most beautiful and most innocent creature whom the walls of a prison ever girdled in. Her sister knows of her innocence, as she communicated to her that she was betrayed by a villain. O that high Heaven would put in every honest hand a whip to scourge me such a villain thro the world! ' "

Hauff's descriptions are much briefer than those of Scott, whose verbose style would naturally incline him to give more detailed and accurate, therefore more extensive pictures. The hall of the Rathaus in Ulm, von Kraft's

house, the garden where George meets the heroine, the war preparations in the city of Ulm are all described in short paragraphs, while corresponding scenes in *Durward*, *Waverley*, etc., receive an elaborate treatment. Hauff thus reproduces a landscape which is viewed by the hero and his guide: "Sie standen auf einer Felsenecke, die einen schönen Ausläufer der Schwäbischen Alb begrenzte. Ein ungeheures Panorama breitete sich vor den erstaunten Blicken Georg aus, so überraschend. . . . dass seine Blicke eine geraume Zeit wie entzückt an ihnen hingen." And yet, Hauff condenses his description of this enormous panorama into a small paragraph. Similarly, Hauff devotes one short paragraph to the cottage room where George is nursed, while in *Waverley* the same situation receives full attention. The evening halt of a journey is thus depicted in *Waverley*: "The twilight had given place to moonshine when the party halted upon the brink of a precipitous glen which, as partly enlightened by the moonbeams, seemed full of trees and tangled brushwood, etc." In an analogous passage from Hauff we have moon, night wind, trees, and forest, but the author expressly states that George saw nothing of it all because he was dreaming of Marie. It is evident, then, that Hauff's descriptions are much less detailed than Scott's and often presented in a perfunctory manner which makes them seem less organically related to the plot than those of the *Waverley* series.

We quote a paragraph from *Durward* relating to Cardinal Balue: "It was one of that able statesman's weaknesses, as we have elsewhere hinted, to suppose himself, tho of low rank and limited education, qualified to play the courtier and the man of gallantry. He did not indeed actually enter the lists of chivalrous combat like Becket,

or levy soldiers like Wolsey. But gallantry, in which they also were proficient, was his professed pursuit; and he likewise affected great fondness for the martial amusement of the chase. Yet, however well he might succeed with certain ladies, to whom his powers, his wealth and his influence as a statesman might atone for deficiencies in manners and appearances, the gallant horses which he purchased at almost any price, were totally insensible to the dignity of carrying a Cardinal, and paid no more respect to him than they would have done to his father, the carter, miller or tailor whom he rivaled in horsemanship. The king knew this, and by alternately exciting and checking his own horse he brought that of the Cardinal, whom he kept close by his side, into such a state of mutiny against his rider that it became apparent they must soon part company; and then, in the midst of its starting, bolting, rearing and lashing out alternately, the royal tormentor rendered the rider miserable by questioning him upon many affairs of importance and hinting his purpose to take that opportunity of communicating to him some of those secrets of state which the Cardinal had but a little while before seemed so anxious to learn." This expository and rhetorical form of paragraph does not exist in *Lichtenstein*.

In developing conversation Hauff uses comparatively few adverbs and clauses which describe the feeling, expression, and action of the speakers; on the other hand the carousal between the Friar and Richard in *Ivanhoe*, which we take as an example, develops an interview in which a majority of the statements are accompanied by signs of expression, etc. Within these limits, however, Hauff employs a larger variety of verbs, while Scott confines himself to the ordinary "he said," "answered," "replied," etc.

It is evident, too, that Hauff gave less heed to the form than to the content of *Lichtenstein*; otherwise he would have committed fewer anachronisms of diction. Scott's conversations as found in his historical romances could not adorn a modern novel which dealt with modern characters and events, whereas those of Hauff's leading personages would answer without alteration for men and women of his own day. In this respect his practice is obviously un-Scottian. The language of *Lichtenstein* is uniformly simple in grammatical construction. Short sentences, connected by "and," and the ordinary dependent clauses prevail. The general type is narrative, statement following statement without complication, and the epic element is always in evidence. Hauff's power to narrate had been demonstrated before he wrote *Lichtenstein*, and in this novel his ability to "tell" maintains the same level and character. There could be no comparison between the two authors as to vocabulary, emphasis, volubility, and versatility in grammatical constructions and stylistic resources.

Peculiar to Hauff is his frequent use of the interjection "O" in such expressions as "O sagt mir," "O wie ist es?", etc. Its repeated employment by George militates against his dignity as a man and soldier. We note also in Hauff a monotonous repetition of adjectives. The eyes are regularly "glänzend," the mouth "süß," or "rot," the hands "schön," the hero "schön"; these objects are seldom mentioned without the "stock" adjectives. In describing persons Hauff sets forth the physical qualities, in some cases almost to the point of sensuality. When Marie and Bertha are introduced to the reader he speaks of the former's "fein geschnittener Mund" and "die zarten Farben der Wangen"; and of Bertha's being "kleiner

und in reichlicherer Fülle als ihre Nachbarin," and of "der lächelnde Mund, der alle Augenblicke die schönen Zähne sehen liess." Later he speaks of the peasant girl: "Das Mädchen wandte sich um, über ein schönes Gesicht flog ein brennendes Rot; ein roter, lächelnder Mund schien nach Worten zu suchen, um den kranken . . . zu begrüßen." These citations indicate how little Hauff was influenced by Scott in his literary portraiture, for the latter seldom refers to the mouth or the physiological aspects of his characters but rather emphasizes those intellectual and spiritual attributes which reveal character, in preference to mere appearance. The force of these quotations will be more readily apparent when we discuss in the following paragraph Hauff's peculiar relation to the love interest in its literary aspect.

Hauff's reasons for giving a disproportionate development to the love element in *Lichtenstein* have already been considered. The evidence here offered will show how his diction confirms these reasons and demonstrates the impossibility of Scottian influence. The passages are selected at random. "Wir lauschen nicht wenn sie errötend und mit niedergeschlagenen Augen sich fragt, ob Bäschen Bertha den süßen Mund des Geliebten richtig beschrieben habe." This remark follows a description which Bertha was giving of the hero: "'Ein Bärtchen über dem Mund, nein, ich sage dir, wie du jetzt nur wieder gleich rot werden kannst,' fuhr Bertha in ihrem Eifer fort, 'als ob zwei Mädchen, wenn sie allein sind, nicht von dem schönen Mund eines jungen sprechen dürften.'" Again "Die Erinnerung bedeckte Bertha's angenehme Züge mit hoher Glut, und die Verwirrung, in welche sie sein Blick versetzte, liess sie nicht bemerken, welches Entzücken ihm aus Mariens Auge entgegenstrahlte, wie sie bebt, wie sie

langsam nach Atem suchte, wie ihr selbst die Sprache ihre Dienste zu versagen schien." Again: "Jetzt suchten Mariens Blicke nicht mehr den Boden, sie hingen an denen des Geliebten." Again: "Marie sandte einen blick des Dankes zum Himmel und belohnte die Worte des jungen Mannes mit süßem Lohne." Again: "Wer sich ein liebendes Herz denkt, ein Auge voll Zärtlichkeit, umflort von einem Schleier stiller Thränen, einen holden Mund, der das Blättchen noch einmal küsst, verschämte Wangen, die bei diesem geheimnisvollen Grusse erröten . . . wer dies hinzudenkt, der wird es Georg nicht verargen, dass er einige Augenblicke wie trunken war." Again: "Ein süßer Schlummer lenkte sich auf den Verwundeten herab, und mit dem letzten Gedanken an die Geliebte entschwanden seine Sinne." Again: "'Trinkt, Junker, bis auf den Boden aus. Sieh nur, wie unserem Gast das Blut in die Wangen steigt, wie seine Augen blitzen, als küsse er schon ihren Mund.'" This refers to the Duke's toast to Marie in George's presence. Again: "'Doch für das Fräulein müsst ihr eure eigenen Zeichen haben, denn auf sie erstreckt sich mein Zauber nicht; etwa ein herzlicher Händedruck, die geheimnisvolle Sprache der Augen oder ein süßer Kuss auf ihren roten Mund . . .'" Again: "Sein Herz pochte bei diesem Gang voll Erwartung, voll Sehnsucht, seine Wangen röteten sich vor Liebe und Scham. . . ." Again: "'An dem Tage wird das Bräutchen noch viel schöner erröten, wenn die Glocken tönen von dem Turme und die Hochzeit in die Kirche ziehet. Da, Junker, gib ihr den Brautkuss, es ist zu vermuten, dass es nicht der erste ist.'" Again: "'Ihr seid ein sonderbarer hübscher Junge' entgegnete der Herzog mit Laune, 'und manche unsrer Fräuleins hier am Tische möchte vielleicht gerne einen solchen Schuldbrief an euren schönen Mund

einzufordern haben; mir aber kann dies nicht frommen, denn meine Urkunde lautet auf die roten Lippen eurer Frau.' . . . Und der Herzog liess sich nicht irre machen, sondern zog die Schuld (the kiss) samt Zinsen von ihren schönen Lippen ein." Again: "Bärbele wagte einigemal, ihre Blicke zu erheben, um jenes Gesicht wiederzusehen, das im Fieber der Krankheit so oft an ihrem Busen geruht und in ihren treuen Armen Ruhe und Schlummer gefunden hatte, jenen Mund wiederzusehen, den sie so oft heimlicherweise mit ihren Lippen berührt hatte, und jene Augen, deren klarer, freundlicher Strahl ewig in ihrem Gedächtnis fortglühte." Again: "Die Stille der Nacht . . . senkte ihn bald in einen Schlummer, der seine Seele weit hinweg über Krieg und Schlachten in die Arme seines Weibes entführte." Finally, the Duke's uncourtly banter with Marie regarding George: "'Nicht wahr, mit dem ginget ihr in die Hölle? Was das für eine Liebe sein muss! Weiss Gott, Euer Mund ist ganz wund. Gar zu arg müsst ihr es doch nicht machen mit Küssen.'" There are more than sixty places in *Lichtenstein* where the sentiments of love, jealousy, and affection are discussed; six chapters close with direct reference to the name "Die Geliebte," while five deal in the final paragraph with the love interest. The intensity and realism with which Hauff expresses himself in the relations of the hero and heroine naturally affected his diction. We miss the romantic vocabulary and style which would have attended the full development of a prince-plot; we recall the glamor which surrounded Quentin Durward's career; and we realize that Hauff in his first (and only) historical romance unconsciously wrote his own heart history and thereby forfeited the opportunity of reaching Scott's literary level.

X

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER SOURCES

The objection could easily be urged against the foregoing discussion that, dealing as it does only with Scottian sources, it might readily be invalidated by proving the existence and operation of German influences, to which Hauff would naturally be more inclined to yield. It is precisely the absence of such influences that adds value to our findings, as we shall endeavor to make clear.

The Storm and Stress movement was powerful in its endorsement and exercise of "Kraftgenialität" and equally powerful in its plea for individual liberty. Its literary horrors were excrescences, as its enthusiasm was the effervescence, of an idea which took deep hold on the German heart. Not only is there no trace of this movement in *Lichtenstein*, but Hauff in his *Studien* condemns Scott in several instances for representing the horrible to such a degree that it becomes repellent.

Of pseudo-Storm and Stress writers Drescher thus speaks: "Die Werke von Vulpius, Cramer und Spiess bilden insofern eine zusammengehörige Gruppe, als bei ihnen von einer eigentlichen Tendenz gar keine Rede sein kann . . . Völliger Mangel an wirklich innerer Empfindung, der durch Anwendung sich beständig steigender Übertreibungen nur mühsam verdeckt wird, und das Gefühl des Erborgten, des gesucht Effectvollen, des gewaltsam Anempfundenen, das jeden Leser dabei erfasst, lässt uns derartige Machtwerke neben den mit lebendigem Blute geschriebenen Erzeugnissen des wirklichen Sturmes und Dranges als unwürdig verurteilen."¹ We know, moreover,

¹ P. 61.

that he was familiar with Fouqué, Hildebrand, and Van der Velde; in fact, he himself states that by his eleventh year he had read the greater part of the "Ritter und Räuberromane" of the Fatherland, which could scarcely fail to give direction to his boyish fancy. And yet these tales of horror eventually faded from his imagination and never entered as active influences into his literary technique, as can be amply proved by his own assertions in his *Studies of the Waverley Novels*, where, for instance, he condemns *Ivanhoe* for its analogy to the "Ritterromane der verflossenen Dezzennien."

With reference to the handling of historical material by Cramer, Spiess, and Vulpius, Drescher says that "Hauff mit dieser gewissenlosen Art der Benutzung geschichtlichen Stoffes nichts gemein hat . . ." ¹ When, moreover, Brandes calls Fouqué's knights "stuffed-out pieces of armor," and Julian Schmid vouches for the absence of color; when Drescher affirms that Hildebrand's historical personages serve only as a background to give "a sort of historical justification" to the cruelties of raging peasants; when, too, Hauff in his introduction to *Lichtenstein* declares his specific intention to stand, as Scott did, on historical ground, it seems impossible that he should have used or even considered such German sources.

The national and patriotic elements of Hauff's novel are unopposedly relegated to Scottian influence. The bitter complaint which Hauff lodges against his nation for its ignorance of and apathy toward things German would in itself prove that no German model stood before him in these respects. In matters of general historical tendency also Hauff is admitted to have used Scott more than any other author.

¹ P. 66.

For the organic plot unity of *Lichtenstein* no one has claimed to find a German prototype. We again quote from Drescher: "Über die Compositionstechnique der deutschen Vorbilder Hauffs lässt sich etwas Anerkennen- des nicht sagen . . . Solche Werke bestehen aus einer Unsumme von Episoden, die kaleidoskopartig ohne Rücksicht auf Haupt- oder Nebenhandlung aneinander bereiht vor dem Auge des Lesers vorüberziehen und bei dem objectiven, denkenden Beurteiler keinen andern Eindruck als den der Unwahrscheinlichkeit hinterlassen. Die Menge der Episoden erfordert eine entsprechend grosse Zahl von Personen, deren Aufgabe lediglich darin besteht, neue Konflikte zu ermöglichen."¹ Scott, too, introduces many persons into his novels, but he endeavors thereby not to create unrelated episodes but rather to enlarge and animate scenes which in themselves are organically connected with the plot. We have already shown Hauff's relation to the plot technique of the Waverley series.

Commenting on the manner in which German writers of Hauff's day handled the historical content of their novels Drescher says: "In der Verwendung des kultur- geschichtlichen Materials kann sich quantitativ keiner der deutschen Schriftsteller auch nur im entferntesten mit Scott messen. . . . In viel wirksamerer, die betreffenden Zeitverhältnisse wirklich umfassender Weise benützt . . . Scott das kulturhistorische Material. . . . Wie sehr Hauff auch diese Seite des englischen Meisters gewürdigt hat, mögen einige Stellen aus den Studien zeigen."² Hauff's own statements in this connection are conclusive: "Scott reflektirt als Historiker, indem er uns das ganze Bild einer Zeit . . . im Romane darstellt. . . . Die Ausmalung übertrifft beinahe an Interesse die Charactere."

¹ P. 81.² P. 96 seq.

We regard it as significant that Hauff uses satire and romantic tendencies in his other works and yet develops *Lichtenstein* in a serious and realistic tone. He does not show the pessimism and elegiac mood of the romantic writers, and in a letter to Herlossohn denies allegiance to any school, adding also: "Ich bin weder gegoethet noch getieckt." His eclectic attitude toward authors in general and his conspicuous departure from characteristic methods would obviously indicate that he consciously adopted a new technique in the case of *Lichtenstein*, and in the light of our accumulated evidence we ascribe this new *modus operandi* to the influence of Walter Scott.

Hauff's independent method of developing the love interest has already been discussed. In his native literature the love treatment prevailingly involved numerous pairs of lovers, countless love adventures of the same lover, and a spirit of fickleness which must have outraged Hauff's sense of sincerity and devotion. Says Drescher: "Keiner der älteren deutschen Autoren vermag nämlich ein einzelnes Liebesverhältnis so wirkungsvoll auszugestalten, dass es dauerndes Interesse zu erwecken und die Spannung des Lesers bis zu Ende wachzuerhalten imstande ist.¹ . . . Hauff arbeitet in der Darstellung des liebenden Paares Georg und Marie völlig selbständig."²

As proof that Hauff did not find among the German writers satisfactory ideas for the delineation of his characters, we quote from Drescher and refer our readers to conclusions which we already stated in this discussion. Drescher says in part: "Bei der Mehrzahl der deutschen Romanschreiber wäre es verlorene Mühe, nach einer auch

¹ P. 134.

² P. 136.

nur einigermaßen künstlerischen, beabsichtigten Charakterdarstellung forschen zu wollen; haben sie es doch meist kaum zu Ansätzen einer solchen gebracht. Alle Helden der Ritterromane, gleichviel ob Ritter oder Knappe, Herr oder Knecht, sind fast durchgängig nach ein und derselben Schablone behandelt; alle erweisen sich als tapfer, stark, furchtlos, unbändig im Zorn, als Freunde des Kampfes und des Humpens, etc.”¹ Scott’s own sense of the importance of clear characterization is too well known to English readers to require at this point any special emphasis. And Hauff’s unbounded admiration of this power in his master, together with its effect on his actual methods, indicates beyond a doubt the source from which he drew his knowledge and valuation of clear character-sketching.

As more general points of deviation from German methods, we cite the fact that he avoids those episodes which militate so constantly in German literature against the maintenance of plot unity; that the subjectivity so peculiar to German novelistic technique is entirely absent in *Lichtenstein*; that in comparison with Hauff’s well-motivated travel technique with its relevant description of persons and places, the German modus of his day is unnatural, due to the authors’ ignorance of the localities traversed by the characters, due also to the paucity of descriptive material as well as characteristic features and details which would make such scenes more concrete; that the writers of the “Ritter- und Räuberromane” (as these novels sprang from the “Ritter- und Räuber-dramen”) retained much of the stage technique, as: the development of dialog with stage directions in parentheses, the marginal designation of the persons speaking (“he,”

¹ P. 104.

"she," "all," etc.). Both Scott and Hauff confined themselves to the epic, not the dramatic form, of development.

In his sketch, *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt*, Hauff states that prior to his adoption of Scott as model he had no one in mind whom he could definitely choose for that purpose. He then enumerates the reasons which determined his choice,—a circumstance which argues strongly against the possibility of other sources.

But we find that the strongest proof for Hauff's independence of German influence lies in his allegiance to the Scottian ideal of realism. As Mielke says: "Walter Scott showed the historian that history is not an accumulation of abstract ideas, but the same fulness of events that the historian meets in his own time; he taught the novelist that his characters must not be mere reflections of his thoughts, but differentiated by dress and occupation as well as by peculiarity of speech and manner of thinking; and as he recognized truth to be the real literary end, he sought his models not in higher circles of society where form takes the place of naturalness, but among the lower classes where he found sound happiness, humorous peculiarities and the homely sentiments which gave reality to his novels."¹ And, too, Hauff's own words (quoted elsewhere also) betray how deeply he felt the inner value of Scott's realism: "Welcher Dichter gibt wohl ein besseres Zeugnis dafür, dass der Zauber der schlichten Wahrheit der grösste sei, als Walter Scott?"²

¹ P. 92.

² *Studien*.

XI

CONCLUSION

We find, then, that the central point of *Lichtenstein* is the love interest of the hero and heroine; that this, as well as the unadorned style of the novel, we must regard as elements in which the influence of Walter Scott is not apparent; that the plot in its historical and fictitious aspects is entirely subordinated to the love interest; that the technique of this plot in its character types, action, arrangement, and general movement is unvaryingly Scottian; that the few historical events which Hauff might have borrowed from his historical sources are blended so thoroughly with Scottian methods and duplicated so often in the Waverley series that they can be referred with no small probability to English influence; that *The Abbot* is the most obvious single model of *Lichtenstein*. From his original purpose of writing an historical romance Hauff was swerved by the realism of his own love experience; unless this fact is given full weight, the correct emphasis and meaning of *Lichtenstein* cannot be determined. How heavily he leaned on Scott for the form and filling of his novel needs no final recapitulation; the detailed findings require no closing emphasis; we therefore leave the evidence to find its way to the judgment of those into whose hands this paper may have the good fortune to fall.

GARRETT W. THOMPSON.

XXI.—PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS FOR LESSING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD DESCRIPTIVE POETRY

In his discussion in *Laokoon* of the limits of poetry Lessing declares that detailed description of bodies in space is unpoetical.¹ He justifies his contention that progressive actions are the peculiar subject of poetry by reference (1) to the means of poetry² and (2) to the practice of Homer, all of whose descriptions he affirms are progressive.³ Many critics have not been satisfied with Lessing's limitation of poetry to progressive actions, and have attacked his conclusions by showing (1) that his conception of the means of poetry is inadequate, (2) that Homer contains a number of descriptions of objects in space. Taking as a starting point Lessing's position in regard to these descriptions, I think it possible to explain on a psychological basis the reason for Lessing's assertion that the poet would better not attempt to describe objects in space, except by the Homeric device of substituting progression for co-existence.

Lessing was not unaware of Homer's descriptions of objects in space: he mentions them, but denies that they form any obstacle to his theory, as they seem to him cases of the exception which proves the rule.⁴ He does not explain how these prove the rule; but one of his preliminary sketches⁵ throws some light on this point, altho only in regard to the description of the palace and gardens of Alcinous. Lessing here denies that Homer meant to describe co-existent objects; in regard to the palace he says that

¹ Kap. xvii, ed. Howard, New York, 1910, p. 110.

² Kap. xvi, ed. cit., p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴ Kap. xviii, p. 113.

⁵ *Laokoon*, ed. Blümner, Berl., 1880, *Nachlass A*, 5, xli, p. 401.

Homer merely wished to convey an idea of its immensity. I will quote this description in order to show the possibility of a divergence of opinions on this point.

" . . . a sheen as of the sun or moon played through the high-roofed house of the generous Alcinous. On either hand ran walls of bronze from threshold to recess, and round about the ceiling was a cornice of dark metal. Doors made of gold closed in the solid building. The doorposts were of silver and stood on a bronze threshold, silver the lintel overhead, and gold the handle. On the two sides were gold and silver dogs . . . Within were seats planted against the wall on this side and on that, from threshold to recess in long array; and over these were strewn light fine-spun robes, the work of women. Here the Phæacian leaders used to sit, eating and drinking, holding constant cheer. And golden youths on massive pedestals stood and held flaming torches in their hands, to light by night the palace for the feasters."¹

This description may very well give an impression of immensity, as Lessing declares; to many people it gives more than that: it calls up a series of pictures of co-existent objects. Some readers have difficulty in uniting all the details into a single picture; others do this with the greatest ease, as F. E. Bryant has pointed out.² One person whom I have questioned in regard to this says that she gets two final pictures, one of the exterior, one of the interior of the palace; she starts with a general impression; one detail after another adds itself until the final picture is the sum total of all; she is not obliged consciously to renew any detail; they remain in her picture without effort on her part. There would of course be a limit to the number of these details, just as there is a limit to the number of things that one can see at once in an actual picture; but the description of the palace did not exceed the limit in her case. Other persons questioned maintain that they get a vague picture, but cannot see all the details at once; others,

¹ *Odyssey*, transl. Palmer, Boston, 1900, VII, p. 102.

² *On the Limits of Descriptive Writing*, Ann Arbor, 1906, p. 38.

that they get no picture at all. Lessing seems to have got only an impression of immensity.

A difference of opinion as to the effect of verbal descriptions certainly exists. The scientific world of to-day explains this difference by the fact that there are various types of imagination. In Lessing's time the imagination was spoken of as if it were a faculty which all men possessed in the same way, and for which general rules could be laid down. Psychological investigation has shown that this is not true: that "there are imaginations, not 'the Imagination.'"¹ This fact has been recognized as playing an important part in the discussion of the value of verbal descriptions in poetry; it has also been used to show the falseness of Lessing's psychology of vision;² so far as I know, however, no attempt has been made to determine which type of imagination Lessing possessed, in order to show any effect which this might have on his theories about poetry.

A brief review of the types of imagination will make more clear the attempt to decide to which type Lessing belonged. Francis Galton was the first to show, in the year 1880, that persons differ in regard to their powers of mental imagery. He made the following experiment:

"I sent printed questions to a large number of people, making inquiries as to the illumination, definition and coloring of the mental image, supposing it to be the breakfast table. . . . The questions were framed thus:

"1. Illumination—Is the image dim or fairly clear? Is its brightness comparable to that of the actual scene?

"2. Are all the objects pretty well defined . . . ?

"3. Are the colors of the china, toast, mustard, parsley . . . quite distinct and natural?

"The earliest results of my inquiry amazed me. I had begun by questioning my friends in the scientific world, as they were the most likely class of men to give accurate answers concerning this faculty of visualizing.

¹ James, *Principles of Psychology*, New York, 1892, p. 304.

² F. E. Bryant, *op. cit.*

To my astonishment I found that the great majority of men of science to whom I first applied protested that mental imagery was unknown to them, and they looked on me as fanciful and fantastic in supposing that the words 'mental imagery' really expressed what I believed everybody to suppose them to mean. On the other hand, when I spoke to persons in general society I found an entirely different impression to prevail. Many men and a yet larger number of women, and many boys and girls, declared that they habitually saw mental imagery, and that it was perfectly distinct and full of color. I concluded that scientific men, as a class, have feeble powers of visual representation. There is no doubt whatever on the latter point, however it may be accounted for. My own conclusion is, that an overready perception of sharp mental pictures is antagonistic to the acquirement of habits of highly generalized and abstract thought, especially when the steps of reasoning are carried on by words as symbols, and that if the faculty of seeing pictures was ever possessed by men who think hard, it is apt to be lost by disuse."¹

It seems, therefore, that scientific men as a rule do not visualize easily. Lessing's remarks as to the impression which he receives from the description of the palace of Alcinous seem to indicate that he was not accustomed to visualizing. We have, moreover, direct proof that he could not call up a mental image at will, as he tries to do in response to Ariosto's description of Alcina.² It may be said that this is not the best poetry; it may also be said that no two persons would get the same image from Ariosto's description; but these two objections are here beside the point; we are merely endeavoring to ascertain what power of visualization Lessing possessed. I have ascertained by asking persons who visualize easily, that it is perfectly possible to obtain a unified picture containing all the details in this description. Other persons, who get various images of a beautiful woman, are satisfied with the pleasing effect thus produced. Lessing, however, says of this description: "Ich sehe bei dem Dichter nichts, und empfinde mit Ver-

¹ *Inquiries into the Human Faculty*, New York, 1883, pp. 83 ff.

² *Laokoon*, Kap. xx, ed. cit., p. 127.

druss die Vergeblichkeit meiner besten Anstrengung etwas sehen zu wollen."¹ He does not say that he sees parts, but is not able to unite them because the description is too long; he says, "I see nothing." This seems to me to indicate that his visualizing power was very low. He mentions again the difficulty of forming a mental image. "Der Maler, der nach Beschreibung eines Thomson eine schöne Landschaft darstellt, hat mehr getan, als der sie gerade von der Natur kopiert. Dieser sieht sein Vorbild vor sich; jener muss erst seine Einbildungskraft so anstrengen, bis er es vor sich zu sehen glaubt."² And again he says that even if the parts of a description remain in the memory, "welche Mühe, welche Anstrengung kostet es, ihre Eindrücke alle in eben der Ordnung so lebhaft zu erneuern, sie nur mit einer mässigen Geschwindigkeit auf einmal zu überdenken, um zu einem etwaigen Begriffe des Ganzen zu gelangen!"³ As I have pointed out, a good visualizer does not have to renew his impressions; once in the picture, they remain, altho the picture changes by the addition of new details.

Since Lessing attempts to call up mental images, we may assume that they were not entirely foreign to him. Either he once possessed the faculty of visualization, which he lost by disuse, as Galton suggests may be the case with many scientific men, or he may at times have had mental pictures, which were not under his control. Lessing speaks once of "seeing" in the description of Apollo and the pest: "Ich sehe ihn nicht allein herabsteigen, ich höre ihn."⁴ This may or may not mean that he had visual images occasionally. We cannot determine the exact grade of his visualizing power, nor is it necessary to do so; but I think we may

¹ *Laokoon*, Kap. xx, p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, Kap. xi, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, Kap. xvii, p. 108.

⁴ Kap. xiii, p. 95.

safely maintain that his visualizing power was weak and not under his control. There is a great difference between a person of this type and a person of the type which sees habitually vivid mental pictures, whenever picture-making words are used; and it is just this difference in visualizing power which causes the difference in opinion as to the effect of verbal descriptions. Moreover, this fact (for it seems to me that it may be called a fact) that Lessing visualized with great difficulty gives us a psychological explanation for his statement that speech, as the means of poetry, should not attempt "ein körperliches Ganze nach seinen Teilen zu schildern, weil dergleichen wörtlichen Schilderungen das Täuschende gebriecht."¹ Since Lessing found nothing illusory in such descriptions, he rejected them, and attempted to justify this rejection by his theory as to the means of poetry and by an arbitrary selection of examples from Homer. Those, however, who disagree with him in his fundamental premise as to the effect of verbal descriptions will not necessarily accept his conclusion that these should be banished from poetry.

Lessing's statement that actions are the only proper subjects of poetry can also be explained on a psychological basis, by showing how this is also conditioned by his type of imagination. Up to the present the distinction has been made only between the visual and the non-visual types. In regard to the latter Royce mentions:

"Two types of persons . . . in whom some other form of sense imagery is more prominent than the visual imagery. These two types are (1) the auditory type, in whom images of sounds predominate, and (2) the motor type, perhaps better to be called the verbal-motor type, in whom the predominant imagery takes the form of images of movement, together with images partly motor in type, but also partly auditory, of words. The second of these types seems to be, at least under modern conditions of training and

¹ Kap. xvii, p. 110.

in middle life, decidedly common, altho also decidedly inferior in number to the more or less skilful visualizers. . . . The motor type image their world especially in terms either of the movements that they themselves tend to make in the presence of things, or, in particular, in terms of the words which they use in naming and describing things.”¹

The auditory type seems to be rather rare. Musicians and actors belong to it generally.² Lessing says he hears Apollo descend,³ but this is not sufficient proof for us to decide that he belonged to the auditory type. There seems, however, to be very good reason for thinking that he was strongly of the verbal-motor type, as Royce calls it. In this type there are usually two factors present: (1) the images of movements; (2) the images of words. The second factor is dependent on the first, for it consists in a suppressed speech, that is, in suppressed muscle movements in the head or in the throat.⁴ In the case of concrete nouns and other image-forming words the verbal-motor type does not go beyond this feeling of the presence of the word itself, in suppressed muscle movements, and the knowledge of what the word means, while the visual type feels the word as subordinate to the image it raises. In abstract thinking, of course, all types may be satisfied with the mere knowledge of the meaning of the words; but we are here considering descriptive poetry, which must contain concrete nouns and descriptive adjectives. Lessing seems to have had this consciousness of words existing as symbols which he understood, but which meant nothing beyond to him, when he says that the poet fails unless he makes us more conscious of the object than of his words;⁵ and again: “[Wir wollen] . . . der Mittel, die der Poet anwendet, *seiner Worte*, bewusst zu sein aufhören.”⁶

¹ *Outlines of Psychology*, New York, 1903, p. 156.

² James, *Psychology*, p. 306.

³ *Laokoon*, Kap. XIII, p. 95.

⁴ Titchener, *Primer of Psychology*, New York, 1900, p. 127.

⁵ *Laokoon*, Kap. XIV, p. 98.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Kap. XVII, p. 107.

Altho persons of the verbal-motor type think chiefly in words, yet, as Royce has said, they also "image their world in terms of movements that they themselves tend to make in the presence of things." These feelings of movements are most vividly present where verbs are used, or thought of. Professor Stricker of Vienna, who belongs to the motor type, has described his images of memory and imagination as follows:

"Wenn ich es versuche, die Gehbewegungen einer zweiten Person, sagen wir eines auf Commando marschierenden Soldaten, in meiner Erinnerung auftauchen zu lassen . . . und mir vorstellen will, wie er auf das Commando 'Marsch' ein Bein erhebt und vorwärts wirft, . . . dann merke ich, dass ich an einen meiner Oberschenkel erinnert werde. . . . Ich habe dabei den Eindruck, als wenn ich meinem Bilde helfen würde, die Bewegungen auszuführen. . . . Wenn ich mir das Bild eines Pferdes vorstelle, das eben an einem schweren Wagen zieht, knüpft sich daran ein Gefühl in der Brust- und Schultergegend." ¹

Those sensations which have been most vividly present in the consciousness are recalled again most readily. Galton cites the case of a young Indian,² who drew with the point of his knife the outlines of a figure, because, he said, he could then remember it better. Lessing seems to have had this experience, for he says: "Wir können uns überhaupt einer Bewegung leichter und lebhafter erinnern als blosser Formen oder Farben."³ This is not a mere general statement made by Lessing; it is a statement rising from his own experience, and he makes it very decidedly. Since we have shown that Lessing did not belong to the visual type, since we have no proof that he belonged to the auditory type (which occurs only rarely), since the general conditions of his life would seem to indicate that he was of the verbal-

¹ Salomon Stricker, *Studien über die Bewegungsvorstellungen*, Wien, 1882, pp. 14-17.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

³ *Laokoon*, Kap. XXI, p. 134.

motor type, and since we have this direct proof in regard to his sensitiveness (1) to words, (2) to motions, are we not justified in assuming that he possessed the motor type of imagination?

The application of this assumption to his theory that actions are the only proper subjects of poetry remains to be made. When Lessing said that he wished to be raised above the words of the poet, he also explained how this was to be done. "Der Poet will nicht bloss verständlich werden, seine Vorstellungen sollen nicht bloss klar und deutlich sein; hiermit begnügt sich der Prosaist. Sondern er will die Ideen, die er in uns erweckt, so lebhaft machen, dass wir in der Geschwindigkeit die wahren sinnlichen Eindrücke ihrer Gegenstände zu empfinden glauben, und in diesem Augenblick der Täuschung uns der Mittel, die er dazu anwendet, seiner Worte, bewusst zu sein aufhören."¹ He therefore wishes to receive *sensations*, as we may translate "sinnliche Eindrücke," without saying to what particular sense we refer. Stricker has described his sensations of memory and imagination. He says further: "Ich kann mir ohne Zutun meines Muskelgefühls keine Veränderung in der Aussenwelt vorstellen. Wenn ich mir vorstellen will, dass ein gelber Körper blau wird, so kann ich das Gelb und Blau sehr wohl nacheinander vorstellen, ohne dabei an einen Muskel zu denken. Wie ich mir aber das Werden des Blau denken will, muss ich das Muskelgefühl zu Hilfe nehmen, und zwar geschieht es bei mir, wieder mit Hilfe der Augen oder der Hals-Nackenmuskeln."² From any change in the outside world, then, Stricker receives sensations, "sinnliche Eindrücke." Lessing has emphasized the fact that the effect of the poetic picture lies in the succes-

¹ *Laokoon*, Kap. xvii, p. 107.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

sion, in the change of events.¹ He also says: "Alles, was noch in dem Gemälde der Alcina gefällt und rührt, ist Reiz."² "Der Eindruck, den ihre Augen machen, kommt nicht daher, dass sie schwarz und feurig sind, sondern daher, dass sie mit Holdseligkeit um sich blicken, und sich langsam drehen."³

How are we to interpret the phrase "sinnliche Eindrücke," which Lessing said the poet should arouse, if not as the "arousing of muscular sensations by the presentation of advancing action"? I do not mean to say that Lessing had made it clear to himself that he had such muscle sensations, in observing or thinking of motions; such an analysis of his sensations long in advance of any experimental work on those lines is highly improbable; but only that he experienced an emotion or excitement, when actions were described, which he otherwise felt to be lacking. The objection may be made that "sinnliche Eindrücke empfinden" generally means, "to receive a visual image." This is only true because the majority of persons have the visual type of imagination. We are apt to interpret such an expression according to our own experience, without it ever occurring to us that it may mean something entirely different to another person. If we consider that for Lessing "sinnliche Eindrücke empfinden" here means "to receive a visual image," we find a flat contradiction between his advice to the poet in this case and his other statement as to the impossibility of getting a visual image: "Mehrere Teile oder Dinge, die ich notwendig in der Natur auf einmal übersehen muss, wenn sie ein Ganzes hervorbringen sollen, dem Leser nach und nach zuzählen, um ihm dadurch ein Bild von dem Ganzen machen zu wollen: heisst ein Eingriff

¹ *Laokoon*, Kap. xv, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

² "Reiz ist Schönheit in Bewegung," *ibid.*, Kap. xxi, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, Kap. xxi, p. 134.

des Dichters in das Gebiet des Malers, wobei der Dichter viel Imagination ohne allen Nutzen verschwendet."¹

On the other hand, this contradiction disappears, if we interpret the words "sinnliche Eindrücke empfinden" to mean "the experiencing of sensations *other than optical*"; if we make it more definite to mean "the experiencing of *muscular* sensation," we find a reason for Lessing's insistence on the necessity for action in poetry, and for his fondness for the Homeric device in description of substituting succession for co-existence. His statements that a poem must have advancing action, and that the effect on the hearer is caused by the succession of events strike as strange readers, who, like Herder, find the effect to lie in the power of the words to bring objects "gleichsam sichtlich vor die Seele."² Yet if Lessing received sensations and stimulation only through this succession, his theory that actions are the only proper subjects of poetry is at least subjectively justified.

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¹ *Ibid.*, Kap. XVIII, p. 114.

² *Erstes Wäldchen*, Kap. XI, in *Laokoon*, ed. cit., p. 242.

XXII.—THE DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVES IN THE ZERBSTER HANDSCHRIFT

With the publication of Luther's manuscripts of the Bible translations in the Weimar edition of his works, a veritable mine has been opened to the investigators of Luther's language. These manuscripts¹ were written in the years 1523-1530; *Zerbster Handschrift*, 1523; *Berliner Handschrift*, 1523-1524; *Heidelberger Handschrift*, 1527-1528; *Gothaer Handschrift*, 1530; etc. Luther began intensive work upon his translation of the Old Testament immediately after the appearance of the revision of the New Testament, 1522. He had profited from a closer study of the earlier editions, of the sources, and of German life and language, before he entered upon his monumental work. He had also attained to a more philosophical view of life and had become more skilled in the art of translation.

A mere cursory study of the manuscripts will prove that it is necessary to revise most of the previous contributions to the study of Luther's language. For, too often investigators have drawn conclusions from insufficient data, and at times they have collected at random from various printed works and editions of the Bible, without taking into consideration the different stages of Luther's linguistic development. Even the conclusions derived from an investigation of the earlier manuscripts, as for example, of "Von den guten werken," 1520, must be tested before being accepted as final. The study of these manuscripts

¹ For a detailed description of these manuscripts, see the introductions in the volumes, *Die Deutsche Bibel*, I and II.

from 1523 to 1530 will throw new light upon many phases of Luther's linguistic activity, especially upon the development of Luther's language, upon the question of the relationship of the manuscript and printed forms, and upon Luther's use of the sources, whether these sources be the earlier German versions or the original documents, such as were accessible to Luther and his co-workers.

The present article treats of the declension of the substantives in the *Zerbster Handschrift*. This manuscript affords material from which safe conclusions may be drawn. The general order of my dissertation ¹ has been followed.

STRONG DECLENSION—MASCULINES AND NEUTERS

Singular

Since the declension of the masculines and neuters is generally alike, these stems will be treated together. The tables ² will show at a glance the status of the declension.

¹ *Substantivflexion bei Martinus Luther*. George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Mich. For the literature on this subject and for a discussion of the development of the declension of nouns from MHG. to Luther, see this dissertation. Compare also the more recent grammars. It hardly seems necessary to give the details in every chapter, for example, as in the singular of the masculines and neuters.

	GENITIVE				DATIVE			
	M. -es N.		M. -(e)s N.		M. -e N.		M. (e) N.	
-b	2 x	...	6 x	8 x	7 x	16 x	10 x	24 x
-d (1)	5 x	13 x	52 x	53 x	32 x	104 x	62 x	138 x
-d (2)	...	...	10 x	1 x	...	...	17 x	3 x
-g (1)	61 x	...	49 x	1 x	124 x	2 x	11 x	6 x
-g (2)	142 x	...	287 x	...	395 x	...	31 x	...
-s	2 x	52 x	...	13 x	1 x	410 x	19 x	34 x
-t	...	...	4 x	19 x	1 x	...	46 x	35 x

Genitive

The masculines ending in *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-t*, *-k*, *-f*, *-ch*, *-tz*, and also in *-d* (2) rarely have *-e* in the genitive. *Gott*, however, generally has the full form *Gottis*. Even after *-d* (1) and *-g* (2) there is a tendency to have the form without *-e*. After *-s*, *-e* is retained. After *-g* (1) the full form predominates. The neuters ending in *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-t*, *-k*, *-ch*, *-sch*, *-tz*, and vowel show syncope; likewise after *-b*, *-d*, and *-g*. After *-s* the full form naturally prevails. Yet at times, as in the combination *von des haus boden* (153, 15), the entire ending is wanting.

Dative

The masculines ending in *-s*, *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, *-sch*, and *-tz*, have apocopy regularly; likewise the stems ending in *-f*, except *hof*. The dissyllabics ending in *-d* also have apocopy. After *-b* and *-d* (1) there is a fluctuation, however with the tendency for the shorter form. Only after *-g* is the ending *-e* regular. The neuters ending in *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-t*, *-k*, *-ch*, *-sch*, and vowel show

	GENITIVE				DATIVE			
	M. <i>-es</i> N.	M. <i>-(e)s</i> N.	M. <i>-e</i> N.	M. <i>(e)</i> N.				
<i>-r</i>	...	5 x	12 x	19 x	...	...	44 x	194 x
<i>-m</i>	13 x	7 x	...	...	55 x	20 x
<i>-n</i>	2 x	...	307 x	1 x	5 x	...	139 x	4 x
<i>-ng</i>	...	1 x	2 x	...	5 x	2 x	23 x	...
<i>-p</i>	1 x	...
<i>-t</i>	271 x	...	56 x	23 x	6 x	...	218 x	115 x
<i>-l</i>	2 x	81 x	...	...	20 x	178 x
<i>-f</i>	6 x	1 x	14 x	2 x	11 x	...
<i>-ch</i>	3 x	36 x	1 x	1 x	19 x	50 x
<i>-sch</i>	3 x	1 x	...	19 x	...
<i>-tz</i>	...	2 x	2 x	9 x	1 x	...	24 x	19 x
Vowel	3 x	...	2 x	...	5 x

apocopy. The tendency to have apocopy after *-d* (1) is not so pronounced with the neuters. After *-s*, as in the word *haus*, the *-e* is retained with but few exceptions.

A glance at similar tables in *Substantivflexion*, pp. 19, 20, 34, 35, will show that the declension in the singular of the masculines and neuters of these classes is as regular as in K (1545 edition).

Masculines and neuters ending in *-er*, *-el*, *-em*, *-en*

About one hundred stems show the regular declension. The only exceptions are: GEN. (s) *vater* 5 x 121, 22; *morgen* 2 x 252, 8; *engel* 117, 20; GEN. *-n*, *vatern* 278, 4.

Jo- Class

Masculines

The only masculines which show the old *jo*- class are *kesse*, ACC. PL. 66, 18; and *fride*, which has the following forms:

NOM. *-e* 7 x 201, 18, (*e*) 8 x 201, 18, *-en* 347, 8;
DAT. (*n*) 2 x 201, 19, *-en* 35 x 128, 24; ACC. *-e* 5 x 146, 33, (*e*) 2 x 190, 18, *-en* 2 x 255, 17.

Neuters

Stems with the prefix *ge*-

The neuter stems with the prefix *ge*- and ending in *-b*, *-d*, *-g*, have retained the *-e* except in *gesind*, DAT. 20, 3, and in the accusative singular, where there is a fluctuation:

-e gepirge 6 x 1, 24; *gefilde* 96, 29; *geperde* 2 x 76, 13; *getreyde* 2 x 363, 3; *gevierde* 155, 2.

(*e*) *arm geschmyd* 94, 10; *gelubd* 6 x 10, 30; *gesind* 3 x 120, 2.

The neuters with prefix *ge-* and ending in *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-tz*, and vowel have thrown off the *-e* with fairly consistent regularity. In the GEN. *-es* is omitted, *gesetz* 334, 14. The *-e* is retained:

NOM. *geschlechte* 390, 6; *gesetze* 302, 3; *gesichte* 40, 1; *gestuele* 2 x 157, 30.

GEN. *gemuetes* 122, 8, *geredtes* 310, 25, *geredtis* 224, 13.

DAT. *geredte* 6 x 82, 13; *gescheffte* 240, 23; *geschencke* 340, 6; *geschlechte* 72, 6; *gesetze* 8 x 144, 3; *gestuele* 158, 35; *gewichte* 113, 30.

ACC. *gemüete* 150, 29; *geredte* 6 x 66, 22; *gerichte* 316, 25; *gescheffte* 380, 31; *geschencke* 179, 19; *geschlechte* 261, 28; *gesetze* 351, 26; *gesichte* 104, 17; *gewichte* 225, 13.

The neuter stems with the prefix *ge-* and ending in *-s* retain *-e*; ACC. *gemüsze* 3 x 113, 9; *gesesse* 2 x 167, 19; *gefesse* 303, 19. The *-e* is thrown off: NOM. *gefessz* 2 x 75, 5; DAT. *gefessz* 5 x 32, 9; *geschos* 314, 10; ACC. *gemüsz* 2 x 103, 19; *gefëss* 2 x 210, 14; GEN. *-es* is omitted, *gefesss* 66, 22. The third *-s* may be the genitive.

Stems without the prefix *ge-*

Amt, *antlitz*, *elend*, *ertz*, *glück*, *hew*, *kleynod*, *reich*, *stück*, *vieh* are regularly in the *o* class. *Bette*, *bilde*, *mansbilde*, *ende*, *erbe*, *ole*, retain the *-e* except *bett*. DAT. 198, 16; *bild* ACC. 2 x 21, 17. *Leyde* has *-e*, except 86, 21.

Stems ending in *-lin*

These stems are regular throughout.

Stems ending in *-nis*

Begräbnis, *betrugnis*, *ergernis*, *finsternis*, *gefengnis*,

zeugnis, are regularly without *-e* in the dative and even lack *-es* in the genitive as *begrebnis* 358, 3 and *gefengnis* 163, 47. *Finsternis* is neuter 38, 9.

PLURAL

Masculines

O- Class

The following stems are regular: *berg*, *brief*, *golt-schmied*, *goss*, *hayn*, *hertzog*, *heyland*, *könig*, *krieg*, *pfeyl*, *reyff*, *schuch*, *seugling*, *steyn*, *streit*, *tag*, *tisch*, *weg*, *weyn-berg*, *wind*, *zins*, *zweig*.

The following stems,—although regular on the whole, except *altar*,—have apocopy:

NOM. *fremdling* 2 x 99, 3; *hund* 2 x 176, 11; *jungling* 14, 10; *knecht* 9 x 48, 16; *leychnam* 2 x 223, 36; *stern* 2 x 277, 24; *t eyl* (m. n.) 205, 7.

GEN. *freund* 15, 20; *jungling* 3 x 82, 14; *knecht* 2 x 290, 27; *kriegsknecht* 169, 24.

ACC. *alltar* 9 x 326, 14; *arm* 135, 35; *feind* 258, 11; *jungling* 3 x 81, 5; *kriegsknecht* 3 x 231, 2; *leychnam* 93, 12; *orenring* 3, 24; *sabbath* 251, 32; *schilt* 2 x 301, 8; *silberling* 3 x 20, 10; *spiess* 125, 14; *strick* 2 x 105, 2; *t eyl* (m. n.) 3 x 106, 2.

The following stems have *-en*: NOM. *erstlingen* 378, 44; *fremdlingen* 327, 25; GEN. *festtagen* 343, 5; ACC. *erstlingen* 380, 31; *fremdlingen* 268, 2; *sabbathen* 271, 31.

I- Class

The following stems which in MHG. were either in the *i*, *i* and *o*, or *o* classes and which in NHG. are

declined regularly according to the *i* class are regular: *anschlag, ast, bach, bach, baum, bock, brand, chor, erdenkloss, fluch, fuchs, fuss, gang, grund, hals, hof, knauf, kopf, landvogt, napf, ordenstand, radschlag, rand, rock, sack, schatz, schlag, schantz, schwantz, son, stam, stuel, traum, turn, zaum*. The umlaut is rarely written with *o* and *u*. The umlaut of *a* is *e*. *Saal* does not show umlaut.

A few cases of apocopy occur:

NOM. *bewn* 3 x 261, 33; *fusz* 99, 34; *kneuff* 160, 8; *stem* 2 x 25, 12.

GEN. *bewm* 283, 15.

ACC. *bewm* 5 x 384, 23; *danck chör* 377, 31; *fussz* 3 x 100, 12; *kneuff* 287, 9; *saal* 285, 9; *schetz* 2 x 177, 26; *son* 5, 18; *bewm* occurs mostly in compounds.

The *n* form is found in *stemmen* GEN. 118, 2. The *n* is lacking in DAT. PLU. *helsze* 3, 21. *Bocker* occurs ACC. 349, 17.

Neuters

O- Class

The following neuters retain the old declension with few exceptions: *band, bath, beyl, brod, cor, fass, feld, gewand, handfas, har, heer, hemd, jar, ioch, kleynod, knye, königreich, korn, mas, pfund, ross, schaff, schiff, schawb-rod, schwert, seyttenspiel, stück, their, thor, werck, wort, zelt*.

The new declension is found:

NOM. *fache* 157, 32; *netze* 134, 6.

GEN. *dinge* 7 x 18, 24; *königreiche* 52, 16; *lieder* 150; 32.

Acc. *beyne* 175, 32; *hembde* 14, 12; *königreiche* 3 x 150, 21; *-liede* 2 x 337, 25; *meere* 370, 6; *pferde* 3 x 168, 28; *rechte* 12 x 135, 23; *rehe* 2 x 150, 23; *reiche* 20, 7; *rosse* 4 x 118, 1; *schaffe* 5 x 77, 19; *schiffe* 2 x 166, 26; *seyle* 2 x 17, 8; *stücke* 6 x 36, 4; *thore* 162, 37.

-ER Class

Bret, dach, feyrkleyd, grab, gutt, haus, holtz, horn, kalb, kebsweyb, kind, kleyd, lam, loch, maul, menschenkind, rad, rind, schloss, schwert, tuch, volck have the -er plural throughout. The umlaut is rarely written, except umlaut *a* written *e*.

O and -ER Classes

A few stems, *ampt, dorf, haupt, land, weyb* show a mixed declension.

O class:—*ampt* GEN. 2 x 271, 25; DAT. 3 x 279, 21; ACC. 3 x 276, 30. The form *empten* occurs DAT. 279, 21.

dorf DAT. 3 x 277, 25; ACC. *dorff* 46, 18; *dorffe* 377, 30.

heubt NOM. 2 x 251, 34; DAT. 11 x 6, 34; ACC. 191, 31.

land GEN. *landen* 220, 35; DAT. 21 x 221, 11.

weyb DAT. 3 x 86, 3.

-er class:— *ampt* DAT. 274, 8.

dorf NOM. 2 x 241, 33; DAT. 7 x 250, 16; ACC. 2 x 245, 57.

heubt NOM. 24 x 243, 24; GEN. 255, 23; DAT. 4 x 241, 42; ACC. 5 x 1, 25.

land DAT. 11 x 343, 3; ACC. 7 x 330, 13.

weyb NOM. 15 x 7, 51; GEN. 7 x 19, 27; DAT. 15 x 29, 14; ACC. 39 x 3, 31.

Masculines which have the plural ending *-er*

Gott, *man*, and *ort* show both *a* and *-er* forms.

O- class:—*gott* DAT. 14 x 8, 13; ACC. 8, 15.

ort DAT. 8 x 44, 6.

man NOM. 16 x 1, 22; GEN. 2 x 26, 22; DAT. 13 x 2, 4; ACC. 29 x 2, 14.

The use of the form *man* is to be expected after numeral.

-er class:—*gott* NOM. 7 x 42, 8; GEN. 42, 8; DAT. 5 x 168, 2, (n) 220, 35; ACC. 11 x 8, 14.

ort DAT. 92, 31; ACC. 2 x 79, 23.

man NOM. 100 + x 2, 18; GEN. 26 x 7, 57; DAT. 36 x 5, 20, (n) 2 x 90, 3; ACC. 30 x 4, 5.

Menner also occurs in compounds as *heubtmänner* 198, 14; *kriegsmänner* NOM. 4 x 130, 7; ACC. 2 x 212, 20; *wartmänner* 58, 16; *felthauptmännern* 276, 3 (n) 144, 5. The form *männ* occurs 2 x 2, 16.

bock ACC. 349, 17.

The transition to the *-er* class is not quite as complete as in K.

Jo- Class

The stems with the prefix *ge-* and ending in *-l*, *-n*, *-t*, *-k*, *-s*, and *-tz* show a mixed declension:

With *-e* NOM. *gebeyne* 229, 18; *gerüste* 21, 16; *geschlechte* 244, 19; *gestuele* 3 x 159, 43.

GEN. *gefessze* 233, 17.

ACC. *gebeyne* 7 x 209, 21; *geredte* 8 x 160, 4; *gescheffte* 3 x 166, 23; *geschencke* 10 x 129, 43; *gesteyne* 8 x 113, 30; *gestuele* 5 x 158, 37; *getrencke* 12, 7.

Without *-e*: NOM. *gefess* 8 x 159, 45; *gericht* 260, 14; *geschlecht* 235, 29; *getumel* 302, 6; *gewicht* 133, 16.

GEN. *gefess* 3 x 287, 18; *gepott* 350, 11; *geschefft* 279, 13.

ACC. *gefess* 28 x 66, 22; *gepot* 27 x 57, 14; *geredt* 168, 25; *gericht* 260, 12; *geschefft* 166, 23; *geschenck* 6 x 47, 3; *geschlecht* 261, 15; *gesetz* 4 x 218, 37.

The tendency to throw off the *-e* is more evident in Z than in K. This is probably due to the influence of the spoken language. A few irregularities occur:

GEN. *-en*, *geschlechten* 248, 28; DAT. (*en*) *gefess* 3 x 381, 7.

Stems without the prefix *ge-*.

ende ACC. *ende* 371, 22.

bilde NOM. *bilde* 286, 3; DAT. *bilden* 45, 12, *bildern* 333, 4; ACC. *bilde* 314, 17; *bilder* 8 x 176, 9.

mansbilde DAT. *mansbilden* 329, 19; ACC. *mansbild* 351, 5, *mansbilde* 9 x 328, 16.

Masculines and neuters ending in *-er -el -en*

These stems are regular throughout, with the exception of *brüdere* NOM. 375, 13; *priestere* NOM. 376, 11; *widder* DAT. 300, 9.

Neuters ending in *-lin*

Only two stems, *böcklin* and *kinlin*, occur. They are regular.

Neuters ending in *-nis*

Only *zeugnis* occurs; ACC. *-e* 2 x 144, 3, (*e*) 5 x 216, 15.

WEAK DECLENSION

Masculines

Living beings:—

NOM. The following stems have *-e* in the nominative:
bote 8 x 79, 27; *bube* 2 x 74, 30; *esels fulle* 16, 16;
knabe 41 x 7, 54; *lewe* 5 x 15, 18; *lawe* 2 x 175,
 24; *more* 301, 9; *schencke* 357, 11; *zeuge* 54, 5.

The following stems have no *-e* in the nominative:

bott 5 x 12, 6; *ertzschenck* 221, 8; *euangelist* 126,
 26; *geschenck* 2 x 109, 9; *gesell* 49, 2; *knab*
 2 x 74, 41; *lew* 14, 5.

GEN. The genitive has the form *-en*: *ertzschencken*
 2 x 221, 37; *lewen* 14, 9. The form *-ens* occurs:
knabens 3 x 12, 12; *lewens* 2 x 14, 8.

DAT. and ACC. *Bote*, *farre*, *hirte*,¹ *knabe*, *lewe*, *ochse*
 are regular in the dative and accusative.

Beer, *fürst*, *mensch*, *narr*, *prophet*, *tor*, *vntertan*, are
 regular without *-e* in the nominative. *Beer*, *narr*,
 and *tor* end in *r*, and *mensch*, *prophet*, and *vnter-
 tan* were originally trisyllabic. The only stems
 of this group which retain the *-e* are *herre* 2 x 12,
 8 and *grafe* 348, 6; otherwise they are regularly
 without *-e*. *Hirsz* occurs 150, 23.

Inanimate objects:—

These stems, about forty in number, are regular in the
 dative and in the accusative. In the nominative they
 exhibit a tendency to retain the old form: *boge* 2 x 38, 4;
fade 17, 9; *hauffe* 4 x 52, 10; *nacke* 216, 14; *name*
 20 x 83, 25; *rebe* 1, 2; *schatte*¹ 224, 11; *schade* 2 x 170,
 25; *wage* 3 x 45, 14. The *-n* has been added in the

¹ MHG. *jo* and *n*.

following words: *gefallen* 99, 39; *rucken*¹ 2 x 172, 11; *schatten*¹ 2 x 224, 10; *wagen* 2 x 199, 11. In the genitive we see the form *-en*, as *garten* 2 x 202, 27; *namen* 162, 41; and *-ens*, as *namens* 3 x 55, 22; *samens* 146, 33.

Isolated stems:—

A few stems, *brun*, *fels*, and *mond*, show a very irregular declension. K shows the same irregularities.

Brun and compounds: NOM. *brün* 16, 20; GEN. *brunnen* 123, 19, *brunnens* 220, 31; DAT. *brun* 5 x 123, 17, *brün* 4 x 72, 22, *brunnen* 123, 21; ACC. *brünnen* 123, 19. Plural, GEN. *brunnen* 329, 3; DAT. *brunnen* 184, 5; ACC. *brun* 372, 25, *brunnen* 2 x 319, 10, *brünnen* 56, 7.

Fels: Singular NOM. *fels* 133, 2; GEN. *felses* 317, 12; DAT. *fels* 4 x 28, 47, *felsen* 2 x 253, 15; ACC. *fels* 4 x 13, 19. Plural, ACC. *felsen* 56, 6.

Mond: singular NOM. *mond* (throughout); GEN. *monds* 292, 10, *mondes* 232, 1, *monden* 26 x 74, 34; DAT. *monde* 232, 3, *monden* 37 x 150, 27; ACC. *monden* (throughout). The plural is regularly *-en*, except the ACC. *monde* 44, 1.

Stern shows the nominative plural *stern* NOM. 2 x 277, 24, *sterne* ACC. 371, 23.

MIXED DECLENSION

Dorn occurs only in the plural, then weak.

Held and *nachbar* are strong in the singular and weak in the plural, except NOM. *helde* 11 x 94, 25.

Schmertz is weak ACC. PLUR. 290, 29.

Vetter has the weak forms in the singular GEN. 6 x 61, 51, DAT. 52, 16.

¹ MHG. *jo* and *n*.

Neuters

Auge is regularly strong in the singular and weak in the plural.

Hertz is strong in the NOM. and ACC. singular and weak in the GEN. and DAT. singular and in the plural.

Ohr is strong in the singular and weak in the plural.

Kamel shows weak and strong forms in the plural: *kamel* 5 x 61, 3; *kamelen* GEN. 2 x 3, 21; and ACC. 91, 17.

Feminines

I- Class

Singular

This class has no declension in the singular, except *nachts*.

Plural

The following stems are regular: *angst*, *axt*, *frucht*, *kraft*, *ku*, *macht*, *magd*, *maus*, *vorhaut*, *vorstadt*, *wand*. Apocopy occurs NOM. *hend* 2, 6; GEN. *stedt* 95, 1; ACC. *hend* 4 x 1, 3; *vorhauitt* 70, 27. The ending *-en* occurs DAT. *nachten* 91, 12; ACC. *klufften* 56, 7. *Last* occurs without ending ACC. 170, 28.

The stems ending in *-ey*, *-hey*, *-key*, *-schaft* have no declension in the singular and are regularly weak in the plural.

N- Class: MHG *â* and *n* classes

Singular

About 90 stems are regular in the singular.

The following have *-n* and *-a* forms:

With *-n*. NOM. The *-n* has been added to the NOM.:

dyrnen 33, 2; *erden* 261, 31; *hutten* 2 x 262, 5; *laden* 160, 7; *rosen* 157, 26.

GEN. With *-n.*: *dyrnen* 7 x 384, 12; *ehren* 38, 8; *ellen* 5 x 157, 31; *erden* 347, 11; *erndten* 2 x 132, 9; *hutten* 5 x 39, 22; *laden* 6 x 43, 18; *posauern* 143, 41; *sonnen* 7 x 9, 18; *wusten* 79, 25. Only one of these stems has the *-â* form: *sache* 355, 14.

DAT. With *-n.* *ammen* 313, 11; *aschen* 386, 3; *dyrnen* 35, 12; *ecken* 2 x 286, 10; *erden* 64 x 13, 21; *eychen* 5 x 51, 3; *fussolen* 117, 25; *gassen* 6 x 23, 18; *gellseyden* 284, 7; *gruben* 2 x 122, 9; *harffen* 64, 16; *hutten* 15 x 23, 10; *krippen* 150, 23; *kronen* 2 x 156, 17; *laden* 12 x 43, 13; *lantzen* 2 x 71, 10; *mauren* 13, 110, 20; *pfannen* 271, 29; *pfosten* 36, 9; *posauern* 4 x 143, 35; *rigen* 154, 36; *sachen* 2 x 139, 3; *scheunen* 3 x 140, 18; *scheyden* 2 x 68, 51; *seelen* 14 x 40, 35; *seulen* 4 x 205, 14; *seytten* 14 x 32, 14; *sonnen* 3 x 111, 11; *spitzen* 7 x 59, 27; *strassen* 10 x 2, 11; *tennen* 9 x 33, 3; *wolcken* 2 x 288, 14; *wusten* 41 x 2, 7; *zungen* 383, 21.

Without *-n.* The above stems have the *â* forms only: *dyrne* 32, 5; *erde* 200, 16; *erndte* 2 x 48, 12; *eyche* 252, 12; *krone* 2 x 382, 11; *lade* 8 x 44, 4; *maure*¹ 110, 21; *scheüne* 2 x 102, 6; *seele* 4 x 68, 1; *seule* 314, 13; *spitze* 43, 12; *strasse* 43, 12; *wuste* 27, 42.

ACC. With *-n.*: *ecken* 2 x 159, 39; *erden* 18 x 26, 21; *fasten* 352, 21; *gassen* 3 x 329, 6; *gruben* 125, 17; *hutten* 16 x 25, 9; *karsten* 57, 20; *laden* 17 x 102, 2; *lantzen* 4 x 57, 20; *nasen* 222, 28;

¹ MHG. *jo* and *n.*

propheusen 167, 17; *sachen* 356, 15; *scheüren* 2 x 34, 14; *scheyden* 268, 28; *schræncken* 2 x 286, 9; *sensen* 57, 20; *stangen* 266, 6; *suppen* 2 x 113, 8; *taschen* 68, 49; *tennen* 3 x 34, 14; *seytten* 153, 16; *wusten* 4 x 9, 16; *zungen* 136, 2.

Without *-n*: *amme* 3 x 35, 17; *dyrne* 2 x 141, 2; *ecke* 215, 14; *ehre* 6 x 45, 5; *gemsze* 150, 23; *krone* 113, 30; *lade* 57 x 42, 4; *maure*¹ 2 x 131, 15; *pffanne* 39, 14; *riege* 348, 4; *sache* 8 x 70, 26; *scheüne* 140, 24; *seele* 18 x 68, 2; *seüle* 5 x 125, 18; *seytte* 3 x 23, 18; *spitze* 317, 12; *steure*¹ 2 x 315, 9; *strasse* 4 x 57, 17; *tenne* 33, 3.

In these stems the tendency to retain the *-n* in the genitive and dative corresponds to the old declension. Since the *a* stems had *-e* and the weak declension *-n* in the accusative, the irregularities found in the accusative are to be expected.

The following stems throw off the *-e*:

NOM. *bitt* 387, 8; *ernd* 4 x 33, 23; *freud* 391, 17; *fraw* (regularly); *gemeyn* 2 x 160, 14; *helfft* 8 x 124, 3; *hulff* 387, 14; *kron* 156, 18; *morgenrodt* 24, 25; *sach* 3 x 35, 7; *seel* 6 x 72, 3; *stym* 7 x 85, 17; *sund* 3 x 39, 17; *vsach* 67, 30.

GEN. *handbreytt* 65, 4; *maur* 93, 12; *sach* 355, 10; *stett* 35, 10; *sund* 210, 6.

DAT. *gemeyn* 289, 13;; *hufft* 3, 30; *hulff* 2 x 108, 11; *mas* 156, 11; *scherff* 2 x 28, 6; *sprach* 2 x 380, 24; *stett* 6 x 35, 10; *steur* 317, 9; *stym* 23 x 25, 13; *wasserquell* 200, 21.

ACC. *bitt* 37, 27; *drusz* 223, 7; *fraw* (regularly); *geschicht* 2 x 112, 14; *gnad* 3 x 32, 10; *helfft* 5 x

¹Of the group *ahte*, *märe*, *schame*, *stiure*, *vorhte*, etc., which in *MHG.* had the *-e* in the declension, *maure*, *schame* 52, 22 and *steure* are the only stems that retain the *-e*. *Maure* even has the form *-n*.

166, 7; *kron* 2 x 205, 12; *lad* 45, 15; *maur* 3 x 92, 10; *sach* 8 x 11, 2; *seel* 7 x 5, 17; *speys* 2 x 25, 10; *stell* 335, 31; *stett* 9 x 16, 17; *steur* 315, 6; *stym* 20 x 4, 7; *stund* 209, 23; *sund* 5 x 63, 25; *vsach* 3 x 14, 4; *wurtz* 2 x 295, 24.

The use of the shorter form is probably due to the influence of the spoken language.

Stems ending in *-er*, *-el*, *-in*, and *-nis*

These stems have no declension in the singular

Stems ending in *-ung*

The singular of these nouns is regular, except NOM. *errettunge* 354, 14; *wonunge* 350, 16; DAT. *ordenunge* 2 x 328, 15; ACC. *ordenunge* 327, 2; *vergeltunge* 129, 37; *versammlunge* 2 x 164, 65.

Plural

The plural of this category of stems is fairly regular. The *â* forms occur only:

NOM. *-e*: *elle* 157, 24; *herde* 190, 27; *rede* 2 x 194, 13; (*e*) *geschichte* 2 x 304, 11.

ACC. *-e*: *elle* 154, 25; *forche* 186, 32; *locke* 3 x 18, 13; *rede* 2 x 135, 31; *spitze* 58, 4; *stette* 326, 14; *stunde* 224, 10; (*e*) *menschen seel* 243, 21; *stett* 332, 19; *stund* 3 x 224, 9; *thür* 3 x 154, 31.

The *-en* is wanting in DAT. *schnür* 30, 7.

Stems ending in *-er*

These stems are regular, except *schulder* NOM. 158, 34. *Tochter* is already strong and regularly without *-e*, except NOM. 30, 11 and ACC. 2 x 90, 6.

Stems ending in *-el*

The stems in this class are regular, except *mandel* ACC. 15, 5; *schauffel* NOM. 159, 45; *schussel* NOM. 2 x 159, 45; ACC. 3 x 286, 11.

Stems ending in *-in*

These stems have no ending in the plural, except *eselynnen* 4 x 49, 3; *eselynne* 51, 2.

Stems ending in *-nis*

The stems in this class are regular

Stems ending in *-ung*

The plural has the strong declension with *-e*: ACC. *lesterunge* 2 x 371, 19; *reytzunge* 230, 26, *weyssagunge* 365, 12; without *-e*: NOM. *ordenung* 2 x 275, 19. The weak ending occurs in *ordenungen* GEN. 278, 1.

CONCLUSION

The preceding facts show that Luther was, on the whole, regular in the substantive inflection as early as 1523. It would be unfair to judge Luther's language from the standpoint of the language of the German writers since the middle of the eighteenth century, but if one traces the development from MHG. to Luther's time, one may readily see what progress had been made in the declension of nouns.

Furthermore, Luther's written language, as contained in the Zerbst manuscript, does not vary as much from the printed form as scholars have inferred. For example, in comparison with the language in the sermon "Von den

guten werken," 1530, the language of Z. shows the following general development. (This comparison is based on Hertel's article, *Die Sprache Luthers*, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, xxix, 433 ff.) The -e in the inflection is treated according to general principles with more consistent regularity; the orthography is more regular, the doubling of the consonants has been simplified, the stem vowels are written with greater consistency; many of the dialect peculiarities (for example, the fluctuation between the middle and the high German dialects) have been eliminated; the syntax is more regular; the style is more clear and direct.

These changes are evidently due to Luther's freeing himself from the influence of printed books and to his systematic study of syntax and style. Luther was also guided by a practical observation of the spoken language. He worked with the definite purpose of attaining a clear, concise language for his translation of the Bible.

Burdach¹ maintained that Luther's German was "unfinished and irregular, never uniform and fixed, always developing"; that it was "too full of contradictions and fluctuations to exert a unifying influence on the development of the written language." The above facts prove, in the light of the development from the MHG. to the NHG. written language, that Burdach had not sufficiently observed the underlying principles according to which Luther worked, and that he had underestimated the possibilities of the influence of Luther's language upon the NHG. written language. The fact that Luther continued to develop and improve his language even up to the last edition in 1545, for the purpose of giving to his people a

¹ *Die Einigung der Neuhoohdeutschen Schriftsprache*, Habilitationsschrift, Halle-Wittenberg.

clear, direct version does not militate against its influence upon the NHG. written language. Whether Luther had in mind a moulding of the written language for the language's sake or not, is a question of minor importance. It is a fact that, as early as 1523, he had begun to work according to definitely established linguistic principles, and that as far as the declension of nouns is concerned, his language was sufficiently regular to exert far-reaching influence on the NHG. written language, even before the corrections for the later editions had been made.

Furthermore, the regularity of Luther's language in the final version of the manuscript substantiates the statements of Luther's co-workers in the preparation and printing of the Bible, namely, that he personally supervised the correction of the text, and that Luther's written language had a definite influence on the printed form.

V. Bahder says (*Idg. F.*, iv, 353): "Am geklärtesten ist Luthers sprache in der letzten bibelausgabe von 1545; auf dieses werk ist auch die spätere schriftsprache in erster linie gegründet und jede untersuchung, die Luthers sprache in ihrer bedeutung für die schriftsprachliche entwicklung betrachtet wird es zum ausgangspunkt nehmen müssen." One may add, since the language even of the manuscripts of the Bible translation is essentially that of the printed forms of the later editions: therefore these manuscripts may be considered as primary sources for the investigation of Luther's language and of its influence upon the later written language.

An examination of the corrections of the Zerbst and other manuscripts throws light upon Luther's famous statement found in the introduction to the Old Testament, 1524. "Aber nu sehe ich, das ich auch noch nicht meyn angeporne sprache kann." Here Luther has reference not

to a common, regulated language, as I stated in my dissertation, but to an inability to translate, or rather to "remould" the thought, the beauties, and the riches of the original language into his native tongue and adequately to express in German the "Word of God."

In short, to Luther we are indebted for a language, regular in form (when one considers the age of transition), full of vigor, rich in poetic powers and beauties, a language from which the modern writers and poets have drawn to enrich their vocabulary. And yet they knew but a part of Luther's linguistic capability.

Perhaps the day is not far distant when scholars may more generally emphasize the fact that Luther's language, as seen in the Bible translations, both in the written and in the printed forms, should serve as a practical starting point for the beginning of Germanistic study. With Luther's language as a base line, one may survey the past and behold the influence of the past upon Luther, and of Luther upon the language of today. At the same time the student would become acquainted with a language which has exerted an influence not yet fully appreciated upon the NHG. written tongue, almost from the year of its printed appearance until this very moment. Certainly Luther's writings "should be read more and extolled less."

Mr. Carl F. Schreiber assisted in collecting the material for this paper.

WARREN WASHBURN FLORES.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT THE
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, N. Y.,
AND AT
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.,
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1910.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE ASSOCIATION MEETING

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the College of the City of New York, N. Y., December 28, 29, 30, in accordance with the folloing invitation:

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

December 8th, 1909.

My dear Professor Howard:

I beg to support on behalf of The College of the City of New York the invitation which will go to you through Professor Mott asking the Modern Language Association to hold its meeting in December, 1910, under our roof. We have here a new equipment that will, I think, be of interest to teachers generally, and room for the accommodation of all your members. You will receive most cordial welcome if your decision follows our wish.

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. FINLEY,
President.

To Professor W. G. HOWARD,
25 Conant Hall,
Cambridge, Mass.

All the sessions were held in the Main Building of the College. Professor Brander Matthews, President of the Association, presided at all except the last, when Professor L. F. Mott was in the chair.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

The Association met at 2.50 p. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome from Acting President Adolph Werner.

The following cablegram was received and read:

PARIS, Dec. 27, 1910.

Greetings to the Association through Professor Mott from the capital of one Modern Language.

JOHN H. FINLEY.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor C. H. Grandgent, submitted as his report the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting and the whole volume of the *Publications* of the Association for the year 1910.

The report was accepted.

On motion of the Secretary, it was voted that a committee of three, consisting of former pupils or colleagues of the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott, be appointed to draw up a resolution commemorating his death. The President appointed Professors H. A. Todd, J. W. Bright, and F. M. Warren.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 27, 1909,	.	.	.	.	\$2,949 62
From Members, Life,	.	.	.	\$	80 00
“ “ for 1907,	.	.	.	.	9 00
“ “ “ 1908,	.	.	.	.	39 00
“ “ “ 1909,	.	.	.	.	182 00
“ “ “ 1910,	.	.	.	.	2,301 30
“ “ “ 1911,	.	.	.	.	120 40
				—————	\$2,731 70

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1910

v

From Libraries, Vols. I-XXIII, . . .	\$ 148 40	
“ “ “ XXIV, . . .	17 10	
“ “ “ XXV, . . .	160 40	
“ “ “ XXVI, . . .	81 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 406 90
For Publications, Vols. VI-XXIII, . . .	29 00	
“ “ “ XXIV, . . .	15 40	
“ “ “ XXV, . . .	55 10	
“ “ “ XXVI, . . .	2 70	
	<hr/>	\$ 102 20
From Advertisers, Vol. XXIV, . . .	60 00	
“ “ “ XXV, . . .	22 50	
	<hr/>	\$ 82 50
For Reprints, Vol. XXV, . . .	5 50	
“ Corrections, “ . . .	4 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 9 50
Interest, Eutaw Savings Bank, . . .	62 00	
“ Cambridge Savings Bank, . . .	41 50	
“ Cambridge Trust Co., . . .	23 83	\$ 127 33
	<hr/>	3,460 13
		<hr/>
		<hr/>
		\$6,409 75
		<hr/>
		<hr/>

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary for Salary, . . .	\$ 400 00	
“ “ “ Printing, . . .	67 45	
“ “ “ Postage, . . .	58 88	
“ “ “ Expressage, . . .	7 85	
“ “ “ Clerical work, . . .	8 50	
“ “ “ Proof-reading, . . .	4 50	
“ “ “ Typewriting, . . .	10 15	
	<hr/>	\$ 557 33
To Treasurer for Salary, . . .	\$ 200 00	
“ “ “ Printing, . . .	84 35	
“ “ “ Postage, . . .	2 90	
“ “ “ Expressage, . . .	30	
“ “ “ Clerical work, . . .	16 50	
	<hr/>	\$ 304 05
To Secretary, Central Division,		
For Salary, . . .	\$ 75 00	
“ Expenses, . . .	72 60	
	<hr/>	\$ 147 60

To Committee on Hon. Members, . . .	\$	3	50	
" " " Early Texts, . . .		12	75	
				\$ 16 25
For Printing <i>Publications</i> ,				
Vol. XXV, No. 1, . . .	\$	509	96	
" XXV, " 2, . . .		495	88	
" XXV, " 3, . . .		515	85	
" XXV, " 4, . . .		659	93	
				\$2,181 62
For Printing Program 28th Annual Meeting, . . .	\$	100	59	
For Back Numbers of <i>Publications</i> , . . .			14	65
Exchange, . . .			8	80
				\$3,330 89
Balance on hand, { Eutaw Savings Bank, . . .	\$	1,612	10	
Dec. 27, 1910, { Cambridge Savings Bank, . . .		1,069	42	
{ Cambridge Trust Co., . . .		397	34	
				3,078 86
				<u>\$6,409 75</u>

On motion of the Treasurer, it was voted:

1. That a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair to co-operate with two members to be appointed by the Chairman of the Central Division in measures looking to the accumulation of a permanent fund for the Association.
2. That there be refered for action to the next Union Meeting and publish with the notis of that Meeting as a subject for action thereat:

A recommendation to the Executiv Council to appoint three Trustees upon terms that shal giv effect to the folloing principles, to wit:

- a) The Trustees shal receive and hold all unrestricted gifts, and all bequests and legacies to the Association which ar not restricted to particular uses by the wil of the testator.
- b) The Trustees shal keep intact the principal of all sums entrusted to them and shal invest it at their discretion; provided, however, that if at any time the Association be dissolv'd, the Trustees shal then giv and pay over to the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching all moneys, principal and interest, and all rights, properties, and evidences of property by them held in trust for the benefit of this Association.

- c) The Trustees shal annually on the third Monday in January pay the net income of all trust funds in their keeping to the Tresurer of the Association for the general uses thereof.
- 3 That members of the Association be and they hereby ar invited to signify to the Committee aforesed:
 - a) their willingness to contribute to a permanent fund for the Association, if such a fund be establisht;
 - b) their willingness to become Life Members, and on what terms.
- 4. That the Tresurer be authorized to receive and hold contributions to a permanent fund until Trustees ar appointed to receive them, or, in case Trustees shud not be appointed in the year 1912, subject to the order of the Executiv Council.

The President of the Association appointed as members of this Committee: Professors W. G. Howard, H. E. Greene, and J. Geddes, Jr. The Chairman of the Central Division appointed Professors J. W. Cunliffe and A. F. Kuersteiner.

On motion of Professor J. W. Cunliffe, it was voted, after discussion by Professors Brander Matthews, W. H. Carpenter, C. H. Grandgent, and F. N. Scott:

That the Chair be requested to nominate a committee of three to submit to this meeting some course of action with a view to the registration of subjects of doctoral dissertations in hand.

The President designated Professors J. W. Cunliffe, F. N. Scott, and H. A. Todd.

The President next appointed the folloing committees:

(1) To audit the Tresurer's report: Professors G. B. Woods, C. F. Brown, A. A. Livingston.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors F. N. Scott, H. C. G. Brandt, E. C. Armstrong.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Influence of Greene on Shakspeare's Earlier Romances." By Mr. Joseph L. Tynan, of the College of the City of New York.

[Examination of romantic comedy during the period preceding 1600 reveals two types: that which precedes Greene and that which Greene established. The former is irregular. There is no center to the action, no enduring ideality in the love, little delicacy in the villain, and no integration of the comic plot. With Greene the drama becomes the struggle of an ideal love against the opposition of parents, differences of rank, faithlessness, amid adventures, and ending in repentance and happiness, with surprise. To this form Shakspeare adhered in his earlier romance, showing imitation of Greene's work in the treatment of the heroine, the villain, the clown, and *dénouement*, and paralleling structural methods.—*Twenty minutes*.]

2. "The Influence of Reprints upon the text of Goethe's Works." By Dr. W. Kurrelmeyer, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[Certain volumes of the *Neue Schriften*, 1792-1800 (N), and *Werke*, 1806-10 (A) were reprinted by the publishers without Goethe's knowledge. These *Doppeldrucke* constitute a corruption of the text. A number of volumes (N¹ A¹) were used by Goethe in making up the copy for succeeding editions. Many errors were thus introduced and perpetuated. Vols. 1-10 of the edition of 1815-19 (B) were also reprinted.—*Twenty minutes*.]

3. "A Reclassification of the *Perceval* Romances." By Professor George B. Woods, of Miami University.

[For a number of years the theory has been accepted that the *Perceval* story is an illustration of the *Expulsion-and-Return* formula of folk-lore. The author took exception to this classification and suggested that the story is essentially a combination of two other independent and well-recognized formulas. The bearing of this new classification upon the inter-relation of several versions of the story was also briefly considered.—*Twenty-five minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professor A. C. L. Brown.

4. "Aspects of the *Seicento*: (1) Pessimism, (2) Sensuality, (3) Science and the *Concetto*." By Professor Arthur A. Livingston, of Cornell University.

[I. Pessimism.—The Reform in Italy: characteristics of the religious poetry of the sixteenth century; Italian skeptics; peripatetic philosophy and the Church; Pomponazzi; Cremonini and the mortality of the soul; the school of Padova and a group of Venetian pessimists; Niccolò Crasso; Giacomo Badoer; G. F. Busenello; Zuan Garzoni; Mocenigo; Andrea Venier; pessimism and the literary criticism of 1630; pessimism and Italian politics; pessimism and moral ideals.—II. Sensuality.—Pessimism and art.—III. Science and the *concetto*.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

5. "Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Sidney's *Arcadia*." By Dr. Samuel Lee Wolff, of Columbia University.

[The indebtedness of *Ivanhoe* to the *Arcadia* has not, it is believed, been exhaustively treated. There is evidence both internal and external to support the conclusion that Scott borrowed the outline and several details of Sidney's episode of the captivity of Pamela, Philoclea, and Pyrocles (*Arcadia*, Book III). These borrowings he employed freely in composing his own episode of the captivity of Rebecca, Rowena, and *Ivanhoe* (*Ivanhoe*, Chaps. 19-31).—*Ten minutes*.]

At eight o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, December 28, Professor Brander Matthews, President of the Association, delivered in the Assembly Room of Townsend Hall an address on the subject, "The Economic Interpretation of Literary History."

After the address Professor Werner received the members and guests of the Association in the Tower Room of the Main Building.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 9.45 a. m.

Professor J. W. Cunliffe submitted the following report of the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts.

The efforts of the committee during the past year have been mainly directed towards securing the publication of a facsimile reproduction of the Caedmon MS. in the Bodleian Library. In accordance with the resolution past at the last meeting of the Eastern Division, a circular was issued inviting subscriptions, and forty-nine were obtained from the United States and Canada, in addition to a smaller number abroad. The conditions imposed by the Oxford University Press seemed to be in a fair way for fulfilment, when it was discovered that these conditions were differently understood by your Committee and by the Press. At the suggestion of the Secretary to the Press the Committee turned their subscription list over to him, and satisfactory assurances have since been received from him that the reproduction will be issued, possibly as a memorial to the late Dr. Furnivall.

J. W. CUNLIFFE, *Chairman*.

C. M. GAYLEY.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

J. M. MANLY.

H. A. TODD.

The Secretary presented the folloing communication from the Bibliographical Society of America:

TO THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

Gentlemen:—

At the last annual meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America Professor Clark S. Northup, a member both of your association and of ours, presented a paper, "The present bibliographical status of modern philology," containing a detailed survey of the manner and extent of existing bibliographies of this vast field of study. A number of representatives of modern language studies in American colleges and universities also presented statements, the corollary of which was that while some branches of modern language study are adequately treated in current bibliographies, others leave much to be desired both as regards fullness of treatment and promptness of recording. It seems well proven by a consensus of opinion that the bibliography of German language and literature, on the whole, is in an excellent condition, but that that of English, Romance, and Scandinavian studies stands in great need of a concerted effort in order to effect needed improvements.

At the same meeting, another paper, by the chairman of this committee, brought out the fact that the complaint of bibliographical service for modern publications is general.

The Bibliographical Society of America, in response to the recommendations contained in these two papers, appointed a committee to investigate the scope and method of special bibliographies, to consider remedies for unnecessary duplication, and to advise means of extending the efficiency of the bibliographies already in existence. The Committee was especially instructed to begin its investigations with the field of modern philology.

We beg to lay this matter before you and to ask that you appoint a committee to coöperate and advise with ours, and, if possible, to meet with it.

We hope that a result of permanent importance may be the outcome of the proposed concerted investigation, whether through the establishment of a central bureau where the bibliographic interests of the modern language studies could be adequately promoted, or in some other form that might reflect the general importance of the need and our common interest in its reliefment.

We submit, as a supplement to this communication, the proceedings of the last annual meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America, containing a summary of the above mentioned statements from representatives of modern language studies.

The undersigned regret that the third member of our committee, Professor C. S. Northup, through absence in Europe is prevented from signing this communication.

Very respectfully,

J. CHRISTIAN DAY.

AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON,

*For the Committee on Survey of Bibliographical
Literature, of the Bibliographical Society of America.*

Chicago, 15th December, 1910.

On motion of the Secretary, it was voted that Professor Raymond Weeks, of Columbia University, be appointed to represent the eastern wing of the Association in conference with a representative of the western branch and a committee of the Bibliographical Society, and that he have power to designate other members of the Association to constitute a committee of the eastern body. [President John S. Nollen, of Lake Forest College, was chosen to represent the Central Division.]

The Chairman of the Committee on the Scope of the *Publications*, Professor J. E. Spingarn, submitted the following report in print:

This committee,—consisting of Professors J. E. Spingarn, F. N. Scott, B. L. Bowen, C. B. Wilson, and E. C. Armstrong,—was appointed in December, 1908, in order to consider the advisability of enlarging or modifying the scope of the *Publications* of the Association. The Committee rendered its report at the annual meeting in December, 1909; the report was adopted, and the Committee was continued in office for another year. In January, 1910, however, the Acting Secretary questioned the constitutional validity of one of the recommendations of the Committee; and at the suggestion of the Council it was decided to submit the question to a referendum of the Association. In this referendum about half of the membership took part, and the vote was adverse to the report of the Committee.

A majority of the Committee is inclined to renew its recommendations of last year; but as a constitutional doubt still remains, the Committee deems it advisable to make no report until the Union Meeting of 1911 (at which the constitution may properly be amended), except to ask that it be continued in office for another year, so that whatever report it may make can be without legal restrictions adopted by the Association at such Union Meeting in 1911.

J. E. SPINGARN,
Chairman.

On motion of Professor B. P. Bourland, it was unanimously voted that the Committee on the Scope of the *Publications* be discharged.

The Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, Professor L. A. Loiseaux, submitted in print the following report, which had been presented orally the year before:

At the Princeton meeting, on December 30th, 1908, the Association voted that the report presented then "be referred to a committee consisting of the Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen and such other members of that Committee as he may select" (cf. *Proceedings* for 1908, p. xvii).

In pursuance of the above, the undersigned, acting as a sub-committee, beg to submit the following for consideration to the members of the Modern Language Association.

The discussion of the report presented at Princeton last year brought out the fact that a number of teachers were strongly opposed to the existing list of text-books or to any list whatsoever. On the other hand, many others expressed the wish that the lists recommended by the Committee of Twelve, whose practical report has proved so helpful during the last decade, be kept and revised to meet new conditions and include later publications.

In view of these two diametrically opposed opinions, this Committee, not wishing to assume a responsibility which properly rests upon the members of the Association, has decided to outline three propositions and to request the members to decide by vote which, if any, they wish to accept.

At the outset it was recognized that on account of the various conditions existing in different schools and colleges, it was impossible to select texts which could be considered equally difficult everywhere, and for that reason the grading in the lists suggested herewith can only be considered as based on a general average.

Furthermore, as the text-books available for modern language instruction are steadily growing in quantity, if not always in quality, it has been deemed inadvisable to attempt a general classification which in a few years would become incomplete. The German system of grading *all* text-books is impracticable in this country, at least at the present time.

To avoid oft-repeated criticisms, and for reasons too obvious to mention, the Committee wishes to state in the most emphatic way and to have it distinctly understood: (1) that the lists herewith given do not make the least claim to canonical authority; (2) that they are offered merely to be suggestive and helpful in the movement towards more uniform standards in the field of modern language instruction; (3) that the placing of a text on a list does not express or imply any endorsement whatever of said text or of any edition of same, to the detriment of other texts equally meritorious.

The three propositions above mentioned are as follows:

- A. *That new lists of text-books are no longer needed.*
- B. *That the appended list for French and German, made after the plan of the Committee of Twelve, be approved.*
- C. *That instead of the above lists, the few typical texts herewith mentioned be considered as representing approximately the grade of work to be done in each year of instruction.*

PLAN B.—REVISED LISTS

Elementary French

An elementary Reader.

Daudet.—Easier short stories.—*Le Petit Chose*.

Erckmann-Chatrian.—Stories.

Feuillet.—*Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre*.

Foncin.—*Le Pays de France*.

Halévy.—*L'Abbé Constantin*.

Labiche et Martin.—*La poudre aux yeux*,—*Le voyage de M. Perrichon*.

Laboulaye.—*Contes bleus*.

Lamartine.—*Jeanne d'Arc*.

Lavisie.—*Histoire de France*.

Lesage.—*Gil Blas*.

Malot.—*Sans Famille*.

Theuriet.—*L'Abbé Daniel*.

Thiers.—*Expédition de Bonaparte en Egypte*.

Verne.—Stories.

Intermediate French

About.—*Le roi des montagnes*.

Bazin.—Contes,—*Les Oberlé*.

Chateaubriand.—*Atala*,—*Le dernier Abencérage*.

Daudet.—*La belle Nivernaise*.

Dumas.—Novels, such as *Monte-Cristo*,—*Les trois Mousquetaires*,—*La Tulipe noire*.

Lamartine.—*Graziella*.

Mérimee.—*Colomba*,—*Contes et Nouvelles*.

Bernardin de St. Pierre.—*Paul et Virginie*.

Sand.—*La Mare au Diable*.

Souvestre.—*Un philosophe sous les toits*.

Theuriet.—*Bigarreau*.

Voltaire.—*Histoire de Charles XII*,—*Zadig*.

Advanced French

Augier et Sandeau.—*Le Gendre de M. Poirier*.

Balzac.—Novels, such as *Eugénie Grandet*,—*Le Père Goriot*.

Coppée.—Poems.

Daudet.—*Tartarin de Tarascon*.

Dumas Fils.—*La question d'Argent*.

France.—*Le livre de mon ami*,—*Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*.

Gautier.—*Voyage en Espagne*,—*Jettatura*.

Hugo.—Prose writings, such as *Quatre-vingt-treize*,—*Les Misérables*.

La Fontaine.—*Fables*.

Loti.—*Pêcheur d'Islande*.

Maupassant.—Stories.

Molière.—*L'Avare*,—*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

Renan.—Prose writings.

Sarcey.—*Le siège de Paris*.

Taine.—*Origines de la France contemporaine*,—*L'Ancien régime*.

Elementary German

Andersen.—*Bilderbuch ohne Bilder*.

Arnold.—*Fritz auf Ferien*.

Baumbach.—*Der Schwiegersohn*,—*Waldnovellen*.
 Blüthgen.—*Das Peterle von Nürnberg*.
 Eichendorff.—*Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*.
 Gerstäcker.—*Germelshausen*,—*Irrfahrten*.
 Grimm.—*Märchen*.
 Heyse.—*L'Arrabbiata*,—*Anfang und Ende*.
 Hillern.—*Höher als die Kirche*.
 Jensen.—*Die braune Erica*.
 Leander.—*Kleine Geschichten*.
 Meissner.—*Aus meiner Welt*.
 Seidel.—*Leberecht Hühnchen*.
 Stöckl.—*Unter dem Christbaum*.
 Storm.—*Imensee*,—*Geschichten aus der Tonne*.
 Wildenbruch.—*Das edle Blut*.
 Wilhelmi.—*Einer muss heiraten*.
 Zschokke.—*Der zerbrochene Krug*.

Intermediate German

Ebner-Eschenbach.—*Die Freiherren von Gemperlein*.
 Freytag.—*Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*,—*Die Journalisten*.
 Goethe.—*Hermann und Dorothea*.
 Heine.—*Poems*,—*Reisebilder*.
 Hoffmann.—*Historische Erzählungen*,—*Meister Martin der Küfner*.
 Keller.—*Kleider machen Leute*,—*Legenden*,—*Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe*.
 Lessing.—*Minna von Barnhelm*.
 Meyer.—*Das Amulett*.
 Moser.—*Der Bibliothekar*.
 Riehl.—*Novellen: Burg Neideck, der Fluch der Schönheit, der stumme Ratsherr*.
 Rosegger.—*Waldheimat*.
 Schiller.—*Balladen*,—*Die Jungfrau von Orleans*,—*Das Lied von der Glocke*,—*Der Neffe als Onkel*,—*Wilhelm Tell*.
 Scheffel.—*Der Trompeter von Säckingen*.
 Sudermann.—*Frau Sorge*.
 Uhland.—*Poems*.

Advanced German

Fulda.—*Der Talisman*.
 Goethe.—*Iphigenie*.
 Grillparzer.—*Die Ahnfrau*,—*Medea*,—*Sappho*,—*Der Traum ein Leben*.
 Hauff.—*Lichtenstein*.
 Heine.—*Über Deutschland*.
 Kleist.—*Michael Kohlhaas*,—*Der Prinz von Homburg*.
 Lessing.—*Emilia Galotti*,—*Nathan der Weise*,—*Prose writings*.
 Meyer.—*Der Heilige*.
 Schiller.—*Die Braut von Messina*,—*Historical prose*,—*Maria Stuart*,—*Wallenstein*.
 Wildenbruch.—*Heinrich*.

PLAN C.—TYPICAL TEXTS, REPRESENTING APPROXIMATELY THE GRADE OF WORK TO BE DONE IN EACH YEAR

French

1st year: A well graded reader for beginners; Bruno, *Le tour de la France*; Compté, *Yvan Gall*; Laboulaye, *Contes bleus*; Malot, *Sans Famille*.

2d year: Daudet, *Le Petit Chose*; Erckmann-Chatrian, stories; Halévy, *L'Abbé Constantin*; Labiche et Martin, *Le Voyage de M. Perrichon*; Lavissee, *Histoire de France*.

3d year: Bazin, *Les Oberlé*; Dumas, novels; Mérimée, *Colomba*; Sandeau, *Mlle de la Seiglière*; Tocqueville, *Voyage en Amérique*.

4th year: Dumas fils, *La question d'Argent*; Hugo, *Quatre-vingt-treize*,—*Les Misérables*; Loti, *Pêcheur d'Islande*; Taine, *L'Ancien régime*; Vigny, *Cinq-Mars*; an anthology of verse.

German

1st year: After one of the many Readers especially prepared for beginners,—Meissner's *Aus meiner Welt*; Blüthgen's *Das Peterle von Nürnberg*; Storm's *Immensee*, or any of Baumbach's short stories.

2nd year: Gerstäcker's *Gernelshausen*; Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*; Wildenbruch's *Das edle Blut*; Jensen's *Die braune Erica*; Seidel's *Leberecht Hühnchen*; Fulda's *Unter vier Augen*; Benedix's *Lustspiele* (any one).—For students preparing for a scientific school, a good scientific reader is recommended.

3rd year: Heyse's, Riehl's, Keller's, Storm's, Meyer's, Ebner-Eschenbach's, W. Raabe's *Novellen* or *Erzählungen* can be read.—Selected poems by Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Heine.—Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*; Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*; Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*; Freytag's *Die Journalisten*; Heine's *Harzreise*.

4th year: Goethe's, Schiller's, Lessing's works and lives.

[Note: During every year at least six German poems should be committed to memory.]

PROPOSED COURSE IN SPANISH

The Sub-Committee on Spanish texts recommends that the following work in Spanish be done in a four years' course in secondary schools or in a two years' course in colleges. The Elementary course corresponds to the first two years in secondary schools or to the first year in colleges; and the Intermediate and Advanced courses correspond to a third and a fourth year respectively in secondary schools or to a second year in colleges, except that there should be more practice in speaking and writing Spanish in the secondary schools. It is assumed that in secondary schools there shall be four or five recitations a week, for at least thirty-two weeks of each year. The Sub-Committee urges that in secondary schools the emphasis be placed on careful, thoro work, with much repetitions, rather than upon rapid reading.

The comparative difficulty and the relative worth of Spanish literary works cannot be definitely determined, for readers do not agree. It is therefore with considerable hesitancy that the Sub-Committee attempts to arrange the works in the order of difficulty,—placing the least difficult first,—and to mark with an asterisk those works which are especially recommended for use in secondary schools. No attempt has been made to separate the texts of the intermediate and advanced courses.

Elementary Course

Grammar, with much practice in speaking and writing Spanish thruout the course; and the careful reading of about 100 pages of easy prose and verse during the first

half of the course, and about 200 pages during the second half, to be selected from the following: a collection of easy short stories and lyrics*, carefully graded; Juan Valera, *El pájaro verde**; Perez Escrich, *Fortuna**; Ramos Carrión y Vital Aza, *Zaragüeta**; Palacio Valdés, *José**; Pedro de Alarcón, *El Capitán Veneno**; the selected short stories of Pedro de Alarcón or Antonio de Trueba.

Intermediate and Advanced Courses

Grammar and prose composition or free reproduction once or twice a week, and the careful reading of about 400 pages of prose and verse of medium difficulty in the intermediate course, and of about 500 pages in the advanced course, to be selected from the following groups:

(a) One or more of the following collections of short stories: a collection of short stories by different authors*; or the selected short stories of Palacio Valdés*, Fernán Caballero*, Pardo Bazán, Narcisso Campillo, or Becquer.*

(b) One or more of the following plays: Tamayo y Baus, *Lo positivo**, *Un drama nuevo*; Moratín, *El sí de las niñas**; Larra, *Partir á tiempo*; José Echegaray, *El poder de la impotencia**, *O locura ó santidad*; Nuñez de Arce, *El haz de leña*; Calderón, *El mágico prodigioso*.

(c) A collection of Spanish lyrics.

(d) One or more of the following long stories: Pérez Galdós, *Mariandela**, *Doña Perfecta**; Fernán Caballero, *La Familia de Alvareda**; Palacio Valdés, *La alegría del capitán Ribot**, *Maria y María*; Blasco Ibáñez, *La barraca*; Juan Valera, *El comendador Mendoza*, *Pepita Jiménez*; Pardo Bazán, *Pascual Lopez**; Pereda, *Pedro Sanchez*; Padre Isla's version of *Gil Blas*; Cervantes, *Don Quijote** (extracts).

The Sub-Committee also urges that every secondary school in which Spanish is taught should have in its library several Spanish-English and English-Spanish dictionaries, the all-Spanish dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy; one or more manuals of the history of Spanish literature, such as that by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*.

Respectfully submitted,

L. A. LOISEAUX, *Chairman*,
W. B. SNOW,
W. D. HEAD,
E. SPANHOOF,

H. H. BOLL,
E. C. HILLS,
W. H. CHENERY,
F. W. MORRISON.

There ensued, with regard to the three plans proposed by the Committee for French and German books, a discussion in which Professors W. G. Howard, H. E. Greene, A. Cohn, C. H. Grandgent, Calvin Thomas, Miss H. H. Boll, Dr. W. Kurrelmeyer, and Mr. W. D. Head participated. Finally, on motion of Professor A. Cohn, proposition C was adopted by a vote of 27 to 16:

That insted of the above lists, the few typical texts

herewith mentiond be considerd as representing approximately the grade of work to be done in each year of instruction.

On motion of Professor W. G. Howard, the Committee's "proposed course in Spanish" was adopted without debate.

On motion of Professor C. H. Grandgent, the vote of the previus year, directing the Committee to "classify all modern language texts now available for use in elementary and secondary instruction," was resinded.

In connection with the subject of Grammatical Terminology, to study which the Committee of Fifteen was originally constituted, Professor W. G. Hale spoke on "The Harmonizing of our Grammatical Nomenclature, with especial reference to Mood-Syntax." [See *Publications*, xxvi, 2.]

On motion of the Secretary, the thanks of the Association were tendered to Professor Hale for his interesting and instructive paper.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

6. "The Text of Petrarch." By Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of Yale University.

[A brief account of the transmission of Petrarch's *Rime*, and a discussion of the conditions attending the preparation of a standard text.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

7. "The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at Woodstocke (1585)." By Professor John William Cunliffe, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xxvi, 1.]

[History of this unique quarto, which has not been re-publisht. Its attribution to George Gascoigne. Weaknes of the evidence in support of the claim; reasons agenst it. Purpose of the entertainment—"no lesse hidden then vttered." Its popularity. A curius reference in 1592 identifies one of the caracters with Sir Henry Lee, the Queen's Champion, and Lieutenant of the Royal Manor at Woodstock. The question of authorship.—*Twenty minutes.*]

8. "Some German *Zähllieder*." By Mr. Emil A. C. Keppler, of the College of the City of New York.

[Theories as to their origin: Jewish; Oriental, thru Crusaders; Druidic; spinning songs, counting the stitches; Christian theological. Their gradual decay from high religious use to children's nursery rhymes. Their revival as religious songs. *Lambertuslieder*. The identity of *The House that Jack Built* with "Der Bauer schickt den Jokkel aus."—*Fifteen minutes.*]

9. "*Salmagundi* and the Knickerbocker School." By P. ofessor Edward E. Hale, Jr., of Union College.

[The riters of New York during the first haf of the nineteenth century are often cald the "Knickerbocker School." Ther is to be found among them something of a common tone and a common fund of material and motivs. Of these motivs or ideas some may be traced to *Salmagundi* (1807). The paper analizes the motivs of that publication, and discusses their origin and their continuance in the literature of the haf-century.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor C. H. Grandgent.

10. "*Enueg*." By Mr. Raymond Thompson Hill, of Yale University.

[A definition of this *genre* of medieval poetry, folloed by a study of the poems of this tipe which are found in Provençal, Catalan, Italian, and French.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Dr. S. L. Wolff.

[At the close of this session there was a meeting of the Concordance Society.]

At one o'clock p. m. the members and friends of the Association were the guests of the College at luncheon in the Gymnasium.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 2.45 p. m.

11. "*Shul* and *Shal* in the Chaucer Manuscripts." By Professor Carleton F. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College. [See *Publications*, xxvi, 1.]

[In the use of the forms *shul* and *shal* in plural construction the Chaucer MSS. show surprising variation. One observes marked changes of usage, not only when one poem is compared with another, but also when separate tales in the Canterbury collection are compared. This variation affords a new test which may be applied to theories concerning the "evolution" of the Canterbury collection.—*Twenty minutes.*]

12. "The Influence of the Medieval Christian Visions on Jean de Meun." By Professor Stanley L. Galpin, of Amherst College.

[The medieval Christian visions, widely circulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were known to Jean de Meun, and there are unmistakable evidences of their influence upon the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*.—*Ten minutes.*]

13. "Wilhelm Hauff's Specific Relation to Walter Scott." By Professor Garrett W. Thompson, of the University of Maine.

[(a) Analysis of Scott's technic as a novelist. (b) Critical study of Scott's novels and of Hauff's *Lichtenstein*. (c) A comparison of the same as to (1) situations, (2) characters, (3) form and outline, (4) language and diction, (5) general characteristics. (d) Consideration of other possible sources for *Lichtenstein*. (e) Estimate of Hauff's indebtedness to Scott.—*Twenty minutes.*]

14. "Some Stylistic Features of *The Misfortunes of*

Arthur." By Professor H. C. Grumbine, of the University of Wooster.

[This paper aimed to show the kinship of the play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, in both form and content, to the classical plays of the Elizabethan period. Its verse is wooden and rigid, its situations loosely constructed, and its climax sprawling. Its diction is freighted with classical allusion, a patchwork, at places, of verses more or less literally translated from classical tragedies. On the other hand, in dignity of imagery and sonorosity of phrase, it approaches the pomp and magnificence of Marlowe.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

15. "The Troubadour *Canso* and Latin Lyric Poetry." By Professor Frederick Morris Warren, of Yale University.

[G. Paris's theory of the origin of the Romance lyric. Spirit of the *canso*. Its conventional stanza on nature. Form of the *canso* unknown to Latin poetry, hence Romance in origin. First Troubadours educated in Limousin schools. Original *canso* a hymn to the Virgin possibly. Introductory nature stanza taken from Latin lyrics: *Pervigilium Veneris*, Fortunatus, Eugenius of Toledo, Alcuin, and their imitations in the ninth and tenth centuries. Retained in *canso* when a feudal suzerain displaced the virgin.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The auditing committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts were found correct; and the Treasurer's report was thereupon accepted.

It was announced that, although the attendance was probably the largest in the history of the Association, the number of railway certificates presented was insufficient to secure a reduction of rates.

[At the close of this session there was a meeting of the American Dialect Society.]

At half-past eight o'clock in the evening the ladies of the Association were informally entertained by Mrs. Alice

Garrigue Mott and Miss Compton at No. 40 West 126th St.

At the same hour the gentlemen of the Association were entertained by the local committee at the Arion Club. A smoke talk was given by Mr. Edward M. Shepard.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 10 a. m.

Professor Kenneth McKenzie presented the report of the Committee on Honorary Membership:

In order to secure a more systematic procedure in the selection of honorary members, the following rules shall be observed:

1. The total number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.
2. It is desirable that honorary members be so selected as to represent adequately the different fields of modern language study in the different foreign countries, without giving a disproportionate representation to any one country.
3. Members of the Association are at liberty to propose to the Executive Council candidates for the nomination to honorary membership. From the candidates so proposed before November 1 in any year, the Executive Council may select a suitable number to be voted on at the next annual meeting. The names of those to be voted on, if any, together with a statement of the qualifications of each candidate, shall be sent to all members with the program of the annual meeting.

Furthermore, the Executive Council is requested to consider the advisability of amending the Constitution by adding to § III the words:

"The number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty."

KENNETH MCKENZIE,
Chairman.

The report was adopted.

[The Executive Council subsequently approved the proposed amendment to the Constitution.]

On behalf of the Executiv Council, the Secretary proposed for Honorary Membership the folloing gentlemen, who were unanimously elected:

Ernesto Monaci, University of Rome.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, University of Madrid,

J. J. Jusserand, French Ambassador, Washington.

On motion of Professor L. F. Mott, a telegram of frendly greeting was sent to the Central Division.

Mr. W. D. Head having resigned his membership in the Committee of Fifteen, Professor W. G. Hale was chosen in his place.

Professor E. S. Sheldon submitted a report from the Delegates of the Association to a Joint Conference on a Fonetic English Alphabet:

The meeting was held in New York in April, 1910, and it took the form of a conference of a committee of the National Education Association with certain members of this Association and the American Philological Association. Having no record of what was done at this meeting, I wrote to Mr. Vaile as the person most likely to have such a record and received from him a letter and a printed document containing the plan laid before the National Education Association for an alphabet for wider use and less strictly based on phonetic principles than the one approved some years ago (1905) by the other two Associations. The plan as adopted at this meeting was somewhat modified at a later session, at which I was not present, and in this shape it is doubtless the one presented to the National Education Association at its last meeting. Other modifications are not impossible before that body finally adopts the plan.

This alphabet has been printed, it appears, in the Journal of Education (Boston), of October 26, 1910.

As is natural under the circumstances this plan is nearer to ordinary usage than is that of the Joint Committee (1904), tho it is a little nearer to that alphabet than to the revised alphabet approved in 1905 by this Association and the American Philological Association.

No action by this Association seems necessary.

E. S. SHELDON.

The report was accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The Committee appointed to draw up a resolution on the death of Professor Elliott offered this report:

Whereas, in the death of Professor A. Marshall Elliott, the Modern Language Association of America has suffered the loss of its founder and first secretary.

Therefore be it resolved, that the Association put on record the profound sense of its indebtedness to Professor Elliott for the timely and inestimable service rendered by him to the cause, in America, of education and scholarship in the Modern Languages, and that the Association hereby expresses its deep appreciation of Professor Elliott's unremitting labors as Secretary during the first nine years of its existence, and the sorrow of its members at the loss of his genial companionship, helpful sympathy, and friendly counsel.

H. A. TODD, *Chairman*.

J. W. BRIGHT.

F. M. WARREN.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

The Committee on the Announcement of Subjects of Doctoral Dissertations presented this report:

The Committee believes that the prompt and regular announcement in the *Publications* of subjects of doctoral dissertations seriously begun would be of advantage to scholarship, not merely by preventing duplication, but by stimulating research. To make the scheme effective, however, the co-operation of the leading graduate schools, not only on this continent, but in Europe, is obviously desirable. It is therefore recommended that a Committee of three be nominated by the President to ascertain how far such co-operation could be secured, and to report to the Union meeting of 1911.

J. W. CUNLIFFE, *Chairman*.

F. N. SCOTT.

H. A. TODD.

The report was approved, and the three gentlemen who

had drawn up the report were appointed members of the new Committee.

The nominating committee reported the folloing nominations:

President: Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York.

First Vice-President: Laurence Fossler, University of Nebraska.

Second Vice-President: William A. Nitze, University of Chicago.

Third Vice-President: Carleton F. Brown, Bryn Mawr College.

The candidates nominated were unanimously elected to their respectiv offices for the year 1911.

[To fill Professor L. F. Mott's place in the Executiv Council, Professor Gustav Gruener was subsequently elected by the Council; and Professor C. M. Gayley was chosen in place of Professor G. Hempl, resigned.]

On motion of Professor Kenneth McKenzie it was unanimously

Resolved, that the members of the Modern Language Association of America desire to place on record their harty appreciation of the admirable arrangements which have made the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Association a sucesful and in every way delightful occasion; and they hereby express to the Acting President and other authorities of the College of the City of New York, to Professor L. F. Mott and the other members of the local committee, to Mrs. Alice Garrigue Mott and Miss Compton, to Mr. Edward M. Shepard, to the Graduates' Club of New York City, to the Faculty Club of Columbia University, and to the Women's University Club, their cordial thanks for the many curtesies received.

The reading of papers was resumed.

16. "Shylock." By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of Western Reserve University.

[Shakespeare's purpose, or bias, as it appears in character and plot; the treatment of Jews in contemporary drama and other popular literature; the prejudice against Jews and usurers in the life of the day. An attempt was made to read the meaning of the dramatic method here employed, and to illustrate the incidents and the sentiment of the drama by material drawn from the customs and manners of early England and the neighboring nations. Out of the criticism of received opinion arise questions concerning the sort of ideas and artistic method current in Shakespeare's time and in ours. Is Shylock meant to be comical or pathetic, or both together? What sort of irony does Shakespeare employ? What of his notions of justice, toleration, and the extenuating circumstances of environment?—*Twenty minutes.*

This paper was discussed by Professors Brander Matthews, J. W. Cunliffe, E. E. Stoll, and Lane Cooper.

17. "The Life and Works of Jehan de Vignay." By Professor Guy E. Snively, of Allegheny College.

[A brief account of the life of Jehan de Vignay. His popularity as a translator at the Valois Court. Author of two Latin treatises. Translated twelve works into French, some of great length, notably the *Miroir Historial* and the *Légende dorée*. Numerous extant manuscripts and incunabulum editions of these works, as well as of *Le Livre des Eschez*. The probable source of two of Caxton's early printed works, *The Golden Legend* and the *Game and Playe of Chess*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

18. "Chaucer and Edward III." By Mr. Samuel Moore, of Harvard University.

[That Edward III was a reader of English poetry before 1360, or that he afterwards developed the taste in consequence of his acquaintance with Chaucer, seems improbable. None of Chaucer's works contains any evidence of having been written for Edward. The complete absence of allusions to the King and Queen in his early work (and particularly the absence of some commemoration of the

deth of Queen Philippa) is in striking contrast to the close connection of Chaucer's later works with Richard and Anne, and is good evidence that his relation to the two kings was essentially different. This opinion is entirely consistent with Chaucer's career under Edward III. His pension and appointment in the Customs were the normal rewards of an esquire of the king. So far as his career is distinguishable from that of his fello-esquires, he owed that distinction to his uncommon and varied ability for the public service. His possession of such ability can be proved by the records of his life.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor W. H. Hulme.

19. "The Question of the Origin of the Tannhäuser Legend." By Professor Arthur F. J. Remy, of Columbia University.

[Since the publication, in 1897 and 1898, of the studies of Gaston Paris concerning the *Venusberg* and the Tannhäuser legend the question of their origin has been repeatedly discust by scolars. The opinion which regards the legend as of purely German origin has been largely abandond, and its origin is sought for elsewhere, particularly in Italy in the region of the Apennines. The vew presented in this paper is that the ultimate origin of the legend is in Celtic literature, in that tipe of story known in Irish literature as *Echtra*, the expedition of a mortal into fairy-land. The latest theory, which holds the legend to be an outcome of the legend of the grail, the grail mountain being confused with the *Venusberg*, is not tenable.—*Twenty minutes.*]

20. "La Géographie Linguistique." By Professor L. A. Terracher, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[(1) Au début, "géographie" signifie simplement "cartographie" (limites de langues, de "dialectes" de caractères linguistiques): on constate des faits, sans chercher d'explication.—(2) *L'Atlas linguistique de la France* et la "géologie linguistique"; exposé et critique de la méthode.—(3) Possibilité d'une nouvelle "géographie": explication sociale de la distribution topographique des faits linguistiques.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At one o'clock the members and friends of the Asso-

ciation were the guests of the College at luncheon in the Gymnasium.

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 2.40 p. m.

21. "From Fact to Fiction, 1663-1673." By Dr. Ernest Bernbaum, of Harvard University.

[The almost forgotten writings (six pamphlets, a play, and four biographies) relating to the notorious Mary Carleton because of their concern with one and the same career, their number, and their variety, make it possible to trace, more precisely than heretofore, how during the Restoration a criminal biography was composed. These professedly veracious accounts finally gather in a narrative which is intentionally almost as much a work of fiction as *Moll Flanders*; and which, in substance, form, tone, and purpose, reveals so close an approach to the realistic novel of Defoe as to become of historical significance.—*Twenty minutes*.]

22. "Survival of Germanic Heathendom in Pennsylvania." By Dr. E. M. Fogel, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Certain superstitions,—as, for example, "the feeding of charcoal to pigs to keep them well," "tying red flannel about the leg of a parturient woman," "the use of Good Friday ashes to prevent lice,"—are direct survivals of old Germanic Heathendom, as are also the Christmas cakes, Christmas candies, etc.—*Twenty minutes*.]

23. "An English Friend of Charles of Orléans." By Dr. H. N. MacCracken, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, xxvi, 1.]

[Wm. de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1396-1450). His French lyrics and prose remains in English. Numerous circumstances point towards his identity with the author of the poetical translations of Orléans, the English lyrics found in French MSS. of Orléans, and the twenty *balades* in MS. Fairfax 16. In such a case, he would assume the first place in the history of the courtly lyric from Chaucer to Shelton.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

24. "Some Notes on Stephen Hawes." By Professor Albert K. Potter, of Brown University.

[Peculiarity of his position. Sixteenth century editions. Reprints of *Pastime of Pleasure* in the nineteenth century. Material for a new and definitive text. Some comparisons. Nobility of conception of the *Pastime of Pleasure*. Indifference to contemporary English printed books. The *Comfort of Lovers*, unprinted since 1510. Its curious departure from the usual type of love allegory. Autobiography or paranoia? Versification.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

25. "The Source of a Medieval Latin Legend." By Professor George M. Priest, of Princeton University.

[The paper attempted to prove that a Latin legend of the thirteenth century which has been accepted as authentic by the Catholic Church and incorporated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, was taken, in parts *verbatim*, from a Middle High German poem.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

On motion of Miss H. H. Boll, it was voted that the Association express to Mrs. Alice Garrigue Mott and Miss Compton the gratitude of the lady members and guests for the hospitality extended to them.

On motion of Dr. D. Klein, it was voted that the Association convey to Mrs. Mott its appreciation of her services as hostess.

The Association adjourned at 4.45 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only:

26. "*The Triumph of death*, attributed to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke." By Francis Campbell Berkeley, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Notes on *The Triumph of death translated out of Italian by the*

Countesse of Pembroke (Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt ms. 538. 43. 1, fol. 286-290.) A discussion of (1) the authenticity of the text; (2) the character of the translation.]

27. "The Relation of Marlowe and Shakespeare in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3." By Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke of Yale University.

[A comparison of the various texts of these plays with each other and with Marlowe's last plays—notably *The Massacre at Paris* and *Edward II*—makes possible a much clearer understanding of the relations of Marlowe and Shakespeare than has yet been attempted. Thru all the versions of Henry VI (223) the primary conception of character and the theory of dramatic structure remain those of Marlowe's earliest sketch. Shakespeare has elaborated and expanded with the greatest reverence and has changed or replaced very little of Marlowe's work. It is demonstrated that in the scenes portraying Richard Duke of York, for example, we have preserved some of Marlowe's most characteristic verse and character portrayal—intimately connected and probably contemporaneous with his portrait of Guise in the *Massacre*. A study of definitely Marlowesque and Shakespearean portions of the work further illustrates in a very valuable way Shakespeare's dramatic method about 1592.]

28. "The Poe Canon." By Professor Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas.

[Poe has been edited oftener than any other American; nevertheless a good deal remains to be done before the canon of his writings shall have been completely established. The present paper traces the growth of the canon, examines anew sundry items either doubtfully or erroneously given by Poe, enumerates the sources whence further additions to the canon are to be looked for, and proposes certain tests that may be helpful in authenticating doubtful attributions.]

29. "Congreve as Romanticist." By Professor Henry S. Canby, of Yale University.

[This paper is a portion of a study of the comedies of William Congreve. Congreve's comedies, though based upon the manners of his age, are not realism but romance of an unusual variety, the romance of rakishness. The ideal of living which gave rise to this romance was an importation from France, but was made English by the Restoration dramatists, and carried to perfection by Congreve. In the attempt to give it final expression he was forced to idealize both immorality and fastidiousness, and the nature of his achieve-

ment explains the presence of his chief defects, and defines his most notable accomplishment. This theory requires a change in the usual critical attitude towards Congreve, and, to some extent, a new estimation of his place in English literature.]

30. "J. J. Rousseau et les Récits de Voyages en Amérique. Les Origines du *Discours sur l'Inégalité*." By Mr. Gilbert Chinard, of Brown University.

[La théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme et de l'innocence des premiers temps est en contradiction avec le mouvement encyclopédiste et s'accorda mal avec le Calvinisme de Rousseau. Par son milieu et son éducation Jean Jacques aurait dû en être éloigné. Il ne l'a pas trouvée en lui-même, comme il l'a cru, elle ne lui a pas davantage été suggérée par Diderot; il l'a rencontré dans les récits de voyages en Amérique, et chez les écrivains qui se sont inspirés d'eux. Montaigne (chapitre des Cannibales) introduisit le premier un faux parallélisme entre l'âge d'or et l'innocence des sauvages américains. Hantés par son exemple et surtout par leurs souvenirs classiques, Lescarbot et tous les Jésuites envoyés dans la Nouvelle France contribueront à établir cette légende. Elle apparaît très nettement chez Fénelon (Description de la Bétique); elle a déjà une allure révolutionnaire chez La Hontan et chez bien d'autres avant Rousseau. Les origines de cette théorie sont donc nettement classiques; ceux-là seuls qui connaissaient Virgile et Plutarque ont retrouvé l'état idyllique de l'âge d'or chez les sauvages du Nouveau Monde. La différence entre les récits des Jésuites et ceux des Récollets, de même que quantité de livres comme ceux du P. Lafitau et du P. Buffier, le montre clairement. Simplicité des mœurs, communauté des biens, absence de lois et de pouvoir social; telles sont les caractéristiques des sauvages Américains d'après ces voyageurs: Rousseau, qui n'a pas pu ne pas lire quelques-unes de leurs relations, a retrouvé dans sa mémoire l' "*homme naturel*" qu'il a cru de bonne foi construire *in abstracto* par le seul raisonnement.]

31. "Queen Guinevere and the Swan-Maiden Legend." By Professor Philip W. Harry, of the University of Pittsburgh.

[Arthur's Queen seems to have been originally a fairy. Neither *l'amour courtois* nor the several abductions of Guinevere are sufficient to account for the Queen's notoriety. Her infidelity is a function of her fairy nature, a development, perhaps, of the physical deformity motif. The basis of the story of Arthur and Queen Guinevere is the Swan-Maiden legend, or Lady of the Lake legend. Arthur cannot retain his fairy wife (or mistress), as in all stories

of this type, simply because she is a fairy. A taboo (marriage stipulation) is broken and the fairy wife departs.]

32. "*I Santi di Manerbi*, Printed on Vellum." By Dr. George C. Keidel, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[The Royal Library of Hanover possesses an incunabulum copy hitherto unknown to scholars which contains many interesting features. Three compositors worked on the edition simultaneously, a fact not before noted and which may account for the three leaves which seem to be missing from all the known copies. The backwardness of bibliographical research for modern language incunabula is here illustrated.]

33. "Analogues of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*." By Dr. Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

[In Clouston's *Originals and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales* the *Vedabbhajātaka* is denominated the "Buddhist Original" of the *Pardoner's Tale*. Owing to the antiquity of the Jātakas this theory seems to have gone unquestioned. But on analysis the supposed original shows elements apparently not primitive. Examination of many undoubted analogs leads one to believe that the story once belonged to a well defined group of accursed treasure tales, in which death overtakes every possessor of the treasure in turn. If so, Kipling's narrative, *The King's Ankus*, preserves features older than has been generally supposed.]

34. "The Authorship of *The Sun's Darling*." By Mr. Frederick E. Pierce, of Yale University.

[The dramatic work of Ford differs from that of Dekker (I) in vocabulary, by a much freer use of long Latin derivatives; (II) in meter, (a) by a freer use of double endings, (b) by a frequent use of triple endings, which are almost unknown in Dekker. In *The Sun's Darling* these three tests agree throughout, and give Ford a larger share of the play than has usually been assigned him.]

35. "*Uhland's Fortunat*." By Professor John C. Ransmeier, of Tulane University. [To appear in *Publications*, xxvi, 3.]

[Significance of *Fortunat* for Uhland's attitude toward Folk Literature. Relation of the poem to its chief source, the German *Volksbuch* of Fortunatus. Despite Uhland's playful protestation of fidelity to his source, there are many changes; style, technique, and spirit have little resemblance to those of the source. Discussion of

Uhland's probable intentions with reference to the unfinished portion. Elements of romanticism. Significance of the poem in Uhland's poetic development.]

36. "Ovid and the Spanish Renaissance." By Professor Rudolph Scheyll, of the University of California.

[The continuity of the influence of Ovid after the Middle Ages; the indetedenes of fiction to the *Ars amatoria*, the *Amores*, and the *Metamorphoses*; the character of Spanish versions of Ovid; his influence upon Cervantes.]

37. "The Traditional Ballads of the Cumberland Mountains." By Professor Hubert Gibson Shearin, of Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.

[An attempt to present typical folk-songs chosen from a collection of over one hundred:—Ballads of British origin, about thirty; ballads of the American Colonial period; ballads of the Civil War; ballads based upon contemporary feuds, murders, robberies, etc.; ballads of love and domestic life; ballads of the supernatural; ballads based upon recent migration westward; the humorous ballad; the bestiary. The folk-songs and society—the "frolicking"; music, the "dulcimore"; composition and transmission; versification, syntax, folk-etymology, arcaic vocabulary, etc.]

38. "The Philological Legend of Cynewulf," By Professor Frederick Tupper, Jr., of the University of Vermont. [To appear in *Publications* xxvi, 2.]

[A product of empirical methods. Fallacies of "local habitation and name." The misleading *e-i* canon of date. The so-called "ten indications" of Northumbrian origin. Questionable Anglian survivals in rimes, in forms of the verb, in vocabulary. Cynewulf's place in the spurious chronology of Old English poems. The Lindisfarne romance. Urgent need of an open-mindedness that demands clear proofs.]

39. "Tendencies of Neo-Romanticism as exemplified in Hoffmannsthal." By Mr. Fritz Winther, of the University of California.

[The bold relief into which this Neo-Romanticist has elaborated the Renaissance character is fully apparent when we compare his patricians with those of French classicism, who possess dignity without passion, or with figures of the Shakespearean theatre, who exhibit passion without dignity. By the synthesis of self-command

with unbridled passion, Hofmannsthal satisfies a craving of the spirit of our time flowing in Nietzschean courses. On the one hand, he does not give us the passion, too brutal for the sensitive modern, of naturalism; on the other hand, he is not, like Ricarda Huch, too ethereal for a public hardend by *Simplicissimus*: he shrinks as little as Zola from the physiologically painful, but he ennobles the ugly by the stile in which he clothes it; he is therefore congenial to the Renaissance and an exponent of our era.]

40. "Phillippe de Mézière's Dramatic Office of the *Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*." By Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xxvi, 1.]

[Tho now publisht for the first time, this document, found in a manuscript of the fourteenth century, was long ago pronounst "un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène." It is a dramatic offis connected with the Mass of the *Festum Præsentationis Beatae Virginis Mariae in Templo* (November 21). The text describes in accurate detail the costumes of twenty-two persons, the stage erected in the nave of the church, and the action thruout.]

THE CENTRAL DIVISION MEETING

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Washington University, Saint Louis, Missouri, December 28, 29, and 30, 1910. The sessions of December 28 and 30 were held in Mary Institute, Lake and McPherson Avenues; those of December 29 in University Hall, on the University Campus. Professor Laurence Fossler, Chairman of the Central Division, presided at all the sessions.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

The Central Division met at 2.45 p. m. The Chairman appointed the following committees:

- (1) To nominate officers: Professors H. M. Belden, A. de Salvio, G. H. Meyer, F. A. Blackburn, and J. M. Thomas.
- (2) On place of meeting: Professors H. A. Smith, P. M. Buck, Jr., W. W. Florer, J. M. Clapp, and W. A. Nitze.

A letter from a committee of The Bibliographical Society of America was read by Professor A. C. von Noé, asking that a committee be appointed to coöperate with its committee "To investigate the scope and method of special bibliographies, to consider remedies for unnecessary duplication, and to advise means of extending the efficiency of the bibliographies already in existence."

The appointment of a representative of the Central Division on the proposed committee was authorized, and Dr. John S. Nollen, President of Lake Forest College, was chosen as such representative.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Relation of Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesie* to Lessing with Special Reference to the Seventeenth *Literaturbrief*." By Professor Milton D. Baumgartner, of the University of Nebraska.

[The purpose of this paper was to sketch briefly Lessing's first introduction to Dryden thru Voltaire; also Gottsched's partial translation of Dryden's *Essay* from Bocage's French translation previous to that of Lessing, and then give the evidence of close relationship between the *Essay* and the *Literaturbrief* such as: date, identical arguments in favor of English dramatic supremacy, enumeration of the same English dramatists, common emphasis of Corneille's weakness, and proclamation of Shakspeare's genius.—*Twenty minutes*.]

2. "Aristotle's Doctrine of Katharsis and the Positive or Constructive Activity Involved." By Professor Arthur Henry Rolph Fairchild, of the University of Missouri.

[Aristotle's definition of tragedy and his doctrine of katharsis; the several interpretations; their negative character; katharsis involves a positive or constructive activity; *Hamlet* as an illustration; tragedy in general; some implications.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discust by Professors J. T. Hatfield and L. Fossler.

3. "Some Observations upon Weltliteratur." By Professor Philipp Seiberth, of Washington University.

[The idea of Weltliteratur is to-day a well defined and fully established part of our literary culture. The paper attempted to show some special aspects of the growth and final import of the idea in the eighteenth century.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

4. "The Ecclesiastical Element in the Romanic Languages." By Professor Winthrop Holt Chenery, of Washington University.

[The paper did not aim to present a history of the church vocabulary in the speech of southern Europe. It purposed rather to study, by tracing the development of typical examples, certain phases of semantic evolution, as exhibited in the growth and transformation of the ecclesiastical terminology.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

5. "Streckformen—Heinrich Schröder und die Kritik." By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Heinrich Schröders Kritik an den Methoden und Erklärungsversuchen, die man bei Wörtern angewandt hat, welche gegen das germanische Betonungsgesetz anscheinend verstossen. Seine neue Formulierung dieses Gesetzes und Behaghels sogenanntes deutsches Akzentgesetz. Schröders Arbeit über Streckformen und seine Kritiker, Kluge, Behaghel, Kövi, und August Gebhardt.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors J. Goebel, L. Bloomfield, P. Seiberth, O. Heller, L. Fossler, and the author.

SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

At half-past eight o'clock in the evening Professor Laurence Fossler, Chairman of the Central Division, delivered an address on the subject, "Can the Standard of Efficiency of Modern Language Instruction in Secondary Schools be Raised?"

After the address a reception was held for the members and guests of the Central Division in the gymnasium of Mary Institute.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

The Central Division met at 10.15 a. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome by Chancellor David

Franklin Houston, of Washington University. Chancellor Houston spoke in part as follows:

I have always felt a certain degree of sympathy for a teacher of language. His task is difficult, and public appreciation of his work is rarely exhibited. His is not a dramatic activity. It does not strike the public imagination. . . . But nevertheless the work belongs to that class of fundamental things without which no other good work can be efficiently done. . . .

My sympathy has especially followed the teacher of English in this country. Familiarity with one's own language perhaps breeds contempt for it. It is certainly true that it is the most difficult of all subjects to present satisfactorily to a student body, and perhaps the results of the teaching of no other subject are so severely criticized by the public. The difficulty is fundamental, and is rarely recognized. It may be true that the average student to-day does not use as good English as the average student of a few generations ago; but this is not the fault of the teacher. The teaching has improved vastly in its method and content. The fact which is seldom recognized is that we are attempting a very different thing. Then it was aristocracy that had to be educated, to-day it is democracy; then a student had a considerable familiarity from home surroundings with correct speech and good literature, to-day the equipment with which the pupil approaches the formal part of his training is pitifully meagre, on the average. To make a good writer of English and lover of literature of an individual is difficult, unless the beginning was made with his grandfather. The task is difficult, and the problem is one that admits of no easy solution. It is the problem of "smoothing a rough people by slow degrees," as the poet phrases it.

The problem is not essentially different with the modern foreign languages. . . . Our country has been gradually evolving out of the extreme provincialism which has so long characterized its outlook and thinking. Its touch with the world is becoming more intimate. People are beginning to realize that there is something abroad which they may study to advantage, and that the languages of a number of foreign peoples contain vast stores of literature and a vast mass of information which they need.

The problem before you is a constructive one. You must guarantee that your subjects shall be taught with the same effective disciplinary methods as the older and better established subjects, and it seems to me that you must labor to secure provision from the public for the introduction of these subjects in their proper place in the school curricula. . . . If I may venture a suggestion, I would say that this Association can render no better service than to bend its efforts to secure a fuller provision for the teaching of modern foreign language, not only in the private secondary school but also in the public from the earliest possible stages. . . . Those higher institutions in peculiar legal touch with the school systems, namely, the state universities, have it within their power effectively to foster sound educational principles in this direction in the systems with which they are in close relation.

The Secretary of the Central Division, Charles Bundy Wilson, read a communication from Professor W. G. Howard, the Treasurer of the Association, urging the importance of establishing a permanent fund for the Association, and in behalf of the Treasurer he presented the following motions:

1. That a committee of two be appointed by the Chair to coöperate

with three members to be appointed by the President of the Association in measures looking to the accumulation of a permanent fund for the Association.

2. That there be referred for action to the next union meeting and published with the notice of that meeting as a subject for action thereat:

A Recommendation to the Executive Council to appoint three trustees upon terms that shall give effect to the following principles, to wit:

- a) The trustees shall receive and hold all unrestricted gifts, all payments of forty dollars or over for life membership, and all bequests and legacies to the Association which are not restricted to particular uses by the will of the testator.
- b) The trustees shall keep intact the principal of all sums entrusted to them and shall invest it at their discretion; provided, however, that if at any time the Association should be dissolved, the trustees shall then give and pay over to the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching all moneys, principal and interest, and all rights, properties, and evidences of property by them held in trust for the benefit of this Association.
- c) The trustees shall annually on the third Monday in January pay the net income of all trust funds in their keeping to the Treasurer of the Association for the general uses thereof.

3. That members of the Association be and they hereby are invited to signify to the committee aforesaid:

- a) Their willingness to contribute to a permanent fund for the Association, if such a fund be established;
- b) Their willingness to become life members, and on what terms.

4. That the Treasurer be authorized to receive and hold contributions to a permanent fund until trustees are appointed to receive them, or, in case trustees should not be appointed in the year 1912, subject to the order of the Executive Council.

The general plan as set forth in these motions was approved, and the appointment of a committee of two was authorized in accordance with the first motion. Professors J. W. Cunliffe and A. F. Kuersteiner were appointed to serve as such committee.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

6. "The Form of *Doctor Faustus*." By Professor Elbert N. S. Thompson, of the State University of Iowa.

[Scholars in general agree that an English translation of the German *Volksbuch* of 1587 gave Marlowe material for *Doctor Faustus*. It was the purpose of this paper to show that his handling of this material was determined to a marked degree by his familiarity with the English moral play, and to indicate as precisely as possible the nature of his relationship with the older dramatists.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discust by Professor J. L. Lowes and the author.

7. "Crestien's and Wolfram's Description of the Grail Castle." By Professor William Albert Nitze, of the University of Chicago.

[The paper sought to show that the Irish Banqueting Hall was the definite model upon which the authors worked. Wolfram shows clearer traces of the Celtic original than Crestien; a fact which may be of importance in determining Wolfram's original. (The complete paper will appear in the volume of studies about to be publisht in honor of the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott).—*A brief summary*.]

This paper was discust by Dr. H. S. V. Jones and the author.

8. "Two Notes: (a) *L'Allegro* and *The Passionate Shepheard*; (b) The 'corounes two' in the *Second Nun's Tale*." By Professor John Livingston Lowes, of Washington University.

[(a) A brief discussion of what seems to be an overlooked influence upon *L'Allegro*; (b) The symbolism of the crowns of lilies and roses, as it appears in the *Sermones Aurei* of Jacobus de Voragine, and its bearing upon the artistic unity of the story.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discust by Professors H. M. Belden, F. A. Blackburn and the author.

9. "Försoningen in Tegner's Fritiofssaga." By Professor Albert Morey Sturtevant, of the University of Kansas. Read by Professor William Herbert Carruth, of the University of Kansas.

[The purpose was to point out the connection in thought and language between the canto *Försoningen* and four of Tegner's previous poems: namely, *Fridsröster* (1808), *Träden* (1813), *Nattvardsbaren* (1820) and *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund* (1820). Tegner's religious views were discust with especial reference to the relation of God to man and to the orthodox conception of Vicarious Atonement. Passages were quoted from all four poems, which are identical in thought and correspond almost word for word with certain passages in the *Fritiofssaga*. The article purported to clarify Tegner's religious views and to give an appreciative analysis of their expression in poetry.—*Twenty minutes*.]

On motion of the chairman of the committee on place of meeting, the Secretary was instructed to send to Professor C. H. Grandgent, the Secretary of the Association, a telegram to the effect that the Central Division was willing to leave the decision as to a place for the union meeting in 1911 to the Executive Council, but that the Division would gladly accept the invitation of Chicago, if that met the approval of the Association. [A telegram was sent as directed.]

At half-past twelve o'clock on Thursday, December 29, the members and guests of the Central Division were entertained at luncheon in Tower Hall, on the University Campus.

FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

This session, which was held Thursday afternoon in the rooms of University Hall, on the University Campus, was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing

English, Germanic, and Romance languages and literatures. Subjects of importance to the advancement of instruction were discust.

ENGLISH.

Chairman—Professor Miller Moore Fogg, of the University of Nebraska; Secretary *pro tempore*—Professor Charles Henry Gray, of the University of Kansas.

The committee of five appointed at the last meeting—Professors F. G. Hubbard, J. M. Thomas, A. B. Noble, H. G. Paul, and E. M. Hopkins—to ascertain certain facts with regard to English composition teaching, presented its report by its chairman, Professor Hopkins of the University of Kansas. This report gave in detail accurate and specific information, furnisht by more than a thousand teachers, upon points the following of which were emphasized as of special importance:

That English composition is not only a fundamental and necessary subject but is also a laboratory subject, requiring besides oral training much practice in writing, which should average about 400 words a week for high school pupils and 650 for college freshmen; and for proper attention from instructors should take not less than an hour of time for each 2000 words in high schools and 2200 in colleges, under average conditions.

That while eye and brain and nervous system can endure on the average barely two hours a day of theme reading with continued maintenance of health and efficiency, under present average conditions composition teachers must either spend from 25 to 30 hours a week (reported maximum 75 hours) in reading themes, and take the physical consequences often ending in permanent and serious injury, or else slight their work or leave it in proportionate part undone.

That under these conditions a majority of composition teachers either regret their choice of profession or hold it through resolve to sacrifice health and personal ambition to the interests of their pupils.

That the principal reasons for their discouragement are these: (a) It is physically impossible to secure reasonably satisfactory results, since their work is from 50 to 150 per cent. greater than that required of other instructors. (b) In 25 per cent. of the schools reporting, their pay is less. (c) The drain upon mental and physical vitality rapidly depreciates efficiency. (d) Adequate reading and scholarship and maintenance of professional standing are commonly impossible. (e) The facts herein stated are commonly disbelieved or disregarded by school officers and administrators, when brought to their attention.

That the work of a composition teacher should be measured by the number of students in his classes, only incidentally by the number of his class recitation hours; and that under favorable conditions this number should not exceed eighty for high schools and sixty for college freshman classes.

The report was discust by Professors F. A. Blackburn, J. M. Clapp, P. M. Buck, Jr., F. G. Hubbard, E. M. Hopkins, J. L. Lowes, E. C. Baldwin, H. S. V. Jones, J. M. Thomas, H. M. Belden, R. W. Brown, and D. L. Thomas. On motion of Professor Lowes it was adopted; and the committee was continued for one year with instructions to publish it in full, to gather additional information, and to make further report.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Chairman—Professor Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m. Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, made an interesting and helpful address on the subject, "The Survey of German Literature." Professor Hohlfeld spoke from wide experience and acquaintance with material available for such a course. The address brought out an animated discussion by Professors A. C.

von Noé, J. T. Hatfield, J. Goebel, P. Seiberth, W. W. Florer, O. Heller, T. L. Blayney, W. H. Carruth, and the speaker.

Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University, read a paper entitled, "Some Considerations on Curme's *A Grammar of the German Language*." Professor Heller expressed regret at the absence of Professor Curme. He urged that the invaluable service rendered by this work should be requited by the willingness of Germanists and teachers of German to cooperate with the author toward the improvement of the book, and he offered suggestions as to emendations. A spirited discussion followed, participated in by Professors E. Voss, J. Goebel, P. Seiberth, A. C. von Noé, E. Leser, A. R. Hohlfeld, and the reader.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Chairman—Professor Albert Frederick Kuersteiner, of Indiana University.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m.

Professor Stephen Hayes Bush, of the State University of Iowa, read a paper on the subject, "The Teaching of French Literature to Undergraduates." He advocated an appreciative rather than an historical study of literature. The discussion of the paper was spirited. It was led by Professor George D. Morris and continued by Professors F. C. L. van Steenderen, W. A. Nitze, H. A. Smith, L. P. Shanks, D. H. Carnahan, and Mr. G. Cavichia.

Professor Hiram P. Williamson, of the University of Chicago, presented an informal paper on the subject, "The

Teaching of Modern Languages in France." He was followed by Professor Charles Goettsch, of the University of Chicago, with a paper on "A Visit to the Musterschule at Frankfurt am Main." Both speakers pointed out that the "direct method" is now insisted upon in France and Germany. A few questions from the chairman and others brought out the fact that the age of the pupils in both countries is much below the high school age in America. On account of the lateness of the hour, the discussion was necessarily very brief, and for the same reason, it was decided to postpone until some future meeting the reading of a paper on "The Substitution of Spanish for French in our Secondary Schools," which had been prepared for this meeting and sent to the chairman by Professor Henry Le Daum, of the State University of North Dakota.

At half-past eight on the evening of Thursday, December 29, the gentlemen of the Central Division were entertained at a smoker at Washington Hotel, Kings-highway and Washington Boulevard. The Rev. Dr. W. C. Bitting gave an informal talk.

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 10.00 a. m.

The nominating committee reported the following nominations, and, in view of the fact that the meeting of 1911 will be a union meeting, the committee recommended that the persons named be elected for two years.

Chairman: Frank Gaylord Hubbard, of the University of Wisconsin.

Executive Committee: Laurence Fossler, of the Uni-

versity of Nebraska; Frederick Klaeber, of the University of Minnesota; F. C. L. van Steenderen, of Lake Forest College.

The persons nominated were unanimously elected as recommended. [The secretary, Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa, holds over, having been reelected in 1908 for a term of four years, 1909-1912.]

The committee on place of meeting presented the following report in accordance with the telegram ordered sent to the Secretary of the Association:

The Central Division is willing to leave the decision as to a place for the union meeting of 1911 to the Executive Council, but would gladly accept the invitation of Chicago if this meets the approval of the Association.

This report was unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions with regard to the late Professor Lewis A. Rhoades, which had been prepared by Professor James Taft Hatfield who had been appointed a committee for that purpose, were read by the Secretary, and were unanimously adopted by a standing vote:

The Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America pauses for a moment during the work of its sixteenth annual meeting to pay its tribute of respect and affection to an honored colleague, Lewis A. Rhoades, whose companionship has been withdrawn during the year which is now closing.

The members of this Division desire to record their appreciation of his generous and large-hearted humanity, which made him a beloved friend as well as an efficient associate. His services to modern language studies were varied and substantial, undertaken in a broad and scholarly spirit, and will continue to exert an influence toward raising the ideals of that profession to which he was faithfully devoted.

The Central Division instructs its Secretary to transmit these resolutions to Mrs. Rhoades with the assurance of its deep and sincere sympathy, and to enter them upon the minutes of this meeting. [A copy of these resolutions was subsequently sent to Mrs. Rhoades.]

The following resolutions with reference to the late Professor John E. Matzke were presented by Professor Albert Frederick Kuersteiner, and were unanimously adopted by a standing vote:

The sudden death of Professor Matzke was a grief to so many of us, and his devotion to the studies represented by this Association was so ardent that it is fitting that we do honor to his memory.

John E. Matzke was born in 1862 in Breslau, Germany. At an early age he came to America, where he received most of his advanced schooling. After graduating from Hope College, he entered the Johns Hopkins University, and there devoted himself to the study of the Romance languages. After receiving his degree, he taught at Bowdoin College, at Indiana University, and in 1893 was called to the Leland Stanford Junior University, to which he gave his services during the rest of his life. In September of this year he went to Mexico as the representative of his institution at the centennial celebration. He left California full of hopes and plans for the future, and seemingly in the best of health. While he was in Mexico City a cerebral hemorrhage suddenly carried him off.

His name deserves to live among us. The deep interest which he showed in his work was rewarded by the respect of his students and colleagues, and when the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was founded in 1899, he was its first secretary. The school texts which he edited and the many scientific articles and books that he contributed mark him as one of the foremost scholars of this country.

Be it therefore resolved,

That we, the members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, hereby express our high appreciation of Professor Matzke's scholarship and services, and our admiration for his personal qualities;

That the secretary be instructed to communicate these resolutions to the bereaved family as an assurance of our deep sympathy; and

That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this meeting. [A copy of these resolutions was subsequently sent to Professor Matzke's family.]

Professor Frank Gaylord Hubbard presented the following report for the committee on the reproduction of early texts:

The efforts of the committee during the past year have been mainly directed towards securing the publication of a facsimile reproduction of the Caedmon ms. in the Bodleian Library. In accordance with the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Eastern Division, a circular was issued inviting subscriptions, and forty-nine were obtained from the United States and Canada, in addition to a smaller number abroad. The conditions imposed by the Oxford University Press seemed to be in a fair way for fulfillment, when it was discovered that these conditions were differently understood by your Committee and by the Press. At the suggestion of the Secretary to the Press the Committee turned their subscription list over to him, and satisfactory assurances have since been received from him that the reproduction will be issued, possibly as a memorial to the late Dr. Furnivall.

J. W. CUNLIFFE.

C. M. GAYLEY.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

J. M. MANLY.

H. A. TODD.

The report was approved.

Professor Hermann Almstedt, in behalf of a joint committee representing the Germanic and Romance Sections, read the following report:

To the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America:

Your joint committee appointed at the Iowa City meeting last year "To consider the question of revising the Report of the Committee of Twelve" begs leave to submit the following report:

We are in hearty agreement with the reasons and motives that led to the adoption of the Report of the Committee of Twelve. It was the first step in the right direction. We are of the opinion, however, that the Report of the Committee of Twelve needs a revision, and this for the following reasons:

1. The last ten years have witness a remarkable growth in the

study of modern languages. New conditions have arisen in the light of which the old report should receive a restatement.

2. In the light of present ideals, as expressed by the resolutions of the modern language meetings in our several states, by publications, and by personal expression of those deeply interested, the old report does not adequately represent the consensus of opinion.

3. The great emphasis on reading and getting to an early study of literature has worked out harmful to language discipline; it has encouraged poorly prepared teachers to turn out poorly prepared students. We reiterate the position of the old report that languages are means, but we firmly believe that as means even, they should receive more direct vital attention than at present. It is just in this respect that the old report needs most careful and searching revision.

Your committee therefore, in view of the reasons given above, begs leave to submit an affirmative answer to the question of a revision of the Report of the Committee of Twelve.

HERMANN ALMSTEDT,

Chairman of Committee of Germanic Section.

T. ATKINSON JENKINS,

Chairman of Committee of Romance Section.

St. Louis, Mo.,

Dec. 30, 1910.

On motion of Professor Almstedt, this report was adopted, as was likewise the following resolution:

Resolved, that a copy of this report be sent to the Secretary of the Association with the urgent request that a similar joint committee be appointed at once to cooperate in the work of revision of the Report of the Committee of Twelve, so that at next year's union meeting the revised Report may be acted upon. [A copy of the report and resolution was sent to the Secretary of the Association as directed.]

Professor Frank Gaylord Hubbard presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of the Central Division of the

Modern Language Association of America desire to express to the Chancellor and Faculty of Washington University, to the members of the Language and Literature Club of Washington University, to the University Club of Saint Louis, and to the members of the Local Committee, their hearty appreciation of the generous hospitality extended to them during the sixteenth annual meeting of the Division, hospitality warm and cordial in spirit, and thoughtfully perfect in detail.

The resolution was enthusiastically adopted.

The Secretary read a telegram from the Secretary of the Association, which was in convention assembled in New York, conveying to the Central Division the cordial greetings of the Association.

A representative of a committee on entrance requirements in mathematics and science of The American Federation of Teachers of the Mathematical and the Natural Sciences was given the privilege of the floor. He recommended, among other things, "That we urge the colleges to abandon the 'unit system,' and in its place to accept the certificate of the high school, at its face value for such work as it covers, and permit this to entitle the student to take such college work as his preparation may warrant, whenever the certificate stands for four years of systematic and thorough training in a good high school." A motion authorizing the appointment of a committee of three to take this matter under advisement was lost.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

10. "The Order of Stories in the *Sept Sages de Rome*." By Professor Hugh Allison Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

[In editing a verse manuscript of the *Seven Sages*, the editor has

secured some new information on the order of stories in the verse versions. With this aid a general theory was proposed to explain the different order in the various French versions, both verse and prose. The theory is of interest especially with regard to its bearing on the question of the oral transmission of this collection in its early history in French.—*Twenty minutes.*]

11. "A Suggestion for a New Edition of Butler's *Hudibras*." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, of the University of Illinois.

[To rescue *Hudibras* from the neglect and oblivion into which it seems in danger of falling, as a result of having been classed as simply a political satire, would be a worthy task. In such an edition the value of Butler's prose *Characters* in explaining the author's satiric method, and in explaining the allusions in the text should not be overlooked. Tho they have been hitherto wholly neglected, they are found upon examination to furnish an illuminating commentary both upon the author's method of work and upon the text itself.—*Ten-minute abstract.*]

12. "Goethe's *Geheimnisse*." By Professor Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois.

[A study in the origin of the poem with the view of arriving at a new interpretation of its central idea.—*Twenty minutes.*]

13. "The English Morality Defined." By Professor W. Roy Mackenzie, of Washington University.

[The present definitions of the Morality are misleading, and can be shown to fail in their application to the plays themselves. A definition that really covers the subject must take into consideration the methods of allegory in general and also in their particular relation to the Moralities.—*Twenty minutes.*]

SIXTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

The session began at 2.35 p. m. The reading of papers was continued.

14. "The Authorship of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*

(Nov. 1570).” By Professor John William Cunliffe, of the University of Wisconsin. Read by Professor Frank Gaylord Hubbard, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Although a George Gascoigne was known to be the author of this anonymous tract, his identity with the poet was questioned on the grounds of the latter's ill health in May, 1576 (Epistle Dedicatory to *The Droomme of Doomes Day*); his intention, declared in August (Epistle Dedicatory to *A delicate Diet, for daintie mouthde Droonkardes*) to be in Bedfordshire at the end of September, when the writer of the pamphlet is known to have been abroad; and the death of the poet in Oct., 1577. The identity of the pamphleteer and the poet is proved by a comparison of two signatures of the former to letters in the Public Record Office, dated Sept. 15 and Oct. 7 respectively, 1576, with the known signature of the poet Gascoigne to the prefatory letter of *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte*, dated Jan. 1, 1576, and found in Royal MS. 18 A xlvi in the British Museum. (The paper, with facsimile signatures, is to be published in the *Modern Language Review*).—*Twenty minutes.*]

15. “Modern Elements in Luther's Educational Ideas.” By Professor Warren Washburn Florer, of the University of Michigan.

[An attempt to restate Luther's position in the history of education in the light of the modern reform movements.—*Ten minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor L. Fossler.

16. “The Clerk of Oxenford.” By Dr. Harrie Stuart Vedder Jones, of the University of Illinois.

[The usual assumption that Chaucer's Clerk was a mendicant scholar is not justified either by Chaucer's language or by what we know of Oxford life in the fourteenth century. There is some reason to think that Chaucer had in mind particularly a scholar at Merton College.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor J. L. Lowes.

17. “The Dialect of Basilicata.” By Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of the Northwestern University.

[Topography; phonological development: specimens. A short summary indicating the plan of the work.—*Eight minutes.*]

18. "The Modern Languages as a Cultural Factor in the College Curriculum." By Professor T. Lindsey Blayney, of the Central University of Kentucky, Vice-President of the American Federation of Arts.

[The modern languages as cultural disciplines; attitude of the public; fundamental mistakes; collegiate versus university courses; dangers threatening collegiate work; sciences versus humanities; college reform; rôle of modern languages; therein grave responsibility of instructors; example of ancient languages; aesthetic and spiritual values; instructors, their training and ideals.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The Central Division adjourned at 4.20 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

The following papers, presented to the Central Division, were read by title only:

19. "Poetic Modifications of *Limbus Infantum*." By Professor Fletcher Briggs, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

[In certain modern German poems there appears a noteworthy similarity in the idealizations of this early Christian conception. Mollifying the dogma of eternal damnation or relegation to limbo for the souls of unbaptized children, Klopstock (*Messias*, I, 670 ff.) represents them inside the earth, while Stolberg (*Der Traum*, I, 28 ff.) and Brentano (*Romanzen von dem Rosenkranz*, XIX, 21 ff.) represent them on the moon; and such bespeak for them later immortality in heaven. The development of this conception is interesting in its relation to idealism in German literature.]

20. "The Sociological Novel in England at the End of the Eighteenth Century." By Professor John Mantel Clapp, of Lake Forest College.

[In English prose fiction between 1780 and 1800 certain tendencies of nineteenth century novels become prominent. The magazines of

the time mention and criticise over eleven hundred works of prose fiction, and more than two hundred fiction-writers of these decades are considered worthy of notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Perhaps the most striking feature of the period is the development of the Sociological Novel, shown not so much by the number of works written primarily as political or social tracts, which are few, although notable, as by the general employment of sociological *motifs* as a secondary source of interest in fiction designed for popular consumption. This is a characteristic alike of the four hundred, or so, tales of Domestic Manners, which are modelled upon Richardson or Fanny Burney, and of the two hundred, or so, sentimentally romantic tales which follow Sterne and Mackenzie.]

21. "Luther's Attitude toward the Teaching of Languages." By Professor Warren Washburne Florer, of the University of Michigan.

[This paper contains a detailed statement of Luther's idea of the necessity of language study and of the methods which should be employed in teaching languages in order to bring about the best results, taking the ability of the pupils, the course of study, the recent linguistic research, and the ultimate vocation of the pupils into consideration.]

22. "German Estimate of Novalis from 1800 to 1850." By Dr. John Fred Haussmann, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The members of the older Romantic School consider Novalis a mystic, a divine being, a tragic person, a ghost-seer, a new Christ. Schelling and Jean Paul do not share the enthusiasm of their contemporaries for the young poet; they maintain a rather critical attitude toward him. The poets of the so-called "Spätromantik" show great admiration for him, with the possible exception of Arnim and Brentano. Young Germany, Hebbel, and Grilparzer had neither understanding nor sympathy for Novalis. Among the older historians of German literature, Vilmar has contributed much toward a higher conception of him; Menzel and Gervinus, on the other hand, show a decided antipathy toward him. The same is true of Hettner.]

23. "Proposed Classification of the Roman d'Aventure." By Professor Julius William Kuhne, of Miami University.

[The proposed classification consists of three groups:

- I. (a) Love, separation and reunion, with the element adventure predominate; type, *Floire et Blanchefleur*; thirteen romans.

- (b) Same motives, with the element aventure subordinate; type, *Ille et Galeron*; six romans.
- II. (a) Persecutions of a falsely accused woman; type *Le Comte de Poitiers*; eight romans.
- (b) Persecutions of a falsely accused woman defending her chastity; type, *Manekine*; four romans.
- III. Adulterous wife; type, *Chatelain de Coucy*; five romans.]

24. "Luther's Translation of the Psalms." By Mr. Edward Henry Lauer, of the State University of Iowa.

[Of Luther's work on the Psalms before his translation, we have lectures, notes, sermons, and commentaries. In this paper an attempt is made to establish, by means of a review of this material, the principles of criticism and interpretation laid down by Luther. A comparison of his translation with the sources shows that these principles here find expression, and this accounts for many of the peculiarities of translating and satisfactorily explains many of the corrections.]

25. "Zur Quelle von Schillers Dramenplänen, *Die Begebenheit zu Famagusta* und *Das Ereignis zu Verona beim Römerzuge Sigismonds*." By Professor Edwin Carl Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The source of the *Begebenheit zu Famagusta* is found in Vertot's *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean du Jérusalem*, vol. II, (Paris, 1772), pp. 297 ff. of Schiller's copy in the Hamburger Stadtbibliothek. The passage referred to contains an account of certain events in the capital of Rhodes during the reign of Pierre de Lusignan, which bear a general resemblance to motives used in several of Schiller's later dramas. Concerning the *Ereignis zu Verona*, Schiller seems to have had in mind Eberhard Windecke's account of some happenings in Innsbruck (not in Verona), on one of Sigismond's Italian journeys, reprinted in Johannes Müller's *Die Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft*, drittes Buch (Leipzig, 1788), p. 29 of Schiller's copy in the Goethe and Schiller Archives at Weimar.]

- 26. "I. Ein frage des gantzen heiligen Ordens der Kartenspieler vom Karnöffel an das Concilium zu Mantua 1537.
 - II. Neue Zeytung vom Teuffel, Pasquillus, 1546.
 - III. Wider die böse Sieben ins Teufels Karnöffelspiel,, 1562."
- By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The relation of these works to each other. The investigation deals especially with the etymology of Karnöffel and Karnöffelspiel. The latter is fully described in *Neue Zeitung*. Schröder's theory of the Streckformen also enters into the discussion.]

27. "Ordo Joseph." By Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

[An unpublisht dramatization in verse, with extensive rubrics, of the Biblical story of Joseph and his brethren. This unique liturgical play, produced, probably, during Lent, is found in a manuscript of the fourteenth century.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, IN NEW YORK,
N. Y., AT THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE ASSOCIATION

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF LITERARY
HISTORY

It is ten years now since Professor Seligman published his acute and brilliant essay setting forth exactly what the economic interpretation of history really is. He made it plain that "the chief considerations in human progress are the social considerations" and that "the most important factor in social changes is the economic factor." There are other considerations of course, and there is no warrant for the attempt to explain all history in economic terms alone. "The rise, the progress, and the decay of nations have been largely due to changes in economic relations, internal and external, of the social groups, even tho the facility with which mankind has availed itself of this economic environment has been the product of intellectual and moral forces . . . So long as the body is not held everywhere in complete subjection to the soul, so long as the struggle for wealth does not everywhere give way to the struggle for virtue, the social structure and the fundamental relations between social classes will be largely shaped by these overmastering influences, which whether we approve or deplore them, still form so great a part of the content of life."

Underlying many, if not supporting most of the significant events in human history we can find, if we seek it diligently, an economic explanation, even tho other explanations may be more apparent at first sight. A majority of the mighty movements of mankind and of the salient struggles of the race, the stalwart efforts for freedom and for expansion, including not a few of those which may seem to be purely political, or intellectual, or even religious, have also an economic basis; they are to be explained as due in part at least to the eternal desire of every human being to better himself, to heap up worldly goods, and to secure himself against hunger. Attention has been called to the economic factors which helpt to bring about the American Revolution and the Civil War, as well as the French Revolution and the Boer War, and which can be traced also in the Spanish Inquisition, in the Crusades, and even in the expansion of Christianity. One devoted student of Homer has dwelt on the advantages possest by Mycenae and Troy as trading sites; and he has ventured to suggest an economic explanation for the Greek expedition against Priam's capital. Perhaps the siege of Troy must be ascribed to the unwillingness of the seafaring merchants of Achaia to pay exorbitant tolls to the holders of the fastness which commanded the most convenient route for commerce.

Professor Seligman is clear in his warning that we must not put too heavy a burden on the theory he has expounded so skillfully and so candidly. "The economic interpretation of history, correctly understood, does not claim that every phenomenon of human life in general or of social life in particular, is to be explained on economic grounds. Few writers would trace the different manifestations of language, or even of art, primarily to economic conditions." And yet there can be no rich and

ample development of any art unless the economic conditions are favorable. These conditions may not be the direct cause of this development, but if they do not exist, it cannot take place. A distinguished British art critic has asserted that the luxuriance of Tudor architecture is due directly to the introduction of root-crops into England. That is to say, the turnip enabled the sheep-farmers to carry their cattle thru the winter; and as the climate of the British Isles favors sheep-raising, the creation of a winter food-supply immediately made possible the expansion of the wool-trade, whereby large fortunes were soon accumulated, the men thus enriched expending the surplus promptly in stately and sumptuous residences.

In political science the search for the fundamental economic causes of important events has resulted in an enlargement and a reinvigoration of historic study; and there is cause for surprise that a method so fertile has not been more frequently applied to the history of the several arts and more especially to that of the art of letters. Perhaps one reason for the general neglect to utilize a suggestive method is to be found in the fact that the theory of the domination of every epoch by its great men, as set forth strenuously by Carlyle in his "Heroes and Hero-Worship" and now thoroly discredited by modern historical science, has still an undeniable validity in the several arts. It may be that the American Revolution would have run its course successfully even if Washington had never been born, and that the Civil War would have ended as it did even if Lincoln had died at its beginning; but English Literature would be very different if there had been no Shakespere, and French literature would be very different if there had been no Molière. History may be able to get along without its great men, but literature lives by its masters alone. It is only what they are.

These mighty figures are so salient and so significant, they dwarf the lesser writers so overwhelmingly that most histories of literature are content to be only a bederoll of great authors.

This is unfortunate, since it gives us a defective conception of literary development. The history of any literature ought to be something more than a chronological collection of biographical criticisms with only casual consideration of the movements of this literature as a whole. No one has yet written an entirely satisfactory history of English literature, showing its successive stages and the series of influences which determined its growth. With all its defects, Taine's stimulating book comes nearest to attaining this ideal,—altho we shall probably find it more completely realized in M. Jusserand's monumental work when that is at least achieved. Indeed, we have no handbook of English literature worthy of comparison with M. Lanson's school text-book of French literature, in which the biographies of authors are relegated to footnotes, leaving the text free for fuller treatment of large movements, as the literature of France unrolled itself thru the ages.

The concentration of the historians of literature upon biography, pure and simple, has led them to neglect the economic interpretation and to give only inadequate consideration to the legal and political interpretation. Indeed, these three aspects are closely related; and all three of them demand a more searching investigation than they have yet received. No historian of English literature has brought out the intimate connection which may exist between public life and authorship, as Gaston Boissier set it forth in his illuminating studies of the Latin men of letters in the early days of the Roman Empire. Of course, every chronicler of English literature has been forced to record the result of the closing of the London

theatres by the Puritans, just as every chronicler of French literature has had to note the injurious restraint caused by the selfish autocracy of Louis XIV and of Napoleon. But there are a host of less obvious influences exerted from time to time in one literature or another by the political situation, by the inadequacy of the legal protection afforded to literary property, and by the economic conditions of the period, which have not been adequately analyzed by any historian of any modern literature.

Perhaps there may be profit in pointing out a few of the obscurities which might be cleared up by the scholars who shall investigate these cognate influences upon literary expansion. For example, it would be instructive if some one should consider carefully to what extent the comparative literary sterility of these United States in the middle years of the nineteenth century, when we were abounding in energy, was due to the absence of an international copyright law, whereby our native writers were exposed to an unfair competition with the vendors of stolen goods. It would be useful also if some competent authority attempted to gage the effect of a similar legal deficiency on the English drama of the same period and to indicate how much of the sudden expansion of the novel in Great Britain must be ascribed to the fact that it did not pay to write English plays because the theatrical managers could take French plays for nothing. And we should like to know how much of the abundant productivity of the French drama during the next hundred years was due to the secure position of the Society of Dramatic Authors, a trade-union organized by Beaumarchais in the eighteenth century and reorganized by Scribe early in the nineteenth, whereby it was made more profitable for a man of letters in France to compose plays than to compose novels. There would be benefit also in an inquiry into the ques-

tion whether the high literary quality of the French drama of this epoch, far higher than that of the drama in any other language, was the indirect result of the support of the Théâtre Français by the government as a national museum for dramatic masterpieces.

“The existence of man depends upon his ability to sustain himself; the economic life is therefore the fundamental condition of all life,”—to quote from Professor Seligman’s monograph once more. “To economic causes, therefore, must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society, which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the manifestations of social life.” Just as armies are said to advance on their bellies, since they can never get too far ahead of the supply-train, so the arts can flourish only as the means of the people may permit. Feuerbach’s famous phrase,—“man is what he eats,” does not cover the whole truth about life; yet an artist cannot create beauty unless he eats. Food is a condition precedent to literature. A starving man is not likely to set himself down to compose an epic; and a bard is better fitted to chant the high deeds of heroes after the descendants of these worthies have given him bed and board. The literary laborer is worthy of his hire; and without a living wage he cannot ply his trade. In the past he has needed a patron or a pension; and in the present he needs popularity or private means. Martial once wrote out a recipe for making great poets: “Pay them well; where there is a Mæcenas there will be a Horace and a Virgil also.” And Napoleon voiced an opinion not dissimilar in a letter, written from Berlin in 1806, in which he protested against the cheapness of the lyrics sung at the Opéra in honor of his victories: “complaints are made that we have no literature; that is the fault of the Minister of the Interior.”

There are four motives which may inspire an author to do his best,—the necessity for money, the lust for fame, the impulse for self-expression, and the desire to accomplish an immediate purpose. Sometimes they are all combined, altho many of the greatest writers,—Shakspeare, for one, and Molière, for another,—seem to have cared little or nothing for the good opinion of posterity. The impulse for self-expression and the desire to accomplish an immediate purpose are both potent; but neither is as insistent and as inexorable as the necessity for money. In every country and in every age men of genius have been tempted to adventure themselves in that form of literature which happened then and there to be most popular and therefore most likely to be profitable. This is what accounts for the richness of the drama in England under Queen Elizabeth, for the vogue of the essay under Queen Anne and her successors and for the immense expansion of the novel under Queen Victoria.

Dr. Johnson went so far as to assert that a man was a fool who wrote from any other motive than the need of cash. This is a characteristically false utterance; and it is discredited by the significant fact that the piece of Johnson's own prose which has the most savor is his letter to Chesterfield, for which he was not paid and in which he was distilling his rancor,—in other words, expressing himself without any expectation of profit. Yet this saying of his may suggest a reason for the neglect which has befallen nearly all of Johnson's work. He wrote for pay; and he could not expect posterity to take pleasure in perusing what he had not taken pleasure in composing.

That the need of money has not always been the overmastering motive is made evident by the long list of authors, ancient and modern, who were not men of letters by profession, whose writings are by-products of their

other activities, who composed without any thought of pay, and who took pen in hand to accomplish an immediate purpose. Franklin never wrote for money and he never published a book; his works consist only of occasional pamphlets; and probably nothing would more surprise him to-day than the fact that he now holds an honored place as a man of letters. And Voltaire was a shrewd money-maker, a singularly adroit man of affairs; but only a small proportion of his large fortune was earned by his pen. Franklin,—and perhaps Voltaire also,—was a man of affairs, who carried literature as a side-line.

As M. Beljame has stated the case in his admirable discussion of the relations between the public and the men of letters in England in the eighteenth century, "So long as education is the privilege of a chosen few, so long as the taste for and the habit of reading are not spread abroad in a fair proportion of society, it is clear that writers can find in the sales of their works only an uncertain and insufficient resource." Literature as a profession, as a calling which shall support its man, is possible only after the earlier aristocratic organization has broadened into a more democratic condition, and after the appreciation of letters has ceased to be the privilege only of the few. So long as the narrower aristocratic organization endures, the man of letters cannot rely on his pen for support. He needs a Mæcenas; he sues for pensions; he hucksters his dedications. He may believe that poetry is his vocation, but he feels in need of an avocation to keep a roof over his head.

So it is that until the growth of a middle class and the extension of education combine to make the structure of society more democratic, and to supply at least a reading public large enough to reward the author's labor, literature can be little more than the accompaniment of its

creator's other activities. Shakespere and Molière were actors. Fielding was a police magistrate and Scott was a sheriff. Burns was a gager and Wordsworth a stamp-distributor. Hawthorne had places in the revenue and consular services. Longfellow and Lowell were college professors. And it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in the midyears of the nineteenth century a large proportion of the New England writers were able to support themselves only because they were competent also to practice the allied art of the lecturer. The lyceum-system, as it was called, was long the main-stay of American literature. One man of letters used to declare that he lectured for fame,—F-A-M-E,—Fifty And My Expenses.

Only by his annual vagrancy as a lecturer was the frugal Emerson able to bring up his family. He was not blind to the inconveniences of the procedure and in his journal he recorded that it seemed to him "tantamount to this: 'I'll bet you fifty dollars a day for three weeks that you will not leave your library, and wade, and freeze, and ride, and run, and suffer all manner of indignities, and stand up for an hour each night reading in a hall;' and I answer, 'I'll bet I will.' I do it and win the nine hundred dollars." And yet whatever its inconveniences and its indignities the lyceum-system marked an economic advance; it made possible an appeal to the public as a whole. And as it enabled the lecturer to rely on his fellow-citizens, so it forced him to rub shoulders with them and to widen his own outlook on life; it was fundamentally anti-aristocratic.

The lyceum-system in America provided the economic possibility which permitted Emerson to support himself without sacrifice of character. The lack of an equivalent economic possibility in England is responsible for the pitiful waste of the large genius of Dryden. M. Bel-

jame has made it clear that under the Restoration there was really no public for an author to rely on. There was the corrupt court; there was a petty cotery of self-styled wits; and that was all. For books there was little or no sale; altho there was casual profit from fulsome dedications to noble patrons. As a result there is little vitality in the literature of the Restoration, little validity. And Dryden, a man of noble endowment, had to make a living by composing broad comedies, to tickle the jaded courtiers, —a form of literature for which, as he confest frankly, he was not naturally gifted.

Dryden was born out of time, either too late or too early. His work would be larger and richer had he been a younger contemporary of Shakspeare, expressing himself amply in the full tragic form which Shakspeare transmitted to those who followed him. It would have been more spontaneous had he been a contemporary of Pope or of Scott or of Tennyson. Even in Pope's time, separated from Dryden's by so brief a span, there had come into existence a reading public to which a poet could appeal. In the preface to the *Dunciad* Pope prided himself on the fact that he had never held office or received a pension or any gift from queen or minister.

“But, (thanks to Homer) since I live and thrive,
Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive.”

And having gained nine thousand pounds by his translations, he felt independent enough to dedicate the long-expected book, not to any noble patron who would pay liberally for the honor, but to his fellow-author, Congreve.

In the century that intervened between Pope and Byron, the reading public kept on expanding and the publishing trade establisht itself solidly. The economic conditions of authorship were thereby immeasurably im-

proved, and it would be interesting to speculate on the enrichment of English poetry by the natural outflowing of Dryden's genius, which might have taken place if the author of *Absolom and Achitophel* had been born a contemporary of the author of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Scott at the same time, and Tennyson a half century later, won large rewards by a direct appeal to the broadening body of readers; and yet who would be so bold as to suggest that Dryden was inferior to either of these popular poets in masculine vigor or in intellectual power?

In Dryden's day literature had not yet become a profession, since a profession cannot be said to exist until it can support its professionals. Indeed, the final difference between the professional and the amateur is that the latter is willing to work for nothing, whereas the former demands his day's wages. Bayes, the hero of the *Rehearsal* (in which Dryden was satirized) revealed himself as an amateur when he cried, "For what care I for money? I write for Fame and Reputation." And Byron stood forth a professional when he persisted in raising his rate of payment at the very time when he was insisting on Murray's treating him as a nobleman. The professional man of letters may be known by his respect for a check on the bank,—for what Lowell aptly described as "that species of literature which has the supreme art of conveying the most pleasure in the least space."

Altho the unfortunate economic condition of literature in his day especially affected Dryden, who felt himself forced to compose comedies of a doubtful decency, the author of *All for Love* is far from being alone in this lack of adjustment between the work for which he was intended by native gift and the task to which he turned perforce to earn his living. As Dryden wrote comedies against his grain, so in their days Marlowe and Peale

wrote plays of a more primitive type, altho neither of them had the instinctive faculty of the born playwright. Marlowe, of the mighty line, was essentially an epic poet, and it is by main strength that he built his cumbrous pieces. Peele was essentially a lyric poet, feeling feebly after a dramatic formula which was ever eluding his grasp. Both Marlowe and Peele were turned aside from the true expression of their genius by the ready pay of the playhouse, which then gave better wages than could elsewhere be had.

Later examples are abundant and significant. For instance, Steele and Addison elaborated the delightful eighteenth century essay with its easy briskness and its playful social satire; and Goldsmith, in his turn, found the form ready to his hand and exactly suited to his special gift. But because this airy and graceful essay had an enduring popularity and because it brought in a prompt reward in cash, it was attempted by the ponderous Dr. Johnson, who was devoid of the natural lightness, the intangible charm and the allusive felicity which the essay demanded.

In the nineteenth century the vogue of the essay was succeeded by the vogue of the novel, which was tempting to not a few as little fitted for it as Johnson was for the brisk essay. Brougham and Motley and Froude severally made shipwreck in fiction. Perhaps it is not fanciful to suggest that it was the desire for the pecuniary reward that fiction then proffered abundantly which lured George Eliot into novel-writing rather than any native impulse to story writing. Her labored narratives, rich as they are in insight into humanity, lack spontaneity; they are the result of her intelligence primarily; they are built by obvious effort. If the economic conditions of literature in the nineteenth century had been different, it is unlikely

that Mary Ann Evans would ever have attempted fiction. And Charles Reade, who liked to think of himself as a more original novelist than George Eliot, used to assert that he had been intended by nature for a dramatist, and that he had been forced into fiction by bad laws. Quite possibly Augier and the younger Dumas, had they written in English, might have felt the same legal oppression, coercing them to give up the drama for prose-fiction.

Novels may be written for money, but history must be a labor of love. Now and again, most unexpectedly, a historical work happens to hit the public fancy and to bring to its surprised author an unexpected reward for his toil. But this is only a happy incident, most infrequent; and the historian can count himself fortunate if he has not to pay out of his own pocket for the publication of his work. As Rivarol said, "There are virtues that one can practise only when one is rich"; and the writing of history is one of these virtues. Macaulay toiled long in India that he might accumulate the modest fortune which would give him leisure to undertake the researches that were to sustain his historical work. Gibbon and Prescott and Parkham were lucky in inheriting the sufficient estates which enabled them to live laborious days without taking thought of the morrow. Indeed, it must be admitted that here is one of the best defences of inherited wealth—that in every generation a few pickt men are set free for unremunerative investigations, not otherwise likely to be undertaken.

While history is thus seen to be more or less dependent on special economic conditions, its close ally, oratory, is dependent rather upon political conditions. In the last analysis, oratory is the art of persuasion; it is lifeless and juiceless when the speaker has not set his heart upon influencing those he is addressing. It is impossible where

there is no free speech. In fact, it can flourish only in a free people, and it stiffens into academic emptiness whenever the citizen is muzzled. It ceased in Greece as soon as the tyrants substituted their rule for the large freedom of the commonwealth. It froze into formality in Rome as soon as the Empire was erected on the ruins of the Republic.

It developed healthily in Great Britain and in the United States as the people came to take political power into their own hands. In France, under the monarchy it could flourish only in the pulpit, within the narrow limitations of the lenten sermon and of the funeral discourse; and as a result the orators of the Revolution, after they had achieved the right to speak out, had no models to keep them from artificiality and from pedantry; they lacked the experience of actual debate which trains for directness and for sincerity.

Just as the full development of oratory is dependent upon political conditions, so the ample expansion of the drama is dependent on social conditions. When Longfellow declared that the country is lyric and the town dramatic he had in mind probably the fact that the lyric poet deals with nature, whereas the dramatic poet deals with human nature. The lyric poet may live in rural solitude, chanting his own emotions at his own sweet will. The dramatic poet has to dwell with the throng that he may gain intimate knowledge of the varied types of humanity he needs to people his plays. But he is compelled to the city by another fact,—the inexorable fact that only where men are massed together can the frequent audiences be found which alone can support the theater. The drama is a function of the crowd; and it is impossible in a village community where the inhabitants are scattered over the distant hillsides. It can flourish only in the

densely populated cities, where all sorts and conditions of men are packt together, restless, and energetic. No dramatist ever had a chance to develop except in an urban community where the actual theater provided him with the means of practising his art. If any man born with the instructive faculty of playmaking, the essential dramatic quality, had ever chanced to grow to maturity in a purely rural environment, he must have been driven forth to a city, or else from sheer lack of opportunity he must have failed to accomplish what he vaguely desired. In the remote village a mute inglorious Milton might perchance develop into an enamored architect of airy rime; but a Shakspeare would be doomed to remain mute and inglorious.

The drama, being dependent on the mass of men, being a function of the crowd, has never been aristocratic, as certain of the other forms of literary art may have been now and again. Indeed, the drama is the only art which is inherently and inevitably democratic, since the playwright cannot depend upon a coterie of the cultivated only or on a clique of dilettants. It is the playwright's duty, as it is his pleasure also, to move men in the mass, to appeal to them as fellow human beings only, to strive to ascertain the greatest common denominator of the throng. To say this is to suggest that the drama is likely to gain steadily in power, now that the chief nations of the modern world are organized at last upon a democratic basis. And the prediction may be ventured also that if the rising tide of socialism ever succeeds in overwhelming democracy and in substituting collective effort for personal endeavor, the drama will be the first art to suffer, since it exists primarily to set forth the clash of contending desires and the struggle of individual wills.

Literature cannot help being more or less aristocratic

in its tone when the man of letters must look for his living to pensions from the monarch or to largess from a wealthy patron. Literature becomes democratic inevitably when the man of letters is released from this servitude to a social superior and when he finds himself free to appeal for support to the public as a whole. Economic and political and legal conditions need to be taken into account by all historians of literature, ancient and modern. "While his appearance at a particular moment appears to us a matter of chance, the great man influences society only when society is ready for him." So Professor Seligman has asserted, adding the apt command that "if society is not ready for him, he is called not a great man, but a visionary or a failure."

He who possesses the potentiality of becoming one of the great men of literature may be born out of time or he may be born out of place. For the full expansion of his genius he needs the fit moment and the fit environment; and without the one or the other he may be crushed and maimed. And yet if he has the affluent largeness of true genius, he is likely to have also the shrewd common sense of the man of affairs. He will have the gift of making the best of things as they chance to be, without whining and without revolt. He will rise superior to circumstances, either because he is supple enough to adapt himself to them, or because he is strong enough to conquer them, turning into a stepping-stone the obstacle which weaker creatures would find only a stumbling block.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, IN ST. LOUIS,
MO., AT THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL DIVISION

BY LAURENCE FOSSLER

CAN THE STANDARD OF EFFICIENCY OF MODERN LAN-
GUAGE TEACHING IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BE RAISED?

I have no apologies to make for choosing this theme for the address this evening. The place and importance which modern language study has assumed in our modern educational systems, both collegiate and secondary, fully justify this choice. We do well to consider from time to time the vital problems connected with our work, with modern language teaching, be those languages English, French, German, or any other form of living speech. We need to examine at close range, in clear and definite terms, the aims and purpose of our efforts, the means and instrumentalities through which these are sought to be reached, the causes of our successes and our failures, and the nature and character of practicable measures for betterment and improvement.

For we are well aware that, though the modern languages have fallen heir to a large share of the domain once occupied by the classic tongues, they are, nevertheless, on trial before the bar of enlightened public opinion and judgment. We are conscious that their worth and value must be tested and proven by the results, both 'practical' and 'cultural,' attained in their study. They must demonstrate their fitness and serviceability in train-

ing the mind to habits of close application, accurate observation, clear thinking, and refined feeling. To demand less would imply faithlessness to educational ideals. Nothing less can justify the expenditure of time and effort necessarily given even to a partial mastery of a foreign tongue. For even after satisfying, to the best of our ability, the demands of a so-called practical, utilitarian, or vocational nature—the needs of the traveler, the business correspondent, the scientist, or the investigator—we are still confronted by that vast army of young men and women to whom language study can be nothing if it be not mental and moral discipline, if it be not a “means of grace” for clarifying thought and judgment, for purifying tastes, and quickening sympathies, for widening the circle of human interests through the medium of another people’s mode of speech. Language study is fruitless and barren if the learner cannot by its means be brought into closer touch than would otherwise be possible with the genius and character, the institutions and habits of life, the traditions, history, and literature of the foreign people.

These propositions are self-evident. They state the educational goal of the *Neuphilologe*; they are the ideal program which he has set before him. He knows full well the length and arduousness of the road that leads to its realization; he is aware that “Heaven is not gained by a single bound.” In less poetic terms: even a fairly respectable approach to these ideals requires long and well-directed, persistent effort on the part of both teacher and taught. Nor can we demand that our secondary schools shall attain them alone and unaided. Indeed, in our sober and reflective moments, we are forced to admit that even college and university instruction, alone or building upon the foundation laid in the secondary school,

only too often fails to attain the best results which the language study should yield.

We all realize certain inherent difficulties and obstacles connected with such study, whether undertaken in school or in college. A study entered upon at the age of 14 or 18 (as is done by many college students), that should be begun at the age of 11 or 12, cannot possibly yield thoroughly satisfactory results. What can be accomplished by a college instructor, be he ever so painstaking and conscientious, with a class of young men and women 18 to 20 years of age, almost every one of whom is unable to see any direct, practical application of the study in which he or she is engaged? Or what substantial, genuine and valuable results can be looked for when that study is directed—as it is very often in the secondary schools,—by teachers insufficiently trained?

I ask these questions not in a captious or faultfinding spirit. I understand thoroughly the complexity of the whole educational problem. I know that the responsibility for the unsatisfactory condition of the situation cannot be attributed to any one cause, or to any one part of our educational machinery. We are all fellow-sinners, all sharers and participants—and sufferers—in the fragmentary, unsatisfactory results accomplished. Nor is the situation, in the West, materially different from that in the East.

But a general confession of sins, a blanket act of contrition, is apt to soothe the conscience without purifying the soul. Individual shortcomings tend to be merged in the general whole. The New England Primer's "In Adam's fall we sinned all" is apt to make one resigned to the frailties of human nature. For, if the worst comes to the worst, one can take refuge in the thought that one's self, at least, is in a state of grace, and that the doc-

trine of total depravity really holds good only in the case of "the other fellow." Seriously, the tendency among college and university men is to refuse to take their share of the responsibility in the unsatisfactory state of secondary instruction, and to lay the entire blame upon others than themselves. Frequently, too, we imagine that secondary school men are not aware of the defects of their share in the educational output, and that they are not bestirring themselves to remedy these defects. Neither one of these attitudes is justifiable. In the final analysis the responsibility for the character of teaching in secondary schools lies largely with us, and the authorities in these schools *do* endeavor, as best they can, to measure up to sound educational standards.

If this is true—and there is no doubt it is—it certainly behooves us to examine carefully what, if anything, can be done by us, what ought to be done by us, to raise and increase the efficiency of modern language instruction in the schools. In answer to a note of inquiry respecting the status of such instruction sent to a large number of superintendents and principals of the Middle West, one of them, evidently a well-trained, vigorous, and clear-headed teacher, one thoroughly devoted to his high calling, replies:

"I am glad someone is 'getting busy' on the subject of German in the secondary schools. Having myself lived in Germany, I have been exasperated beyond expression by the utter futility of most of the German instruction in our high schools and colleges. After four years' work in high schools and numerous courses in the university, I find in general the students are quite unable to converse with me in common every-day German, about the simplest topics. College heads of departments come to our schools and test our classes for knowledge of lists of prepositions

governing certain cases, and go away clapping their hands because the teacher has succeeded in this stupidly memoriter foundation for the study of technical German grammar.

"Unless at least a rude facility is acquired in the study of German in our schools and colleges, the subject should be ruthlessly cast out by those who are trying to guard the precious opportunities of youth, that they may result in realities, and not in misty visions.

"You are perfectly at liberty to quote me, if you so desire."

This is vigorous to say the least. But it is more: it is very largely true. The correspondent, a principal in one of the best schools of the country, voices the conviction of many of his craft, earnest, devoted, practical secondary school men, to whom the great mass of the youth of the land look for sane and sound training. Protests, such as the one he enters, should not be passed by unheeded. They should set us to thinking and acting.

As a pendant to this indictment I may cite the reply of one of our colleagues, who, in reply to the question: "What, in your judgment, can and ought to be done to improve the quality of modern language teaching in our secondary school?" unburdens his heart as follows:

"Goodness knows, a lot ought to be done, tho' I fear but little can be done—for lack of any centralized authority that has any right to do anything. Every school board, superintendent, and principal insists on his right to appoint the teachers within his bailiwick and would resent any invasion of his right. Severe things *ought* to be done. 1) Have more teachers and smaller classes. 2) Have *very much better* teachers than we now have, better scholars, better pedagogues, bigger, finer, more magnetic and effective personalities—men and women *who*

have it in them and who *train* themselves for this career as for a *life* work and not merely to fill up a gap of uncertainty as to life-plans. 3) More pay and more recognition of every sort for such teachers—so that the best heads and hearts may be tempted to choose the profession. In short we've got to *quit* letting the contract (for the teaching of our children) to the lowest bidder, as we now do. 4) Better opportunities for our really able, earnest young teachers to fit themselves for their work. These confounded 'Normal' schools ought to be done away with or else turned into real Teachers' colleges, where men who know how can teach others how.

"But forgive me,—your last question touches a sore spot and the sparks fly in spite of me."

Another fellow-worker answers the question thus:

"*Thoroughness, accuracy* of knowledge, whatever method be followed. The knowledge of the average freshman entering the University is hazy, unreliable, and especially so his knowledge of the elements of grammar. We should insist upon more drill in *applied* grammar. If the present requirements are too high, they should be reduced, but accuracy in the essentials of the language should be strenuously demanded. The average teacher tries too many things, with the result that the vital values are neglected. The knowledge of German of the average freshman is too vague to be relied upon; hence the essentials have to be carefully revived in the University, if any scholarly results are to be attained. Equally vague is the knowledge of the essentials of German history and geography. With the proper use of our elementary textbooks this knowledge should be easily acquired. It seems to me that the average high school teacher of to-day, bewildered by the variety of ideals presented before him, fails to develop in the student any definite knowledge

of the language. Pronunciation is almost universally faulty. The knowledge of the most elementary vocabulary is meager. The works read are unwisely selected. In my judgment it is imperative that the elementary courses in the high school should be more carefully organized under the supervision or direction of some competent authority."

Much more of similar import, coming from sources East and West, could readily be adduced to emphasize the urgent need for reform and betterment in language teaching. Evidently the negro quack's "We cures de disease, sah, or we eradicates de system," would seem to be the only alternatives presented.

The practice, all but universal in a large section of our country, of admitting graduates from accredited high schools to Freshmen standing in college or university, makes the problem we are considering peculiarly our own. We cannot, must not, leave the secondary schools to work it out unaided and alone. The solution, if solution there be, rests very largely with us and with the institutions we represent. Ex-President Eliot was right when he declared that "Schools follow universities and will be what universities make them." This is necessarily so. The higher institutions alone have adequate means for training leaders in the educational field; they alone have the facility to develop a competent body of teachers. In availing themselves of these means and facilities they practically set educational standards.

Furthermore, say what we please, the men and women in charge of secondary school-work have shown and are showing a most commendable readiness to coöperate with the authorities in the higher schools to bring about better conditions. The unanimity with which the secondary schools accepted the Report of the Committee on College

Entrance Requirements,¹ not only as the basis of the relation between high school and college, but also as determining the character and quality of the work to be done in the schools generally, proves this assertion. To-day the requirements there set for college entrance² have been accepted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, by the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and by similar organizations throughout the country. Whatever variations do exist are insignificant in comparison with the points of agreement. Nor do such variations, meeting local conditions or demands, or adjusting requirements to the widened educational experience of the one or the other of these standardizing bodies, or of schools, impair the essential uniformity of the system in operation.

It can, accordingly, no longer be said, as it could be said years ago, that the great obstacle to effective teaching was the lack of uniformity in the curricula of the high schools. In a way these standardizing agencies largely take the place of the *Lehrpläne* or *Cours d'Enseignement* of the European ministries of education.

Hence we must look elsewhere for the defects and shortcomings of our secondary teaching. They are, we are aware, partly irremediable, being part and parcel of conditions and circumstances beyond anyone's control, and partly remediable, if proper means are taken to effect a cure. The vast extent of our territory, local pride—shall I call it?—at any rate, the American unwillingness

¹ Made in 1899 to the N. E. A.

² In 1910 the College Entrance Examination Board examined 3731 students in 168 places in all parts of the country.

to concentrate more advanced educational efforts in fewer localities, the more or less shifting teaching *personnel* educating itself professionally only too often at the expense and to the detriment of the children in its charge, a public that has not yet learned to know and value expert, professional service and efficiency,—a public, at least, unwilling to pay for such service and efficiency,—all these and many other obstacles to educational progress loom up large and forbidding.

Then, again, the specific line of study we represent is by this same public regarded as a luxury rather than a necessity. What with the undeniable and inevitable press of the so-called practical, vocational, or utilitarian branches clamoring for recognition and a place in school curricula, and the consequent uncertainty of educational values, relative and absolute, it is small wonder that such is the case. Even some high educational authorities have called the necessity of language training into question. In an address, not long ago, President Schurman declared

“That the modern languages were originally introduced partly on the ground of their practical utility as media of intercourse with other nations, but mainly as available substitutes for the literary and linguistic discipline furnished by the ancient classics. There has been a great change in our conception of liberal culture since the fight was first made for the introduction of modern languages into the college curriculum. Latin and Greek were then regarded as essential conditions of a liberal education. We must as a matter of fact recognize that Greek is practically gone as a college subject, and that Latin, even though holding its own to-day, occupies no such preëminent position as it did. If French and German and other modern languages are to be retained, not for their own sake, what are the grounds and reasons for maintaining them? The obvious answer of the practical man is that they are useful for persons who desire to read French, German, or Spanish books or to converse with Frenchmen, Germans, or Spaniards. There are, however, so many good books written in the English language that the most omnivorous reader could probably satisfy his literary

cravings if he knew no language but his own. And if you exclude our college and university teachers and scholars, probably not one person in 500 who learn modern languages ever uses them afterward in conversation or could use them even if it were necessary. The teachers and the scholars gain their mastery of foreign languages by studying in foreign countries, and the small circle of persons outside these who will ever need to speak foreign languages might be advised to follow the same course."

Undoubtedly this is true and, from one point of view, reason enough for relegating the study of foreign languages, ancient and modern, to "innocuous desuetude." Equally telling arguments in defense of linguistic training can, no doubt, be made, though this is not the occasion to do so. We must admit, however, that there are many and will be an ever increasing number of educators who sympathize with President Schurman's views, if, eventually, it should prove impossible to make a better showing in the matter of foreign language study and teaching, if it should be found impracticable to reorganize and differentiate the secondary school curricula so as to permit the taking up of those languages at an earlier stage—say, in the present seventh grade. Could that be done—and it is done to a considerable extent already and with excellent success—there is little doubt that a great step in advance would be taken. In my judgment this Association may well exert itself to urge and press the desirability or, rather, necessity of the reform suggested. For the present, however, I do not wish to discuss this phase of the problem. I merely wish to point out the fact that even well-recognized leaders in education are driven to a critical attitude in the premises.

Mention was made a moment since of the well-nigh insurmountable obstacle of our unwillingness to focus secondary instruction in fewer centres. Germany with

her 65,000,000 population has only some 1125 preparatory schools of all sorts,—*Gymnasien*, *Realgymnasien*, *Oberrealschulen*,—while America, according to the Education Report of 1909, has 9317 public schools and 1212 private schools of supposedly equal rank, making a grand total of 10,529¹ institutions engaged in secondary education, or more than nine times as many as Germany supports.

To aid us in forming a still clearer idea of our scattered educational plant—more particularly as affecting our own specific field—the following representative figures may serve:

NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN NORTH CENTRAL STATES
TEACHING :²—

	GERMAN					FRENCH				
	One Year	Two Years	Three Years	Four Years	Total	One Year	Two Years	Three Years	Four Years	Total
Ohio.....	6	120	29	60 ⁴	215	...	..	...	...	?
Ind .....	...	...	(estimated)		160	...	3	1	4	8
Ill.....	18	126	48	36	228	3	14	10	16	43
Mich.....	...	150	25	25	200	...	17	4	4	25
Wis .....	...	173	21	13	207	...	8	4	...	12
Minn.....	...	(of all grades)			185	...	...	...	...	?
Nebr.	30	61	5	3	99	...	...	3	...	3
Mo .....	...	92	25	3	120	...	10	5	1	16
Kans .....	...	...	(estimated)		116	...	...	...	...	?
N. Dak.....	54	34	3	...	91	2	1	...	...	3
S. Dak.....	...	...	...	...	?	...	...	(of all grades)		6
Iowa ³	21	118	13	11	163	...	...	...	...	?

This table, it will be perceived, presents some secondary schools in our territory alone as giving instruction in

¹ Cf. p. 1124 of said Report.

² It has been found impossible to obtain complete and detailed statistics in all cases.

³ Data four years old.

⁴ This comprises both the "accredited" and the "recognized" high schools: cf. *The Ohio Teacher* for November, 1910, p. 132.

German,¹ as teaching French or other Romance tongues. The task of providing teachers who shall be even fairly adequately trained is manifestly an erroneous one.

The department of high school inspection of the University of Nebraska lately undertook, at my request, an inquiry as to the status of German teaching in schools "accredited" by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. From replies to a *questionnaire* sent to these schools—330 responding—the following instructive data were gathered:

Number of Teachers of German (in said 330 schools),	566
Number of First Year Students, - - - - -	15,275
Number of Second Year Students, - - - - -	9,778
Number of Third Year Students, - - - - -	3,730
Number of Fourth Year Students, - - - - -	1,349

Or, assuming that the remainder of the (approximately) 800 secondary schools holding membership in the Association showed the same proportions, the grand totals would appear to be:

Number of Teachers of German (in entire North Central territory), - - - - -	1,370
Number of First Year Students, - - - - -	37,030
Number of Second Year Students, - - - - -	11,583
Number of Third Year Students, - - - - -	8,982
Number of Fourth Year Students, - - - - -	3,573
Total number of pupils studying German, - -	61,186

Undoubtedly these figures are somewhat too high for the class of schools considered, since among those replying to the *questionnaire* were those of Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, and other larger centres.

¹ 1377 exclusive of Illinois, South Dakota and North Dakota. No statistics were available.

Yet, considering that only the strongest and best schools can gain standing in the Association and that German is taught in a very large number of schools not thus recognized, the *actual* and *real* totals of both teachers and students of German would be greatly increased.

These figures cannot fail to bring home to us the weight of the burden which the secondary schools have undertaken to carry, and the magnitude of the task which they are attempting to perform. As has already been said, they make us realize the immensity of the undertaking to provide adequately trained teachers for them.

Turning for a moment to the matter of teachers' preparation for that work, the *questionnaire* above referred to yielded the following data:

Teachers of German (in the 330 schools replying),	- -	566
College and university graduates,	- - - - -	431
Normal school graduates,	- - - - -	69
Preparation not stated,	- - - - -	66
Have taken collegiate "teachers' course,"	- - - - -	275
Speak German as native tongue,	- - - - -	185
Residence study or abroad, or both,	- - - - -	195
Average time spent in studying college German,	- -	3½ yrs.
Average experience in teaching German,	- - . -	3 yrs.

These data again, are, no doubt, somewhat too favorable for the entire North Central section, for the reason already assigned, *viz.*, that the smaller schools were, on the whole, not so prompt in reporting their status as the larger ones. Still, some facts stand out prominently enough. First: there is a gratifying percentage (76% +) of college graduates engaged in the work. Again, a large number reporting speak German "von Haus aus," while still more have enjoyed residence or study abroad. Approximately one-half of the teachers of German have availed themselves of special collegiate teachers' courses. The time

given to preparation—an average of $31\frac{1}{2}$ years above a two-year high school course—certainly proves the willingness of teachers of German to qualify for their calling. There is no escaping that conclusion. Our individual experience, unsupported by statistics, likewise leaves us to conclude that the young people whom we send to the secondary schools are ready to avail themselves of every opportunity we offer them to fit themselves fairly for their work.

If this is a fair statement, if it comports with facts, I can reach no other conclusion than that we, their mentors, advisers and teachers, must bear a large share of the blame visited—and often justly—upon secondary school work. We make the teachers, we determine their qualifications, both theoretical and practical. The methods and ideals they pursue, the views and estimates of essentials which they seek to apply, yes, often the very tools which they employ in their work, are those we exemplified and used in training them. Nay, more. School officers—boards, superintendents, and principals, are, as a rule, ready and willing to accept our judgment regarding teachers' qualifications; they certainly welcome any helpful suggestion as to courses to be given, possible methods of improvements, text-books to be used, etc. The teachers themselves are conscientiously endeavoring to discharge their duties to the best of their ability.

Hence it would seem that we, the teachers and trainers of teachers, are not entitled to too free an exercise of fault-finding and criticism, no matter who else is entitled to that time-honored prerogative.

If, now, we turn for a moment to an examination of the collegiate courses required of the *angehenden Lehramtskandidaten*, we find, naturally enough, considerable variation both in theory and practice, in character and amount

of work insisted on. *E. g.*, in German 38¹ and 22 semestral hours of collegiate studies—*i. e.*, those above a two-year secondary school course—seem to mark the maxima and minima respectively. The general practice is to demand from 25-30 hours; *i. e.*, from one fifth to one-fourth of the entire collegiate course. Cultural subjects predominate largely. Literature, the study of its development, the historical development of the language (frequently including Middle High German), a more or less intensive study of special periods and authors, the classics, the moderns, naturally furnish the *pièce de résistance* of the course. To these more specifically cultural subjects are added more or less intensive and extended courses in conversational exercises and composition,² likewise—though only sporadically—*Vorträge und Sprechübungen* dealing with the German customs, culture, history, and geography,³ and finally, special teachers' courses, varying from two to five semestral hours, and dealing with the pedagogical side of the teacher's training.

As I have already said, the insistence upon the cultural element in these collegiate courses is perfectly natural and, perhaps, necessary. It is natural because the average college teacher finds cultural studies more engaging, more congenial, more interesting, than the humbler, more formal disciplines. No doubt we are right in stressing, in the students' preparation, studies that will develop scholarly habits of thought, that will acquaint him with the spiritual treasures of the people whose language he studies, that will furnish him the ability to appreciate, scientifically, the course of evolution in literature and

¹ University of Wisconsin.

² The University of Illinois requires three courses in composition.

³ Indiana University.

language. The teachers in our secondary schools should have a broad outlook upon their chosen field. Their course of study should clear the vision and open wide vistas to the best their line of work affords.

Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the specific work which they are called upon to do differs very widely from that which we insist on so strenuously in their preparation. Here, it seems to me, lies the vulnerable point in our present method of procedure. If our students are to teach effectively, acceptably, professionally, we must recognize the problems they have to solve and prepare them to do so. Whether this involves, necessarily, a lessening of cultural requirements, I leave you to judge. Perhaps the scriptural injunction, "This ye should do, and not leave the other undone," applies in the premises. Certainly the prosecution, and even the successful prosecution, of mere cultural branches is not a guarantee of successful teaching. Specific means to insure their success need to be provided, if possible.

Of course, we are all aware that, say, the German system of requiring a *Probeyahr* or *Probeyahre* as supplementary to an extensive and intensive theoretical and cultural preparation is the ideal procedure, is ideally the correct and effective panacea for educational ills. Especially so, if the candidate has had the opportunity of spending some time in the foreign country whose language he is to teach. Then again the principle, and its strict enforcement by educational authorities, of definitely limiting and circumscribing the grade or class of work teachers may be called upon to do, of strict civil service rules, governing the advancement in the profession, and of careful and searching inspection by competent authority, inevitably make for thoroughness and professional effectiveness. But most, if not all, of these guarantees of success are

denied us, denied us by the very logic and nature of our situation. All the college and university professors in the land cannot change certain determining economic conditions. That is a truism apparent to all.

However, admitting these facts is by no means equivalent to confessing our inability to do *something* towards improving the situation, if we resolutely apply ourselves to do so. It is in our power and means to give the would-be teachers fairly adequate professional training and thus to enhance their capacity for better work. Nor is it lowering our standards of collegiate instruction nor demeaning sound educational ideals to give this training. Preparing teachers should no longer be a "side-issue," even if they are, largely, daughters of Eve. If we would better the nature and character of the work done in the secondary schools, if we would make our own earlier college years more effective, we must not deem it beneath our dignity to be and become teachers of teachers.

What now may actually be done in the premises? It was in furtherance of finding a sound answer, a practicable solution to this problem, that I took the liberty of addressing a note of inquiry to many of you some weeks ago. Needless to say that your kind answers have given me much food for thought; needless, also, to add that, in much that I have said and shall say I give you back your own.

Taking the cultural side of our young people's college courses for granted—as I think we may—we come to examine some of the practicable ways and means to increase their professional training. It is largely a matter of aiding them in transforming a *kennen* into a *können*, their static powers into a dynamic force. To this end we should do well to impress the young teachers with the worth, the dignity, and importance of their call-

ing, we should show and demonstrate to them the justice and rightfulness of the classics of modern languages as instruments of scholarly discipline and elements of culture, not merely as of more or less utilitarian convenience in business or the practice of a profession. As the Committee of Ten put it: "The educational effects of modern language study will be of immense benefit to all who are able to pursue it under competent guidance."

Again, we can put them in possession of the best and most rational educational thought of to-day. Methods old and new, reactionary and advanced, may be discussed and illustrated. The aims and objects of the reform movement in language teaching should be clearly apprehended by the students. No doubt, this will give them a "divine discontent" with the results their first tentative efforts entail. Furthermore, we can differentiate our courses more than we do to meet the practical necessities of our students. As one of my correspondents stated it:—"There are too many courses in literature and too few in grammar, syntax, and composition, etc. Most of the teachers in secondary schools know more about German literature—which they never will teach—than about the German language. The student must know first the language, before he enters into the study of the literature. Here lies the difficulty." I thoroughly and absolutely agree with the statement. Here lies the difficulty, at least a large part of it, and here must come the remedy.

Then again. Your replies to the *questionnaire* relative to the student teachers' ability fairly to speak the foreign tongue only confirmed my own observation and experience. Unless gained by a residence abroad or by the good fortune of being born into a German or French household where there was a grandfather or grandmother innocent of a knowledge of English, the future teachers are but indiffer-

ently equipped in this direction. "Only a few," "possibly 25 per cent.," "not many," "from 10 to 20 per cent.," are illustrations of the answers to the question. Sometimes, to be sure, more favorable estimates are given. In this connection, it should be said that the French departments seemed to make a better showing than the German. Query: What is the cause? Smaller classes? Fewer inherent difficulties? Greater insistence upon the accomplishment?

When we consider that a decently ready command of the spoken language is well-nigh indispensable if one would give life, vigor, and zest to instruction therein, the state of things just alluded to is disheartening. I know "that the teacher must be more than an animated phonograph," and that to insist upon a thorough speaking knowledge of a foreign language is chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. Nor is such "thorough knowledge" necessary. We cannot in fairness demand that every teacher in our secondary schools shall have a sufficient command of the foreign language to base his—rather, her—instruction entirely upon the practice of the *neuere Richtung*. But we may, if we will, insist upon their acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the spoken tongue, a sufficient ready command of simple speech, to enable them to make their teaching really vital and effective. We can devote more time and energy to putting this indispensable tool at their command, and thereby enhance the quality of the work they have to do. Particularly should we take greater pains with acquainting them with the *Realien* that are so important a staple in effective secondary school instruction.

In connection with the matter of *Realien* as fit language material, it is interesting to note an item in the *Lesekanon* actually obtaining in our schools. An inquiry as to the

texts used in first and second year teaching netted the following results: Of the 330 schools already referred to as replying to the *questionnaire*, 148 used *Immensee*; 103 *Glück Auf!*; 85 *Wilhelm Tell*; 70 *Im Vaterland*; 59 *Höher als die Kirche*; 38 *Gruber's Märchen und Erzählungen*; 33 *Germelshausen*. Other texts are less widely read.

Now, no doubt, the well-known tendency on the part of all of us to do what has been done is responsible for a good part of this showing. But the particular point to be noted is what seems to me the prenominal success of a book that has been available for less than a year. The schools certainly crave material such as is offered in *Im Vaterland*. Everything else being equal, books that deal with the home life, the habits and manners, the traditions and legends, the social and educational institutions, are sure to commend themselves to both teacher and pupils. They make it seem worth while to "dig"; they bring language study down from the clouds and appeal even to the unimaginative schoolboy.

But to return to the more immediate question before us—the practical and practicable means of raising the efficiency of language instruction. Teachers should understand that more definite results are to be striven for. It is our business to aid in the realization of these results. On this point one of our honored colleagues writes: "Standardize the work by outlining definite results to be attained which will prevent 'wild cat' methods; giving, *e. g.*, the amount and sort of work to be done each term, with sample examination papers." This, you will admit, is a valuable suggestion where it can be carried out, particularly so, if joined to his other demand: "Require of all candidates at least 30 hours of college German, with a grade I."

Another plank in a progressive educational platform, and one which is thoroughly sound, has been contributed by another one of my correspondents: "Closer inspection of high schools by expert representatives of leading universities (in our territory principally the state universities), not so much with a view of official grading and reporting as of personal advice and encouragement. I am not so much thinking," he goes on to say, "of the work of the regular 'high-school inspector' of the university, but of the special representatives of those departments that deal with important high school subjects."

We might do something toward raising the standard of efficiency by keeping in closer touch with our students after leaving college. Wherever friendly visiting is feasible, it certainly should be done. Where conditions do not warrant such direct contact, departments might resort to the issuance of occasional circulars, setting forth various aspects of specific problems. Teachers could then be kept informed of new and suitable texts or other aids to instruction; a certain fellowship and solidarity of professional interests could be established, an *esprit de corps* cultivated. It would be no slight gain to educational efficiency to have every teacher of French or German or English realize that the highest institution of the state system of education was directly, actively, sympathetically and helpfully interested in his or her success. It might even be advisable—though I am not sure of the feasibility of the suggestion I am about to make—for this Association to join forces with an equally representative body of secondary school interests for the purpose of issuing, say, a "Monthly High-School Visitor" for teachers of the modern languages, including English. *Modern Language Notes* do not, it seems to me, meet the needs of the average high school instructor, admirable

though that periodical is otherwise. The *Pädagogische Monatshefte*, again, exceedingly suggestive and helpful to those able to avail themselves of their contents, are likewise beyond the great mass of teachers in our public schools. Perhaps I underestimate their capacity and needs. I hope I do. No doubt some can and do derive much inspiration and help from these publications. But I very much doubt that very many secondary teachers can or do make them directly serviceable in their work.

Then again, school authorities should have it forced upon them very energetically that effective modern language teaching, including English, requires the very best teachers and that, *e. g.*, Latin *per se* is not entitled to any superior rank or position in the educational curriculum, nor Latin teachers *per se* to "deanships" in high school faculties. This fact is often overlooked, not only by the general public, but even by superintendents and principals. In most, though not all, of the higher institutions of learning in our territory, students bringing good modern language preparation are admitted to all the courses of the college. This Association should bestir itself to gain for the modern languages perfect and complete equality with the ancient tongues. "It is but just to praise the ancients," says von Trefort, the former Austrian Minister of Education, "but to praise them in order to depreciate the moderns is an emanation of ignorance or the fancy of pedagogues."

And, finally, we can increase the efficiency of language teaching, at least indirectly, by availing ourselves of the good that comes from closer organization. So far, we in the West have been greatly remiss in this particular. In our district and state teachers' associations meetings, the teachers of modern languages are, of course, greatly in the minority. There is little or no time to come together

in helpful professional intercourse. If the modern language teachers must meet during the regularly set state teachers' meetings—and I am inclined to think that is the only feasible plan—they might, at least, use the time thus appointed in considering and discussing their own specific work. To this end a closer organization should be effected in every state, an organization embracing language teachers of all ranks and schools. It should be the emphatic and distinct purpose of that organization—as it is that of the British Modern Language Association—"to raise the standard of efficiency in Modern Languages, to promote their study in the schools, and to obtain for them their proper place in the Educational Curricula of the country to help them feel that they are not isolated units, but a learned body, professionally trained."

Ladies and Gentlemen:—Your speaker trusts that the means and method of increasing the efficiency of modern language teaching suggested in this address are not mere visionary, impracticable schemes or dreams. He knows that radical changes cannot be brought about in a day or a year, but he knows, too, that a resolute effort on the part of educators will, in time, be rewarded with success. We can and we do give trend and direction to educational thought and practice. This Association, conscious of the great worth and value of the neo-humanistic culture and social aspiration expressing itself in the modern tongues—English, German, French,—is in duty bound to shape efficient instrumentalities for the spread of that culture. To prepare a body of eager, high-minded, enthusiastic young men and women for effective teaching in our secondary schools is one of our highest prerogatives. In no other way can we do as much for the commonwealth as by giving back to it strong, competent, professionally trained teachers; in no way better uphold and foster sound educational ideals.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigation by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III.

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary and Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life

member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successive years. Distinguisht foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council.

IV.

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer; an Executive Council consisting of these six officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members; and an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and two other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold office until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

V.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may

be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI.

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII.

1. When for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and

a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

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A. A. BLOOMBERGH, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1906]
DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. [1899]
FRANK EGBERT BRYANT, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1910]
SOPHUS BUGGE, University of Christiania [1907]
FRANK ROSCOE BUTLER, Hathorne, Mass. [1905]
GEORGE RICE CARPENTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
[1909]
JOSEPH W. CARR, University of Maine, Orono, Me. [1909]
CHARLES CHOLLET, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
[1903]
HENRY COHEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900]
WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888]
SUSAN R. CUTLER, Chicago, Ill. [1899]
A. N. VAN DAELL, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston,
Mass. [1899]
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894]
W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898]
ERNEST AUGUST EGGERS, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1903]
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
[1910]
FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896]
FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVAL, London, England [1910]
GUSTAV GRÖBER, University of Strassburg [1911]
L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vt. [1886]
JAMES ALBERT HARRISON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
[1911]
B. P. HASDEU, University of Bucharest, Bucharest, Roumania [1908]
RUDOLF HAYM, University of Halle [1901]
RICHARD HEINZEL, University of Vienna [1905]

- GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
[1899]
- JOHN BELL HENNEMAN, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
[1908]
- RUDOLF HILDEBRAND, University of Leipzig [1894]
- JULES ADOLPHE HOBIGAND, Boston, Mass. [1906]
- JULIAN HUGUENIN, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.
[1901]
- ANDREW INGRAHAM, Cambridge, Mass. [1905]
- J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892]
- GUSTAF E. KARSTEN, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1908]
- F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893]
- PAUL OSCAR KERN, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1908]
- EUGEN KÖLBING, Breslau, Germany [1899]
- J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass. [1891]
- AUGUST LODEMAN, Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
1902]
- JULES LOISEAU, New York, N. Y.
- JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891]
- J. LUQUIENS, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899]
- ALBERT BENEDICT LYMAN, Batimore, Md. [1907]
- THOMAS McCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891]
- J. G. R. McELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1899]
- EDWARD T. McLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893]
- JAMES MACNIE, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D.
[1909]
- EDWARD H. MAGILL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. [1907]
- FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1911]
- JOHN E. MATZKE, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [1910]
- LOUIS EMIL MENDER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1903]
- CHARLES WALTER MESLOH, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
[1904]
- SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1900]
- JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901]
- ADOLF MUSSAFIA, University of Vienna [1905]
- BENNETT HUBBARD NASH, Boston, Mass. [1906]
- C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md. [1890.]
- W. N. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa. [1892]
- WILLIAM WELLS NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1907]
- CONRAD H. NORDBY, College of the City of New York, New York,
N. Y. [1900]

- C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888]
GASTON PARIS, Collège de France, Paris, France [1903]
W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
HERBERT T. POLAND, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1906]
SAMUEL PORTER, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C. [1901]
F. YORK POWELL, University of Oxford, Oxford, England [1904]
RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900]
THOMAS R. PRICE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1903]
LEWIS A. RHOADES, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1910]
HENRY B. RICHARDSON, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [1906]
CHARLES H. ROSS, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala. [1900]
M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894]
JAMES W. SHERIDAN, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y. [1890]
F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1890]
CAROLINE STRONG, Portland, Ore. [1908]
H. TALLICHET, Austin, Tex. [1894]
ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin [1910]
HIRAM ALBERT VANCE, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. [1906]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898]
KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin [1901]
CARLA WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902]
HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888]
MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898]
R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900]
RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipzig [1910]
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889]
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany [1895]

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